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## **All the Wisdom of the East: Studies in Near Eastern Archaeology and History in Honor of Eliezer D. Oren**

Edited by: Gruber, Mayer ; Ahituv, Shmuel ; Lehmann, Gunnar ; Talshir, Zipora

**Abstract:** All the Wisdom of the East is a tribute to Professor Eliezer D. Oren, a multi-faceted archaeologist of the Levant and its cultural connections with the Aegean, renowned student of the Negev and Northern Sinai, and founder of the Archaeological Division in the Department of Bible, Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer-Sheva. The book includes an appreciation of the honoree and a list of his numerous publications. Thirty-nine scholars, colleagues and former students from Israel, Europe, the United States of America and New Zealand have contributed original studies in English (22), German (1) and Hebrew (5) to this volume. The spectrum of their papers covers various fields and periods, from pre-history to the Roman Period, from Egypt to the Aegean and the Western Mediterranean, from pottery to art, epigraphy and history. The book thus offers a wealth of knowledge and information of importance to anyone interested in the Ancient Near East.

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ZORA URL: <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-135659>

Edited Scientific Work

Published Version

Originally published at:

All the Wisdom of the East: Studies in Near Eastern Archaeology and History in Honor of Eliezer D. Oren. Edited by: Gruber, Mayer; Ahituv, Shmuel; Lehmann, Gunnar; Talshir, Zipora (2012). Fribourg / Göttingen: Academic Press / Vandenhoeck Ruprecht.

**Gruber et al.** All the Wisdom of the East

# ORBIS BIBLICUS ET ORIENTALIS

Published on behalf of the BIBLE+ORIENT Foundation

in co-operation with  
the Department of Biblical Studies, University of Fribourg (Switzerland),  
the Egyptological Institute, University of Basel,  
the Institute of Archaeology, Near Eastern Section, University of Berne,  
the Institute of Biblical Research, University of Lausanne,  
the Department of Religious Studies, University of Zurich,  
and the Swiss Society for Ancient Near Eastern Studies

by  
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# All the Wisdom of the East

Studies in Near Eastern Archaeology and  
History in Honor of Eliezer D. Oren

edited by

Mayer Gruber, Shmuel Ahituv,  
Gunnar Lehmann and Zipora Talshir



Academic Press Fribourg  
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen



### *Cover illustration*

A decoration featuring the well-known 'palm-tree and ibex' motif on a pottery vessel from the end of the Late Bronze Age (13th century BCE) found at Tel Sera' (biblical Ziklag?) during the excavations conducted by Eliezer Oren.

Publication subsidized by Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer-Sheva, Israel

Internet general catalogue:

Academic Press Fribourg: [www.paulusedition.ch](http://www.paulusedition.ch)

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen: [www.v-r.de](http://www.v-r.de)

Camera-ready text prepared by Marcia Bodenmann, University of Zurich

© 2012 by Academic Press Fribourg, Fribourg Switzerland  
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen

ISBN: 978-3-7278-1719-9 (Academic Press Fribourg)

ISBN: 978-3-525-54378-8 (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht)

ISSN: 1015-1850 (Orb. biblicus orient.)



Eliezer D. Oren



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## Editors' Introduction

This book is presented to our colleague, Eliezer D. Oren, to mark the end of a phase of his academic career. A *Festschrift* is the most natural gift, which colleagues can bestow upon a scholar and teacher as a token of appreciation for his professional accomplishments. Now the time has arrived to honor Eliezer with *All the Wisdom of the East*, the fruits of the research of his colleagues, who have labored in areas related to Eliezer's fields of interest, and have joined together to express their esteem for him.

With this volume we express our admiration for Eliezer's stature, the breadth of his knowledge, and the depth of his historical and sociological perspective, which surround his archaeological research, as expressed in his publications, his classroom teaching, at archaeological sites, in laboratories, on field trips, and in the conferences, which he has organized. All his work has been outstanding with respect to its high academic level, and the sparkle, with which he only has known how to endow it. The range of his work is detailed in the biography included in this volume, and the list of his publications helps round out the picture.

The editors and the authors wish Eliezer continued strength that will enable him to persist in making contributions of abiding importance.

In the nature of things the work of producing a *Festschrift* takes a great deal of time because it depends upon the contributions of a large number of scholars – thirty-nine in this case – each with one's own timetable and responsibilities. The editors thank all of the scholars who contributed each from the perspective of her/his area of research to create this unique volume of fascinating essays.

Many thanks are due to all those responsible for the production of this volume, first and foremost to Professor Othmar Keel and Professor Christoph Uehlinger, co-editors of OBO, for accepting this volume for publication in their prestigious series, and for their help and support throughout the editing and the production of this book.

We thank the linguistic editors of this volume, Judith Appleton and Yonat Horn, for their careful revision of the language of the English and Hebrew articles respectively, and we thank Sefi Sinay for editing the accompanying illustrations. We are grateful to Dr. Hagit Taragan for the time and effort she invested in preparing the list of Eliezer's publications. We express our gratitude to Dr. Gunnar Lehman, Professor Shmuel Ahituv, and Professor Mayer Gruber, for the insightful reading of the articles and for working with the authors on many and varied technical aspects unique to each of the articles.



Special thanks are expressed to the Editor-in-Chief, Professor Mayer Gruber, for initiating this *Festschrift*, and for the endless hours he invested in the process of its preparation, always with goodwill and patience.

The editors express special thanks to Marcia Bodenmann, lic. phil., from the Institute of Religious Studies, University of Zurich, for her painstaking work in copy-editing and preparing the final version of this book.

Last but not least, we gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the authorities of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, the former Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Professor Moshe Justman, the former Rector, Professor Jimmy Weinblatt, and our President, Professor Rivka Carmi.

Zipi Talshir, Beer Sheva, Israel, Summer 2011 / 5771

## Eliezer D. Oren: An Appreciation

Our dear friend and colleague Eliezer Oren was born in 1938 in Petah Tikva. Growing up in Mandatory Palestine, he was educated at the Orthodox She'erit Yisrael Talmud Torah, where he absorbed the traditions and the literature of Judaism from a tender age. In 1952, the then 15-year-old Eliezer joined a youth group at Kibbutz Sa'ad in the western Negev, overlooking the Gaza Strip. Eliezer's years at Sa'ad (1952-1955) had a huge impact on shaping the young man's personality. Hiking constantly throughout the arid Negev countryside amplified his interest in the history and geography of this region. This bond with the Negev was intensified during Eliezer's military service (1955-1957).

While studying as an undergraduate (1959-1963) in the departments of Archaeology and the History of Israel at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Eliezer participated in various excavations. For nearly two years (1961-1963) he conducted an archaeological survey and excavations, on behalf of the Israel Department of Antiquities, at the Maresha – Beit Govrin caves. Subsequently, Eliezer published a number of studies dealing with the necropolis of the Sidonian colony and the Jewish population at Maresha (with U. Rappaport). Additionally, he offered a new and challenging interpretation for the original use of the columbaria caves peculiar to this region for raising the Herodian doves (Talmudic "*Yonei Hardasiot*").

In 1963 Eliezer traveled to Philadelphia to begin his graduate studies in the Department of Oriental Studies (later the Department of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies) at the University of Pennsylvania, the leading institution at the time in the field. There, the University Museum made available to him the rich collection of unpublished materials from its earlier excavations of the northern cemetery of Beth Shean, on which Eliezer based his doctoral dissertation. During this time, Oren was also an Assistant Professor at Baltimore Hebrew College.

Eliezer completed his doctoral studies at the University of London (1966-1969). His dissertation, "The Northern Cemetery of Beth Shan: A Study of the Unpublished material and its Historical Implications" was supervised by Dame Kathleen Kenyon and Prof. Peter Parr, accepted in 1969, and published in 1973 by the University of Pennsylvania and E. J. Brill. The book's major sections discuss the Early Bronze IV (Middle Bronze I) of northern Palestine and its reciprocal relations with Syria. The *pièce de résistance* of this publication is the detailed presentation of some fifty Late Bronze Age anthropoid coffins from this cemetery, followed by a thorough analysis of

the nature of Egyptian administration in Canaan and the mercenaries from the Sea Peoples in their service. While in London Eliezer Oren was a part time lecturer at Leo Baeck College, the University College of London and the University of Leeds, and he also participated in excavations at the island of Mozia, Sicily.

Returning to Israel in the summer of 1969, Eliezer began work at the Israel Department of Antiquities, and he supervised numerous excavations at Tiberias, Acre and Jerusalem and was also involved with the study and publication of the Middle Bronze Age finds from the Tel Achziv defense system (the late Moshe Prausnitz excavations).

In the fall of 1970, Eliezer returned to the Negev, and he began his long academic career at the University of the Negev (later to be named Ben-Gurion University of the Negev). From then until his retirement in 2007 at the rank of Full Professor, he served in numerous capacities within the university. He supervised the M.A. theses and Ph.D. dissertations of many students at Ben-Gurion University as well as students at universities in the U.S, Europe, and Australia. In 1973 Eliezer founded the Archaeology Division which he headed for more than ten years, and he co-founded with Prof. Mordechai Cogan the Department of Bible and the Ancient Near East. As department chair, Eliezer was instrumental in shaping the character of the department, with the emphasis on the link between the Bible, archaeology and ancient Near Eastern civilizations.

During the summer of 1971, Eliezer Oren organized Ben-Gurion University's very first study excavation for students who participated in his archaeology course. This excavation took place at Tel Arad under the direction of Ruth Amiran. For many years beginning in 1972, Eliezer was extremely active, on behalf of Ben-Gurion University, in undertaking large scale archaeological explorations in the Negev and Sinai deserts, including systematic surveys and excavations in the western Negev and along the Mediterranean coastline of Gaza and northern Sinai. In addition, he has devoted himself to a wide range of subjects including cultural interrelations between Egypt and the Levant; commerce in the Mediterranean basin as well as Bronze Age chronology in the Levant. The results of these researches resonated through the scholarly literature.

From 1972 to 1978 Prof. Oren directed the expedition to Tel Sera' (Tell esh-Shari'a), an important Bronze and Iron Age site in the western Negev (Biblical Ziklag?). Among the important discoveries at Tel Sera' were the well-preserved remains of an extensive Middle Bronze Age courtyard palace, and elaborate architectural remains of a temple building as well as an Egyptian administrative center ("Governor's House") from the Late Bronze Age. These finds contribute greatly to our understanding of the reciprocal relations between Egypt and Canaan, including administrative procedures in southern Canaan in the late New Kingdom period (19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Dynasties). Excavations at Tel Sera' also unearthed impressive remains of a fortress

from Iron Age II, which offers a new perspective on Assyrian imperial organization on the border of Egypt.

Among the highlights of Eliezer Oren's research is the extensive regional survey of northern Sinai, between the Gaza Strip and the Suez Canal (1972-1982). The Sinai land bridge (Ways-of-Horus in Egyptian sources) is a key to the reconstruction of the political history as well as the economic and cultural contacts between Egypt and western Asia since prehistoric times. The North Sinai Expedition, under the direction of Eliezer Oren, documented and explored approximately 1,300 settlement sites dating from prehistoric times to the Ottoman Era. The results of this important enterprise shed great light upon the history of this vital artery of communication and the distinctive hierarchic patterns of settlement. Eliezer's detailed survey of North Sinai provided new insights into the mechanism of the Egypto-Canaanite interaction and contributed immensely to our knowledge of the initial political and economic "colonial" organization of late Pre-Dynastic Egypt in the Sinai corridor and southern Canaan. The numerous settlement sites of the New Kingdom, including way stations, forts and granaries, shed considerable light on Egypt's administrative and military network along the Ways-of-Horus between Egypt and Canaan. The expedition also uncovered a gigantic fortified structure founded on a massive platform and dating to the Saite (26<sup>th</sup>) Dynasty. This extraordinarily large site was most likely an administrative center on the edge of the eastern Nile Delta and should be identified, according to Eliezer, with Biblical Migdol. The survey map of northern Sinai is represented by hundreds of sites of the Roman and Byzantine Era. Especially significant were the extensive excavations at Qasrawet ("Petra of Sinai"), which is a key site for the study of Nabatean commercial activities along the Via Maris, between Gaza and Pelusium. Likewise, the explorations of the North Sinai Expedition at Ostrakine, with its remains of churches and a monastery contributed considerably to our understanding of the establishment and diffusion of Christianity in Sinai and Egypt.

From 1981 to 1992 Eliezer's field work was focused largely on the Nahal Gerar Archaeological Project: excavations at Tel Haror (Tell Abu Hureireh). Tel Haror (Biblical Gerar?) was one of the largest and most important urban centers in southern Canaan during the Middle Bronze Age. Large scale explorations at the site contributed to the study of the political and economic fabric of Middle Bronze Age urban organization, formidable complex fortification systems, and, most important, the cult edifice. The discovery at Tel Haror of the unique sacred precinct enhances most significantly our knowledge of Canaanite cult practices and rituals. Moreover, it provides distinctive material evidence for treaty and covenant ceremonies documented in the Mari archives. Other significant discoveries at Tel Haror included Philistine settlement strata and the well-preserved fortifications and storage installations from 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, evidencing of Assyrian administrative organization in western Negev and on the border of Egypt.

Simultaneous with the excavation seasons at Tel Haror, Eliezer extended his Sinai survey project into the Gaza Strip where he explored more than 50 sites from the Neolithic to the Byzantine periods. Excavations of a Chalcolithic period settlement site (Y-2, with I. Gilead) on the coastline south of Gaza revealed the westernmost extension of the Chalcolithic “Beer Sheva” culture, while the investigation of another, Taur Ikhbeineh, on the west bank of Wadi Gaza (with Y. Yekutieli) exhibits what appears to be the earliest evidence for institutionalized trade relations with Egypt in the Early Bronze Ia or Naqada II period. Another highlight of this project was the excavation of the large Iron Age II harbor town of Ruqeish near Deir el-Balah. The rich material remains of this massively fortified city belonged, according to Oren, to an Assyrian-Phoenician commercial emporium which he identified with the “sealed Karum of Egypt” built by King Sargon II in 716 BCE. The numerous sites from the Persian Era which the expedition investigated on the seacoast along with plentiful collections of imported Greek and Cypriote ceramics testify to the extensive international commerce in the Gaza region.

Prof. Oren was the first incumbent of the Canada Chair in Near Eastern Archaeology at Ben-Gurion University (1990). From 1989 onwards he has coordinated the prestigious annual Irene Levi-Sala Research seminar on Cultural Interconnections in the Ancient Near East at the university as well as the Irene Levi-Sala Book Prize competition on scholarly publications in the archaeology of Israel. To date, proceedings of the seminar have been published in five volumes, including a volume of the special seminar on the origin of Early Israel held in London in cooperation with University College, London (1997). Many of the leading universities have invited Prof. Oren to conduct research and to teach: Harvard, New York University, University of Pennsylvania, University of California at San Diego, Oxford, Heidelberg, University of Sydney and the Australian National University, Canberra. From 1991 to 1995 Prof. Oren was invited by the University of Pennsylvania to help restructure their post-graduate program in Near Eastern Archaeology. During those years he organized an international seminar on “Cultural Interconnections in the Ancient Near East”. The proceedings were published in two volumes, which Eliezer edited, and they appeared under the imprint of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania: *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (1997); and *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* (2000). Eliezer initiated the planning for a permanent installation of the exhibit “Canaan and Israel” at the University Museum, and he was its guest curator.

In addition to his distinguished career on the faculty of Ben-Gurion University, Prof. Oren has served and continues to serve in many public capacities. These include membership on the Survey of Israel Steering Committee; Member, Archaeological Council of Israel and its Licensing Committee, and since 2000, its deputy chair; Member of the CARE Archaeological Foundation; Member, Executive Committee of the Israel Exploration Society.

The editors of this volume and all those who know Eliezer in person or through his valuable work, wish him many years of fruitful research work and enjoying the company of his wife Shulamith, their children Yarden and Kineret, and grandchildren Yasmin, Itamar and Ayelet.

May you go from strength to strength.

The Editors



## Eliezer D. Oren: List of Publications

### A. AUTHORED BOOKS AND EDITORSHIP OF COLLECTIVE VOLUMES

1973

1. *The Northern Cemetery of Beth-Shan* (Museum Monographs of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania), Leiden: Brill.

1997

2. (Ed.): *The Hyksos – New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (University Museum Monographs 96), Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

1999

3. (Ed. with S. Ahituv): *The Origin of Israel – Current Debate: Biblical, Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Beer Sheva XII), Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press.

2000

4. (Ed.): *The Sea Peoples and their World: A Reassessment* (University Museum Monographs 108), Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

2002

5. (Ed. with S. Ahituv): *Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume – Studies in Archaeology and Related Disciplines* (Beer Sheva XV), Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press.

### B. ARTICLES AND BOOK REVIEWS

1965

6. The Caves of the Palestinian Shephelah: *Archaeology* 18: 218-225.

1968

7. Yonei Hardissaot in Talmudic Literature and the Columbaria Caves at Marashah: *Tarbitz* 34 (4): 356-362 (in Hebrew).



8. The 'Herodian Doves' in the Light of Recent Archaeological Discoveries: *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 100: 56-61.

1969

9. Cypriot Imports in the Palestinian Late Bronze I Context: *Opuscula Atheniensia* 9: 127-150.

1971

10. A Middle Bronze Age I Warrior Tomb at Beth-Shan: *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 87: 109-139.
11. Early Islamic Material from Ganei-Hamat (Tiberias): *Archaeology* 24: 274-277.

1973

12. A Cult Building in the Excavations at Tel Sera': *Qadmoniot* 6: 53-56 (in Hebrew).
13. An Egyptian Fort on the Military Route to Canaan: *Qadmoniot* 6: 101-103 (in Hebrew).
14. The Early Bronze IV Period in Northern Palestine and its Cultural and Chronological Setting: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 210: 20-37.
15. The Overland Route between Egypt and Canaan in the Early Bronze Age: *Israel Exploration Journal* 23: 198-205.

1974

16. An Ancient City on the Edge of the Negev: *Illustrated London News* 262 (November) 61-65.
17. Egyptian Forts on the Military Road between Egypt and Canaan: *Teva' Va'aretz* 16 (1): 9-12 (in Hebrew).

1975

18. Burial Customs in the Northeastern Nile Delta: *Qadmoniot* 8: 77-81 (in Hebrew).
19. The Pottery from the Achziv Defence System, Area D; 1963 and 1964 Seasons: *Israel Exploration Journal* 25: 211-225.
20. Review article of Y. Aharoni et al.: Beer-Sheba, I. Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheva 1969-71 Seasons, Ramat-Gan 1973: *Qadmoniot* 2-3: 98-100 (in Hebrew).

1977

21. Migdol Fortress in Northwestern Sinai: *Qadmoniot* 10: 71-76 (in Hebrew).

22. With E. Netzer: Settlements of the Roman Period at Qasrawet in Northern Sinai: *Qadmoniot* 10: 94-107 (in Hebrew).

1978

23. A Christian Settlement at Ostracina in Northern Sinai: *Qadmoniot* 11: 81-87 (in Hebrew).  
24. With F. Weinberg: Structure and Composition of Roman Period Metal Artifacts from the North Sinai: *Metallurgical Society of CIM Annual Volume*, 147-155.

1979

25. With J. Pelleg and J. Baram: An Investigation of Bronze Artifacts from the North Sinai Coast and the Nile Delta Region: *Metallography* 10: 305-316.  
26. North Sinai before the Classical Period, in: B. Rothenberg (ed.), *Sinai, Pharaohs, Miners, Pilgrims and Soldiers*, Washington: Binns, 181-191.  
27. Biblical Migdol – Stratopeda? A Newly Discovered Fortress of the Archaic Period in the Eastern Nile Delta: *Acts of the XIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, London: International Association for Classical Archaeology, 74-80.

1980

28. North Sinai Survey 1972-1978, in: Z. Meshel and I. Finkelstein (eds.), *Sinai in Antiquity, Researches in the History and Archaeology of the Peninsula*, Tel Aviv: Hakkibutz Hameuhad, 101-158 (in Hebrew).  
29. Egyptian New Kingdom Sites in Northern Sinai: *Qadmoniot* 13: 26-36 (in Hebrew).

1981

30. With M. A. Morrison: Excavations at Ostrakine: *Illustrated London News*, November: 76-77; December: 62-65.  
31. With I. Gilead: Chalcolithic Sites in Northeastern Sinai: *Tel Aviv* 8: 25-44.

1982

32. Ziklag – A Biblical City on the Edge of the Negev: *Biblical Archaeologist* 45: 155-166.  
33. Excavations at Qasrawet in North-Western Sinai: *Israel Exploration Journal* 32: 203-211.  
34. Le Nord-Sinaï: *Le Monde de la Bible* 24: 3-48.

1983

35. Phoenicia and the Phoenicians: *Qardom* 5 (26-27): 89-95 (in Hebrew).

36. Ancient Military Road between Egypt and Cana'an: *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeology Society* 1982-1983: 20-24.

1984

37. Migdol – A New Fortress on the Edge of the Eastern Nile Delta: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 256: 7-44.
38. With U. Rappaport: The Necropolis of Maresha – Beth Govrin: *Israel Exploration Journal* 34: 114-153.

1985

39. Governors' Residencies in Canaan under the New Kingdom: A Case Study of Egyptian Administration: *Journal of the Society for Studies of Egyptian Antiquities* 14: 37-56.
40. With M. Morrison and I. Gilead: The Land of Gerar Expedition: *Newsletter, American Schools of Oriental Research* 36: 37-46.
41. Israel's Neighbors in the Iron Age: Respondents, in: J. Amitai (ed.), *Biblical Archaeology Today, Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984*, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 223-226.
42. Architecture of Egyptian Governors' Residencies in Late Bronze Age Palestine: *Eretz Israel* 18 (N. Avigad Volume) 183-199 (in Hebrew).
43. Gaza Region Under Assyrian Domination and until the Conquests of Alexander the Great – History and Archaeology, in: S. Krakover (ed.), *Gaza Region Researches*, Tel Aviv: Institute for Research on the Gaza Strip and Sinai, 4-12 (in Hebrew).

1986

44. A Phoenician Emporium on the Border of Egypt: *Qadmoniot* 19: 83-91 (in Hebrew).
45. With M. Morrison and I. Gilead: Land of Gerar Expedition: Preliminary Reports of the Seasons of 1982 and 1983, in: W. E. Rast (ed.), *Preliminary Reports of ASOR-Sponsored Excavations 1980-84* (Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Supplement 24), New Haven, 57-87.

1987

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## Cypriot “Mycenaean” IIIB Imported to the Levant

Michal Artzy and Svetlana Zagorski

During the excavations at the site of Tel Nami, ceramics designated as Mycenaean looked unlike those known to have originated in the Argolid. Already at that time, we assumed that some originated in Cyprus, while we assumed that others were produced locally or somewhere in the Coastal area, likely in the vicinity of Tyre, Sarepta or Sidon. The possibility that ‘Mycenaean’ type ceramics were produced in Cyprus and exported to the Levant should be of no surprise, and neither should the possibility of Levantine production of ‘Mycenaean’ types, especially since there are numerous shapes, which could not be attributed, even with pressure, to any of Furumark’s shapes. We would like to present this article to Eliezer Oren with whom I (MA) have had many discussions concerning the differences between the imports to the southern Levant, his specialty, and the Sharon and especially the Carmel coast, which I have had the opportunity to research.

Analytical data, both quantitative and qualitative, is now available for some of the imports to sites on the Carmel Ridge. Neutron Activation Analyses from two sites, namely Tell Abu Hawam and the Persian Garden in Akko have been published (Gunneweg and Michel 1999) as have been partial results from analyses from Tel Akko (D’Agata et al. 2005). More analyses, as yet unpublished, are available for samples from Tel Akko and a few from Tel Nami.<sup>1</sup> Some analyses, by means of petrographic thin sections have been carried out<sup>2</sup> on a few samples from Tel Akko, and they will be presented in this study, alongside the NAA data. However, in order to proceed, we wish to present the data available in different publication in order to present our conclusions in a holistic manner.

The majority of the Mycenaean sherds noted in the 2001 project at Tell Abu Hawam (Artzy 2006), are of Mycenaean III A/B type. Indeed, in a Neutron Activation Analysis study carried out in the 1970s on the Mycenaean ware from Hamilton’s excavations at Tell Abu Hawam, it was established that they originated in the Argolid (Asaro and Perlman 1973: 215-216). These results were further scrutinized and found to be acceptable (French et al. 1993: 7-10). While the examples of Mycenaean Ware from the anchorage

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<sup>1</sup> The analyses were carried out in various laboratories. We thank Joseph Yellin, Hans Mommsen and Frank Asaro.

<sup>2</sup> The analyses were carried out by Shalom Yankelevich. We thank Yuval Goren for discussions of the samples.

excavations carried out in 2001 were not analyzed by means of NAA, those whose thin sections were studied, showed that they originated in the Argolid and are comparable to those published by Hamilton and reworked by Balensi (1980). Most belong to the Myc. IIIA2/IIIB1 family. In their studies, Asaro and Perlman found a few imports from Crete, as did the anchorage excavation. Among the Minoan imports are transport stirrup jars as well as Oatmeal ware. They were likely laden on ships in Kommos, although their possible provenance should be sought in central and eastern Crete.<sup>3</sup> Alongside, also found in the anchorage are imported western Anatolian Tan ware pieces which could at times be mistaken as either 'Mycenaean', if they are painted and even 'Red Lustrous' bowls.<sup>4</sup> These were analyzed by means of Neutron Activation Analysis and are to be published by Artzy and Mommsen.

At Akko, situated barely 10 km. from Tell Abu Hawam, on the same bay, the only large bay in modern Israel, the situation is more complex. In excavations in the vicinity of Tel Akko, in the 'Persian Gardens', an artifact rich cemetery with imported material goods, including complete vessels of Mycenaean ware was excavated and published (Ben Arie and Edelstein 1977). The Mycenaean imports were studied by B. Hankey, who attributed the group to Myc. III A2/B1 (Hankey 1977: 45-51). These were sampled by I. Perlman and analyzed as far back as the 1970s by means of Neutron Activation Analysis at the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, University of California. The results were published only in 1999 (Gunnweg and Michel 1999: 989-995). Surprisingly, they were found to be comparable to the ceramics from Nichoria, Messenia in the Peloponnese. The Nichoria branch of Mycenaean ceramic production is presented by P. Mountjoy in her *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery* (1999: 301-363) as part of the 'south-west Peloponnesus' group of which the site of Pylos is a member. The fact that a trail connects these two sites, should be, we believe, taken into consideration at this juncture. Where exactly was the ware produced or who had the possible trade connections with Akko, or those interred in the graves in the Persian Gardens should be considered in future studies.

At Tel Akko sherds designated as 'Mycenaean' appeared in most excavated or surveyed areas although not in great numbers. The limited numbers of the 'Mycenaean' extended family, especially *vis-a-vis* the wealth of the Argolid and Minoan vessels noted at Tell Abu Hawam, is certainly an enigma. There is, of course, the possibility that a wealth of ware would have been found had the excavations reached living strata belonging to the period, namely the second part of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the first part of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The one area where past excavation took place and which might show

<sup>3</sup> We would like to thank Jeremy Rutter and Philipp Stockhammer for their discussion.

<sup>4</sup> While those who are well versed in the 'true' Argolid Mycenaean type ware can distinguish the ware with "it could be of the family, but not from the Argolid." Tan ware from Ras Shamra Ugarit, now in the storerooms of the Louvre museum has been identified as Red Lustrous ware.

stratigraphic sequence of the period is area P (Fig. 1) excavated by the late Avner Raban.<sup>5</sup> There seem to be Late Bronze strata in that location, which hopefully would produce clear chronological data, although so far there is no sign that the wealth noted at Tell Abu Hawam is to be repeated at Tel Akko. Most of the excavated areas at Tel Akko, but not all, were carried out either in gate areas or on the summit of the ramparts where a void of habitation was noted until the last of the Late Bronze Age (Artzy 2006b). Diverse trade networks in which each of the two were partners expressing geopolitical variance should be considered. Thus each of the harbors may have been concurrently connected with different partners. For instance, the slight number of Egyptian imports found at the anchorage of Tell Abu Hawam (Artzy 2006), might indicate that while Akko continued the contact with Egypt, as indicated in the El Amarna letters and the wealth of Egyptian ceramics (Marcus, personal communication), Tell Abu Hawam served northern interests, the Syro-Lebanese coast, Western Anatolia and the Hittites with an active participation of Cyprus. Slight chronological differences should be entertained as well, although these go hand in hand with geopolitical fluctuations.

In Area Ph, situated on the southern confines at Tel Akko, a habitation layer, exhibiting material datable to the last of the Late Bronze Age, ca. 1200, was excavated (Fig. 1). A homogeneous fill likely originating in another locale nearby<sup>6</sup> included a group of decorated sherds attributed to the Mycenaean IIIB sub-family. They belong to open and closed vessels, their decoration is reddish-brown or brown, and among them is one sherd, which is of the Rude Style sub-family. The sherds seemed, to the bare eye, to be of a different fabric and from different centers of manufacture than the ones found in the Persian Garden (the Messinian provenience) or at Tell Abu Hawam (Berbati origin). The fabric did not look like those originating in Western Anatolia and found in the excavations of the anchorage at Tell Abu Hawam. In addition, the coloring and the shine, as well as the decoration bear no resemblance to the Tel Nami 'Mycenaean style' sherds, which had previously been tested and found to be from Cyprus (Artzy 2006: 52), mainly from eastern Cyprus, possibly the Enkomi region (Fig. 3).

A few of the Akko area Ph 'Mycenaean' sherds were previously analyzed by means of Neutron Activation Analysis by H. Mommsen at the Bonn laboratory, for another project, and they were published. However, the importance of the results was overlooked by the archaeologists, whose emphasis in their study was elsewhere (D'Agata et al. 2005).<sup>7</sup> The analysis as pub-

<sup>5</sup> Area P at Akko, is being prepared for publication by E. Marcus.

<sup>6</sup> Area Ph is in close proximity to area P, where the late A. Raban proposed a Late Bronze period southern entrance to Tel Akko, which served a possible anchorage at that time. Ezra Marcus with the help of Ron Beeri are presently preparing Area P for publication.

<sup>7</sup> We wish to point out that one of the objects analyzed and published in that article as Myc. III C and found to have originated in the Argolid, was identified as Myc. III A2 by Philipp Stockhammer, to whom we are thankful.

lished in the article clearly located the origin of these ceramics in Cyprus and likely its southern part, where several centers, were active in the 13<sup>th</sup> century: Alassa, Kouklia-Palaeopaphos, and Hala Sultan Tekke, the last two situated near the sea and anchorages. We present a table showing the similarities of the results of NAA of three sherds analyzed compared to a group from Kouklia (Fig. 4).<sup>8</sup> We decided to analyze some of the same sherds, which had been analyzed by NAA as well as additional ones by means of thin section petrography, which also showed them to be of Cypriote provenience, likely from the south-western coast (Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8). Only one of the sherds, the Rude Style sherd with the horse figure, originated likely in the eastern side of the island, possibly the Enkomi area (Fig. 9).<sup>9</sup>

Production of 'Myc. III c' in Cyprus has already been insinuated in the publication of a *psi*-type figurine in an article fittingly named Mycenaean or "Mycenaean" by Karageorghis and Caubet (1966). The *psi*-type figurine, now at the Louvre Museum, was dated to the Late Cypriote III period. Catling, on the other hand, the authors report, felt that since this figurine is surely Mycenaean, it would have been the only figurine of the period to be found in Cyprus since no ceramics of Mycenaean provenience had been found in Cyprus dating to that period. The figurine was analyzed by means of ICP-MS and compared to results made by NAA by R. S. Jones<sup>10</sup>. The conclusion was that this particular *psi*-figurine is of Cypriote manufacture. This led the authors to propose that it should be called "Mycenaean" or Mycenaean-type.

As we have shown above, Cypriote "Mycenaean" wares did not start being produced in Cyprus only in the transition to the 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Potters in Cyprus started producing Mycenaean type wares earlier, well within the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE. These, as shown above, were well produced, and they have regularly been designated as being members of the Myc. IIIB family.

The Sherratts' hypothesis that the Cypriotes started and eventually took over the production of their own "Mycenaean" Ware (Sherratt and Sherratt 2001: 29) might well be viewed as part of the nature of the changes of imports in these coastal sites. The results of analyses of the "Mycenaean wares" found at Akko certainly support the argument that 'Mycenaean type' ceramics were produced in Cyprus. The limited group found in the fill in area Ph at Akko seems to be homogeneous and can point to trade networks, but it should not be used as exclusive evidence for chronological purposes. The fact that the layer for which it served as a fill could be dated to the end

<sup>8</sup> Alassa has been named as the possible origin of the Amarna Alasiya letters (Goren *et al.*). Palaeopaphos Kouklia should certainly be considered as well, at least as the possible anchorage from which the letters were sent to Egypt.

<sup>9</sup> The decoration was identified as such by Penelope Mountjoy, to whom we are thankful. We must admit that it takes a bit of imagination to see the flowing mane and the legs as such.

<sup>10</sup> The results used in the article mentioned, although referring to Jones, are from my own (MA) articles, those dealing with the Bichrome ware and with the Tell el Yahudiyah Ware found in Cyprus, although they are not mentioned in the bibliography.

of the Late Bronze II, namely the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE, hints that it is of at least, a slightly earlier time. Mycenaean IIIB type ceramics found in the Levantine coast and its hinterland, especially those originating in stratified contexts, should be re-examined as to their provenience. At the same time, some of those found in Cyprus itself should be examined. An Aegean provenience of the Mycenaean IIIB family should no longer be taken for granted.

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Fig. 2: Map showing sites discussed in the study

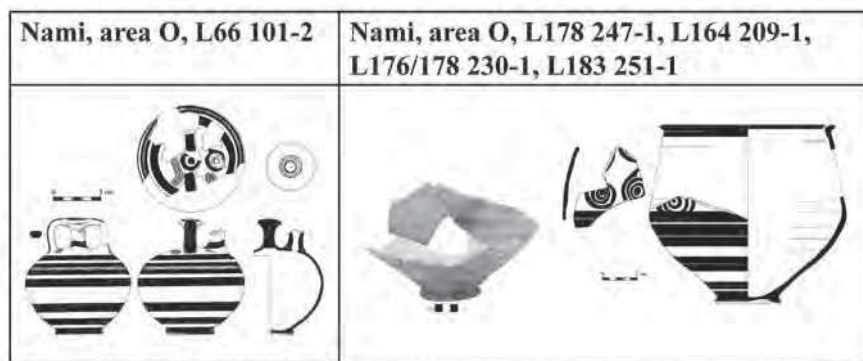


Fig. 3: Photographs and drawings of Nami, Cypriote Mycenaean type vessels

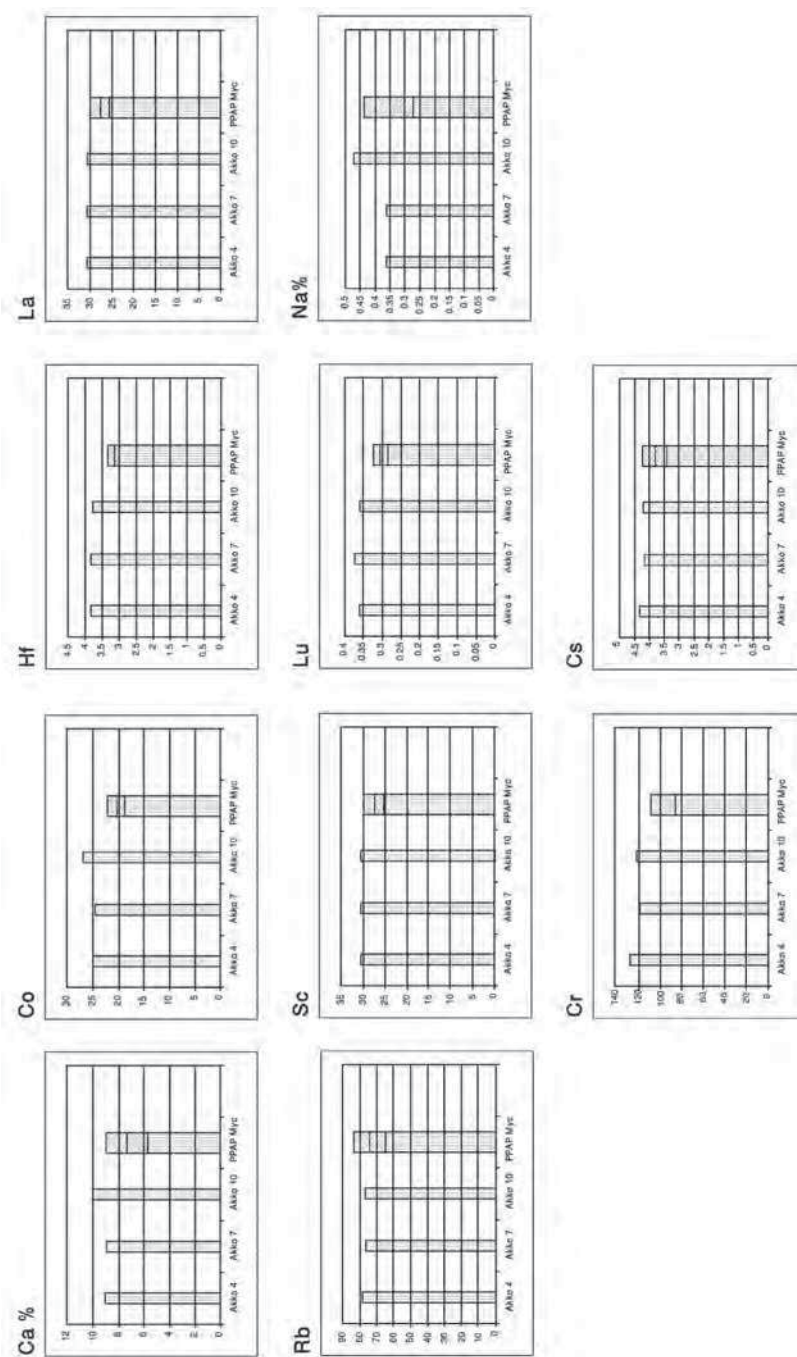


Fig. 4: Table showing the results of NAA analysis compared to vessels excavated at Kouklia, Cyprus



Akko, area PH, L132 146-2, P.8 (D'Amato et al. NAA7)		Comments
		Matrix: Marli clay, red color, tiny mica and calcite particles MycIIIB Likely origin: Cyprus Kouklia/Alassa See also: NAA (Akko 7 in fig. 4)

Fig. 5: Photograph and drawing of Myc. IIIB sherd analyzed by NAA and Petrography (NAA 7/P.8)



Akko, area PH, L84 172-2, P.31 (D'Amato NAA10)		Comments
		Matrix: Light color Pachna, tiny pieces of mica, iron oxide and quartz and calcite. Similar to White Shaved juglets MycIIIB Likely origin: Cyprus Kouklia/Alassa See also: NAA (Akko 10 in fig. 4)

Fig. 6: Photograph and drawing of Myc. IIIB sherd analyzed by NAA and Petrography (NAA 10/P.31)

Akko, area PH, L127 154-2, P.4 (D'Amato et al. NAA4)		Comments
		Origin: Cyprus Kouklia/Alassa See also: NAA (Akko 7 in fig. 4)

Fig. 7: Photograph and drawing of Myc. IIIB sherd analyzed by NAA (NAA4)


Akko, area PH, L133 153-3, P.12	Comments
	<p>Matrix: Marli clay, red in color, tiny mica and calcite particles</p> <p>MycIIIB</p> <p>Origin: Cyprus Kouklia/Alassa</p> <p>Similar to Akko, area PH, L132 146-2 (fig. 5)</p>

Fig. 8: Photograph and drawing of Myc. IIIB sherd analyzed by petrography (P.12)


Akko, area PH, L63 100-5, P.10	Comments
	<p>Matrix: Marli clay, red in color, tiny mica and calcite particles</p> <p>MycIIIB</p> <p>Origin: Cyprus Kouklia/Alassa</p> <p>Similar to Akko, area PH, L132 146-2 (fig. 5)</p>

Fig. 9: Photograph of 'Rude Style' sherd analyzed by petrography (P.10)



# Cypriot Pottery and its Imitations from Hebwa IV

David A. Aston

## *Abstract*

This article surveys the publication of the Cypriote pottery, and imitation Cypriote pottery, from rescue excavations undertaken by the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Cairo at the site of Tell Hebwa IV, northern Sinai. The pottery comes from a number of tombs found in the Austrian concession. In order to provide the context of the Cypriote pottery, the remaining pottery found in the same tombs is also presented in this article. Based on the Egyptian pottery, a date for these tombs during the reigns of Tuthmosis III to Amenophis III is suggested.

## *Introduction*

Looking over the illustrious career of Eliezer Oren, it is still possible to find quoted references to a paper on Cypriote pottery he published some forty years ago (Oren 1969), which shows that it has certainly stood the test of time. While he has undertaken several excavations, not the least of which were conducted at Tel Sera and Tel Haror, Oren will be forever remembered for his survey of Northern Sinai (Oren 1980, 1987, 1993). It seems, therefore, appropriate to dedicate the following paper on the Cypriote pottery and its imitations found at Hebwa IV to this remarkable scholar. The cemetery of Hebwa IV is situated approximately four kilometres north of Qantara in the Western Sinai, where the northern edge of a flat plateau protrudes into the depression of the western lagoon. The site came to light as a result of military installations being built in the area during the Six Day War in 1967. This construction work led to the discovery of ancient bricks and potsherds. Telltale signs of the existence of ancient remains were recognised by the local Bedouin. The latter, ignoring the dangers of, then uncleared, minefields, dug hundreds of trial pits in a circular area of around 180 metres in diameter. Whenever a tomb was encountered, these pits were enlarged, and the tomb was obviously investigated for items of worth. It seems that pottery was not high on their agenda, since at least two deposits containing whole vessels, apparently left by them, were later found during rescue excavations conducted by the Austrian Archaeological Institute under the general direction of Josef Dorner (Dorner 1993, 1996). These rescue excavations were carried out in three short campaigns in the Autumn of 1993, 1994 and 1995,



in advance of the projected reclamation of the area through the El-Salam Canal Project. Although more than forty tombs were discovered, all, with the exception of Tomb H/4 – Nr. 1, which contained an intact burial, had been disturbed by ancient or modern robbers. Indeed, in some cases the despoliation had been so bad that, in some, albeit few, instances, sherds from one tomb joined sherds found in another.

This paper examines the Cypriote vessels and their imitations, found in these tombs, and relates them to the tomb context in which they were found, insofar as that is possible. Some of these vessels have previously been made available to the academic community (Aston 1996; Dorner and Aston 1997, the latter actually being written before the 1996 paper). Some of the vessels have not yet been published. For permission to utilise this material in advance of the final publication, I am grateful to both Josef Dorner, the excavator of this material, and Manfred Bietak, then Director of the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Cairo.

Although the Cypriot component is not large – 27 pieces out of a total of 458 recorded vessels – it is not without interest. Of these twenty-seven examples, sixteen are of Base Ring I ware, five are of Base Ring II, and six are of Red Lustrous Wheel-Made ware. Although the provenance of the latter is disputed (cf. Knappett et al. 2005; Knappett and Kilikoglou 2007), for the purposes of this article, a Cypriote origin is accepted (Eriksson 1991, 1993, 149).

### *Base Ring I Ware*

While, as expected, most of the Base Ring I Ware consists of jugs and juglets, fragments of two bowls, cat. nos. 1-2, were also found, one in r/2 tomb 1 and the other on the surface. Base Ring bowls are practically absent from Egypt proper (Merrillees 1968: 167-8), but they are more frequent in Southern Canaan and Northern Sinai (Bergoffen 1991: 66). Unfortunately, not enough is preserved of either to determine to which type these bowls belong. The one example of a lentoid flask, cat. no. 3, is of Aström's type Xa, without a sharp fin-like ridge along the edge, a narrow tapering neck with a horizontal ridge. This type is well known throughout Egypt with similar examples having been found at Tell Nebesheh, Tell el-Yahudieh, Zawiet el-Aryan, Saqqara, Mazghuneh, Harageh, Lahun, Kahun, Gurob, Sedment, Qau, Abydos, Dendera and Esna. (Merrillees 1968: 165). The tankard, cat. no. 4, is perhaps not found in Aström's basic typology. It most closely resembles his type VIIBeç (Aström 1971: 164), with its tapering neck, two horizontal ridges on the neck and a ridge on the front of the body, but it has a distinctly rounded shoulder more akin to type VII. It is certainly not carinated as in type VIII, but this decorative style is not listed for any examples of Aström's type VII. Like the flasks, tankards have been found in Egypt, but they are distinctly rare (Merrillees 1968: 167). The spindle bottle, cat. no. 5, is distinctly odd; it is made of Base Ring I Ware, orangey-red in colour, and it appears to be imitating a

red lustrous wheel-made example. However it is not unique, since a similar specimen was published long ago by Merrillees (Merrillees 1963: 192), and the similarities between both of them are striking, since both have a flattened, slanting rim, straightish neck, tall, narrow body, tapering to a ring base with convex sides, and with a handle which is more round than oval. A base fragment of another example has also recently been published from Ialysos (Karageorgis and Marketou 2006: 460, No. 8)

As elsewhere in Egypt, the largest amount of Base Ring I ware consists of jugs. The first, cat. no. 6, is evidently an example of Merrillees' type IAa(i) (Merrillees 1968: 147), characterised by its squat piriform body and distinctly carinated shoulder. Jugs, cat. nos. 7-9 are clearly examples of Merrillees' type IA(iii) Aström's type VID1 (Merrillees 1968: 148-9; Aström 1971: 145); cat. nos. 10-12 are probably of Merrillees' type IA(ii) Aström's type VID1a, (Merrillees 1968: 147-8; Aström 1971: 145) with plain undecorated bodies, but, owing to the incomplete preservation of these pieces, this cannot be said with certainty, while cat. nos. 13-14 are evidently examples of Merrillees' type IB (Merrillees 1968: 151) with trumpet, rather than ring bases, and cat. nos. 15-16 belong with any of Merrillees' type I. Finally, cat. no. 17 is an example of Merrillees' type III (Merrillees 1968: 161-163); Aström's type IXa Aström 1971: 166).

#### *Base Ring II Ware*

Base Ring II ware is represented by four jugs (cat. nos. 18-21) and a flask (cat. no. 22). The jug, 18, is probably an early example of Merrillees' type 1B, (which corrects an attribution to type 1Aa as given in Aston 1996: 42), since it still shows traces of having plastic decoration at the junction of the neck and handle, whilst the rest would all appear to be of Merrillees' BR II jug type 1Aa, while the flask is of his type IVA.

#### *Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware*

The RLW-m ware consists of a flask, cat. no. 23, and parts of six spindle bottles. The flask is of Aström's type VIIA (=Eriksson's type VIIAa, Aström 1971: 200; Eriksson 1993: 25), while of the spindle bottles, cat. no. 28 is clearly of Aström's type VIA1b, (Aström, 1972, 201). However, while cat. nos. 24-26 seem to combine characteristics of both types VIA1a and b, in that the shoulders are distinctly broad and rounded as in type VIA1a, but the overall proportions, and lack of neck ridge better fit type VIA1b.

#### *Imitations*

Imitations of Late Cypriote Wares comprise two Nile silt copies of a spindle bottle, cat. nos. 29-30, a marl clay copy and a Canaanite copy of a BR I jug. This latter is unusual, since most Palestinian imitations of Base Ring ware



seem to copy BR II vessels (Tufnell 1958: 210-211; Bergoffen 2006). On the other hand, Egyptian imitations, though infrequent, are well known and the vessels published here add to the known corpus of copies, which have been made in pottery, stone, faience, metal and glass. (Merrillees 1963: 195; 1968: 149, 150, 152, 153, 174; Eriksson 1993: 158; Karageorgis and Merrillees 2007).

*Catalogue of Cypriot Pottery*

- 1 BRI Bowl. 94/1 Surface Rim diam. 12.7 cm., pht. 1.9 cm. Uniform grey section.
- 2 BRI Bowl. 94/14 r/2 robber's pit 9. Rim diam. 14.0 cm., pht. 3.5 cm. Uniform grey section.
- 3 BRI Flask. 94/31 n7 tomb 1 Rim diam. 2.6 cm., ht. 11.9 cm. Uniform grey section.
- 4 BRI tankard. 95/1 Surface Rim diam. 5.4 cm., ht. 8.3 cm. base diam. 3.7 cm. Uniform grey section.
- 5 BRI spindle bottle 95/11 u/3 tomb 1 Rim diam. 3.3 cm., ht. 31.7 cm., base diam. 3.3 cm. Uniform grey section.
- 6 BRI juglet 95/229 q/7 tomb 1 Pht. 3.5 cm., base diam. 3.6 cm. Uniform grey section.
- 7 BRI juglet 94/33 n/6 tomb 1 Rim diam. 2.9 cm., ht. 11.9 cm. base diam. 3.9 cm.. Uniform grey section.
- 8 BRI juglet 95/2 juglet u/3 tomb 1 Rim diam. 3.5 cm., ht. 13.7 cm., base diam. 3.9 cm. Uniform grey section.
- 9 BRI juglet 95/217B juglet r6/tomb 1 Pht. 3.8 cm. base diam. 3.6 cm.. Uniform grey section. Same vessel as no. 15?
- 10 BRI juglet 95/143 r/10 tomb 1 Rim diam. 3.7 cm., pht. 9.8 cm. Uniform grey section.
- 11 BRI juglet 95/216 juglet r6 tomb 1 Rim diam. 3.6 cm., pht. 9.8 cm. Uniform grey section.
- 12 BRI juglet 94/2 surface. Pht. 3.4 cm., base diam. 3.6 cm. Uniform grey section.
- 13 BRI juglet 95/174 juglet q/5 pit A Pht. 7.4 cm., base diam. 3.9 cm. Uniform grey section.
- 14 BRI juglet 94/131 r/2 tomb 1 Pht. 2.8 cm. base diam. 3.2 cm. Uniform grey section.

- 15 BRI juglet 95/217A r/6 tomb 1 Rim diam. 3.7 cm., pht. 5.8 cm. Uniform grey section. Same vessel as no. 9?
- 16 BRI juglet 95/101 u/12 tomb 1 Rim diam. 3.2 cm., pht. 2.4 cm. Uniform grey section.
- 17 BRI juglet 95/187 r/6 tomb 1 Rim diam. 2.8 cm., pht. 15.5 cm. Uniform grey section.
- 18 BRII juglet 607/10 h/4 tomb 1 Rim diam. 3.9 cm., ht. 14.0 cm., base diam. 3.4 cm. Uniform grey section.
- 19 BRII juglet 93/22 r/2 tomb 1 Rim diam. 3.6 cm., ht. 13.4 cm., base diam. 3.9 cm.
- 20 BRII juglet 93/9 h/4 tomb 1 north chamber Rim diam. 3.3 cm., ht. 14.0 cm., base diam. 4.2 cm. Uniform grey section.
- 21 BRII juglet 95/3 p/8 tomb 1 Rim diam. 3.4 cm., ht. 14.8 cm., base diam. 5.0 cm. Uniform grey section.
- 22 BRII flask 610/93 h/4 grave 1 Rim diam. 3.3 cm., ht. 13.4 cm. Uniform grey section.
- 23 RLW-m flask 94/186 p/6 tomb 1 room 1 Rim diam. 2.7 cm., ht. 21.0 cm. Uniform orange section. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 24 RLW-m spindle bottle 95/33 r/6 tomb 1 Rim diam. 3.2 cm., ht. 37.4 cm., base diam. 4.1 cm. Uniform orange section. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 25 RLW-m spindle bottle 95/199 u/12 tomb 1 Rim diam. 19.3 cm., ht. 35.9 cm., base diam. 4.2 cm. Uniform orange section. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 26 RLW-m spindle bottle 94/138 n/5 tomb 2 Pht 8.8 cm. Uniform orange section.
- 27 RLW-m spindle bottle 95/180 q/5 tomb 2 Pht. 11.4 cm., base diam. 3.9 cm. Uniform orange section.
- 28A RLW-m spindle bottle 95/4 r/6 tomb 1 Rim diam. 3.5 cm., pht. 2.7 cm. Uniform orange section.
- 28B RLW-m spindle bottle 95/4 r/6 tomb 1 Pht. 23.2 cm., base diam. 4.2 cm. Uniform orange section.
- 29 Spindle bottle 95/185 q/5 pit A1 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/6 red vertically burnished. Rim diam. 3.4 cm., ht. 29.1 cm., base diam. 3.7 cm. Grey core, red and brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.

- 30 Spindle bottle 94/5 r/2 tomb 1 Marl A4 red slipped ware, Rim diam. 3.3 cm., pht. 6.7 cm.
- 31 94/11 juglet Marl A4 r/2 tomb 1 Rim diam. 2.7 cm., pht. 6.3 cm.
- 32 94/34 Juglet Canaanite n/6 tomb 1 Rim diam. 3.2 cm., pht. 12.2 cm.

When the above is compared with material previously found in northern Sinai, it is noticeable that no White Slip was encountered (cf. Bergoffen 1991: 64, table 1), but this is probably to be explained by the fact that White Slip has rarely been found in tombs, being more characteristic of settlement sites.

#### *The Context of the Cypriote Pottery*

Of the above 28 Cypriot vessels, three, cat. nos. 1, 4 and 12 were found on the surface, while one (cat. no. 13) was found in a Bedouin pit. The remainder were distributed between thirteen tombs, the pottery from which is shown in Figs. 6-20. At the outside, it should be made clear that what follows is not a complete publication of the ceramic material from Hebwa IV south, but it includes only that found in the tombs which contained Cypriote material. The remaining pottery is reserved for publication elsewhere. This section therefore attempts to place the Cypriote pottery found at Hebwa IV within its Egyptian context, although the plundered nature of these tombs makes this somewhat problematic. However, it is clear from the figures that the pottery, as a whole, covers only a small period of time, although naturally some tombs may be a little earlier than others. The richest tomb in terms of finds was undoubtedly u/3 tomb 1 which contained a scarab of Tuthmosis III, a bronze mirror (95/23), a stone kohl pot (95/22) and a stone pilgrim flask (95/21), as well as a number of pottery vessels. The scarab of Tuthmosis III is the only item with a fixed chronological value, which implies that u/3 tomb 1 was used during the reign of this Pharaoh at the earliest, and thus enables one to date the pottery from that tomb to the reign of Tuthmosis III or later. In the 1997 paper, written before that of 1996, I had previously suggested a date for this ceramic material of between the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Tuthmosis IV (Dorner and Aston 1997: 41). However, I later revised this dating to the reigns of Tuthmosis IV – Amenophis III (Aston 1996: 180). In light of further research it is more likely that the true date of these tombs lies between (late in) the reigns of Tuthmosis III to (early in the reign of) Amenophis III, but with the majority being earlier rather than later. In other words, most of them probably lie within the reigns of Tuthmosis III-Amenophis II. It is clear that the illustrated pottery, taken as a whole, is earlier than that from Malkata (Hope 1989: 3-45) and Amarna (cf. COA I-III), and thus must date before the last decade of Amenophis III's reign. At the other end of the scale, the material is also evidently later than New Kingdom Phase I, which can be dated up

to the reign of Tuthmosis I or II (Aston 2003: 140-143). Consequently, this material belongs somewhere within New Kingdom Phase 2, finding good parallels with the material from the tomb of Maket (Petrie 1891: 21-23), which can be dated to the reign of Tuthmosis III.

The Egyptian material found in the Hebwa IV tombs finds its closest parallels, perhaps not surprisingly, amongst the material recovered by Oren during his North Sinai Survey conducted on behalf of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. Between 1972 and 1982, more than eighty New Kingdom sites were explored in the region extending from Gaza in the east to the Suez Canal in the west (Oren 1980, 1987, 1993; Goren, Oren and Feinsein 1995). The largest concentration of New Kingdom sites was found in the south-western part of the survey area, in the triangle formed by Port Said, Rumaní and Qantara. Other sites were recorded east of the Delta plain and south of the Bardawil lagoon in an area roughly parallel to the modern road and railway line between Raphia and Qantara. The distribution map of such sites shows a typical picture of a central fort or settlement surrounded by smaller campsites or seasonal encampments for the local inhabitants who depended on the main site. At least ten such clusters were discovered between Raphia and Gaza. Similar types of settlements were, of course, already known at Tell Abu Salima, Tell Ridan and Deir el-Balah (Dothan, 1972, 1987) and subsequently at Tell Hebwa I (Abd el-Maksoud 1989, 1998; Abd el-Maksoud and Valbelle 2005), and Tell el Borg (Hoffmeier and Abd el-Maksoud 2003; Hoffmeier and Bull 2005). The cemetery site Hebwa IV seems to have served one of the latter settlements. Whilst most of the Sinai Survey sites were only summarily surveyed, three of them, sites A-345 and T-291A in the Haruba region, and Bir el-Abd (BEA 10) were explored more intensely with the result that distinct levels could be examined. The pottery was only drawn from selected ('corpus') sites, with pottery found at other surveyed sites typed to the already existing corpus, unless, of course it was deemed to be a new form, and was subsequently drawn. Evaluation of the pottery finds indicates that the surveyed sites may be separated into three chronological phases. To the first phase may be attributed the 'corpus' sites A-137, A-141, A-142, A-345, S-58, S-59, T-88, T-104 T-118 and T-122. To the second, the type sites A-430, C-69, C-82, S-57, T-4 T-108, T-119 and T-291A, and to the third T-80 and A-289, although there was probably some overlap between the phases. Site BEA 10 seems to have been founded in Phase (i), and continued into Phase (ii), whilst Site A-343 is something of an enigma since it seems to have had two disjoint periods of use, one attributable to Phase (i), and a second one in Phase (iii), with apparently no Phase (ii) material collected during the survey. The Hebwa IV tomb material, which, on the whole, perhaps finds its closest parallels with site T-104, seems to straddle the Sinai survey New Kingdom Phases I and II, which seem to be dated to the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis III respectively.

Apart from the dipper jug (cat. no. 164), the pottery of the Hebwa IV tombs is very Egyptian in character, being undoubtedly inspired by tradi-

tions firmly entrenched in the Nile Valley. Among the ceramic material found in the Hebwa IV tombs are two red slipped bowls, (cat. nos. 74 and 161), with black rim bands. The presence of black rims on pottery as a decorative style is traditionally assumed to have developed at the end of the Second Intermediate Period. However, it probably did not evolve before the reign of Amenophis I. In settlement sites it is relatively common as late as the reign of Tuthmosis III (Aston 2007: 218). At best, therefore, it would seem that black rims developed sometime between the reigns of Amenophis I and Tuthmosis III. Our two pieces should probably be dated to this same date range. A number of flower pots (cat. nos. 86, 92, 142 and 161) were also found. These are characteristic of mid-Eighteenth Dynasty contexts as they were found at Ezbet Helmi (Hein, 1994: 41 Abb. 11a; 2001, 131 Abb. 5 nos. 35-36), Riqqeh (Engelbach 1915: Pl. xxxiv. 4P-T), Meidum (Petrie, Mackay and Wainwright 1912: Pl. xviii.51), Sedment (Petrie and Brunton 1924: pls. lxi.80, lxii.95, lxiii.13T, 13X), Ehnasya (Petrie 1904: Pl. xxxvi), Harageh (Engelbach, 1923, pl xlii, 4T, 13U-V), Qau el-Kebir (Brunton 1930: Pl. xxvi. 16-17, Pl. xxx.25o), Abydos (Peet and Loat 1913: Pl. vi.18), and Thebes (Carnarvon and Carter 1912: Pl. lxxiv; Winlock 1932: 30, Fig. 16 n, o, q; Nagel 1938: 92, nos. 15-23; Guidotti 1987: 33; Aston, Aston and Ryan 2000: 22 nos. 51-54). Many other examples are known in Nubia (Holthoer 1977: 83-86; Williams 1992: 34-35). The Hebwa IV examples are all deep and narrow. These features are undoubtedly significant. Williams has already pointed out that flower pots are not found in tombs of the earliest part of the Eighteenth Dynasty. They became common only during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, and they died out by the reign of Amenophis III (Williams 1992: 34-35). Moreover, the earlier examples are shallower and wider than the later examples. The Hebwa IV examples are thus late in the sequence. Pilgrim flasks are found in tombs h/4 tomb 1, n/6 tomb 1 and u/3 tomb 1. These finds may be significant since it has been suggested that pilgrim flasks were only introduced into the Egyptian pottery repertoire during the reign of Tuthmosis III, (Bourriau 1981: 76), perhaps indeed as a result of his campaigns into Canaan and greater Egyptian contacts with the Levantine Bronze Age repertoire.

Of, perhaps, special interest to the honouree of this volume, a number of the amphorae fragments found in the tombs of which the pottery is illustrated on Figs. 6-20, were made of Bir el-'Abd clay. "Bir el-'Abd clay" was first discovered by Eliezer and his team during the Ben-Gurion University Sinai survey (Goren et al. 1995: 106). Subsequently, I suggested that this is probably to be identified with Bourriau's fabric P90 which occurs on early Eighteenth Dynasty sites within Egypt proper (Aston 2004: 204). The material here illustrated is, with the exception of cat no. 49, only fragmentary. However, all such pieces clearly come from vessels of a similar shape to the complete example, and others which have previously been published elsewhere (Aston 1996: 196, no. 47; Dorner and Aston 2000: Pl. II.13). Since these are more slender than a P90 amphora from TT 99 (Hope 2002: 104, 126

Fig. 9) dated to the reign of Tuthmosis III, I have suggested that the Hebwa IV examples may be a little later, assuming that the more slender proportions follow the same development as the well-known Marl D amphorae. In addition, a number of other amphorae sherds, but this time of Marl D, were also found. Although fragmentary, they would appear to be of similar date. It is perhaps of interest that the Marl D amphora base found in n/6 tomb 1 is of a wide-bodied type while that found in p/6 tomb 1 is somewhat later, being an example of Hope's classic form of the Egyptian amphora with a tapering base which emerged during the period of Amenhotep II to Amenhotep III and flourished down to early in the reign of Ramesses II. After that period, morphological changes occurred resulting in a more ovoid shape coming down to a carinated base (Hope 1989; Aston 2004).

Significantly, beer jars are rare and no funnel-necked jars were found. No rims of Holthoer's beer jar forms BB2 or BB3 were found while those of type BB4 were very rare. Since such vessels only became common during the Amarna Period, it would appear that the Hebwa IV tombs are probably earlier than that era. Funnel-necked jars comprise one of the most characteristic pot types of the New Kingdom, and they are known in a wide variety of surface treatments. They range in date from the mid to late Eighteenth Dynasty through to the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, after which distinct morphological changes occur (such as straighter, taller necks and flatter bases), and they fall out of favor at the end of the New Kingdom. That none were found would indicate that these tombs predate their introduction sometime during the reign of Amenophis III. By contrast, however, the slender ovoid jars with slightly everted, folded rims were common. Generally made of Nile clays, similar vessels are very common on a large number of mid-Eighteenth Dynasty sites, including Tell Hebwa I (Seiler 1997: 26, 33 Pl. II ZN 94/9), Tell el-Yahudiya, tombs 41, 48, 55, 58, 87, 102 and 403 (Petrie 1906: Pl. xiii; Tufnell 1979: 89 Fig. 5), Saqqara (Kanawati 1984: Pl. 46; 1988 Pl. 44), Riqqeh (Engelbach 1915: Pl. xxxv. 24-25), Harageh (Engelbach 1923: Pl. xliii. 23-25), Sedment (Petrie and Brunton 1924: pls. lx.24, lxii. 92-93, 96-100, 103, 105-106, 113, lxiii. 23-25), Gurob (Loat 1905: Pl. i. 10-11, 21-26; Brunton and Engelbach 1927: Pl. xxxiv. 23-25), Meidum Petrie, Mackay and Wainwright 1912: Pl. xix. 90-91), Ehnasya (Petrie 1904: Pl. xxxvii), Balabish (Wainwright and Whittemore 1920: Pl. xxiv. 42), Abydos (Peet and Loat 1913: Pl. vi. 7, 9; Peet 1914: Pl. xxxii), Thebes (Petrie 1897: pls. vi. 1, vii. 5, 12; 1909, pls. xxii, xli. 700, 703-705; Brack and Brack 1977: Taf. 63; Guidotti 1987: 34 nos. 45-46; Aston, Aston and Ryan 2000: 29 nos. 18-20, 36-37 nos. 61-77), and Nubia (Holthoer 1977: pls. 35-38, type JO; Williams 1992: 82-83 type CJ).

The latest piece would appear to be the blue painted vase cat. no. 65. This is, however, clearly early in the blue painted sequence, as indicated both by the chrysanthemum decoration (cf. Hope 1997), and the sparing use of blue, which would thus date it to the reigns of Amenophis II – Tuthmosis IV.



That the occurrence of Base Ring II is later than Base Ring I is well known, and Gittlen (1977: 139) has indicated that Base Ring II first arrived in Palestine during the post Tuthmosis III phase of the LB I while Eriksson (2001: 65) has argued that Base Ring II does not occur in Egypt before the reigns of Amenophis II-Tuthmosis IV, being most common during the reign of Amenophis III. The evidence from Ezbet Helmi, however, may indicate that Base Ring II had already reached Egypt before the end of the reign of Tuthmosis III (Aston 2007: 222). However, be that as it may, it is clear that all of the pottery illustrated in this paper must fall into the time period covered by the period from the reign of Tuthmosis III to that of Amenophis III, with most of it falling into the first part of this period.

Thus, taking all things into consideration it would probably not be far wrong to suggest that the cemetery of Hebwa IV was first established during the reign of Tuthmosis III. As such, it may be seen as one more factor in a deliberate policy to create an infrastructure to support Egyptian armies on their military campaigns into Canaan, which Tuthmosis III initiated in his year 22. As such, therefore, we can imagine a state controlled building plan firmly establishing a set of way stations, of which Hebwa I and Tell el Borg were but the first as one left the borders of Egypt proper. These way stations were stocked primarily from Egyptian depots, as part of the military supply route between Egypt and Canaan known as “The Ways of Horus” (Gardiner 1920; Oren 1987).

#### *h/4 tomb 1*

- 33 Dish 94/18. Nile B2/e red rim 10R5/6 red on uncoated ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 19.3 cm., ht. 6.8 cm. base diam. 7.0 cm. Base formed on the wheel. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 34 Dish 94/22. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 20.6 cm., ht. 7.1 cm., base diam. 7.7 cm. Base formed on the wheel. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 35 Dish 94/23. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 7.5YR7/6 reddish yellow. Rim diam. 19.8 cm., ht. 6.4 cm., base diam. 8.3 cm. Base formed on the wheel. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 36 Dish 94/24. Nile B2/e red rim 2.5YR5/6 red on uncoated ware 5YR7/6 reddish yellow. Rim diam. 19.2 cm., ht. 7.5 cm., base diam. 8.0 cm. Base formed on the wheel. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 37 Dish 94/25. Nile B2/e red rim 2.5YR5/6 red on uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 21.6 cm., ht. 6.8 cm., base diam. 7.7 cm. Base formed on the wheel. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.

- 38 Dish 94/26. Nile B2/e red rim 10R5/6 red on uncoated ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 20.6 cm., ht. 7.1 cm., base diam. 7.4 cm. Base formed on the wheel. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 39 Dish 94/27. Nile B2/e red rim 10R5/6 red on uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 22.6 cm., ht. 6.5 cm., base diam. 7.0 cm. Base formed on the wheel. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 40 Dish 94/28. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR5/6 red. Rim diam. 21.2 cm., ht. 6.6 cm., base diam. 7.6 cm.. Base formed on the wheel. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 41 Dish 94/160. Nile B2/e red rim 2.5YR5/6 red on uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 21.1 cm., pht. 7.4 cm., base diam. 7.3 cm. Base formed on the wheel. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 42 Dish 94/162. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 5YR6/6 reddish yellow. Rim diam. 19.0 cm., ht. 5.3 cm. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 43 Dish 94/163. Nile B2/e red rim 2.5YR5/6 red on uncoated ware 5YR7/6 reddish yellow. Rim diam. 19.0 cm., pht. 4.2 cm. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 44 Dish 94/164. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 34.2 cm., pht. 4.2 cm. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 45 Large dish 94/19. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 42.5 cm., ht. 8.1 cm., base diam. 7.0 cm.. Base formed on the wheel. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 46 Large dish 616/19. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 35.0 cm., ht. 10.6 cm., base diam. 9.0 cm.. Base formed on the wheel. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 47 Dish 614/17. Nile B2/e red rim 10R4/6 red on uncoated ware 2.5YR5/6 light red. Rim diam. 22.0 cm., ht. 6.6-7.1 cm., base diam. 7.4 cm. Base formed on the wheel. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 48 Pilgrim flask 609/12. Marl D cream coated ware 5Y8/3 pale yellow, burnished. Rim diam. 4.0 cm., ht. 19.8 cm. Brown core, thin red oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 49 Amphora 611/14 Bir el Abd clay 2.5Y82-/4 white to pale yellow. Rim diam. 12.2 cm., ht. 55.5 cm., base diam. 6.0 cm.. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 50 Dish 94/171. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Pht. 5.0 cm., base diam. 7.3 cm. Base formed on the wheel. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.



- 51 Dish 94/166. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Pht. 4.8 cm. base diam. 7.4 cm. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Base formed on the wheel. Incomplete.
- 52 Large dish 94/165. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 49.4 cm., pht. 7.7 cm. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 53 Jar 94/167 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 12.6 cm., pht 19.8 cm. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 54 Jar 94/168. Nile B2/e red rim 10R6/6 light red on uncoated ware 7.5YR6/6 reddish yellow. Rim diam. 8.4 cm., pht. 3.8 cm. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 55 Jar. 94/169 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 7.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.5 cm., pht 4.5 cm. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 56 Jar 94/170 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 12.7 cm., pht 4.3 cm. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 57 Jar 94/172 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 10R6/4 pale red. Rim diam. 10.9 cm., pht 3.5 cm. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 58 Jar 94/169 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 7.5YR6/6 light red. Base diam. 6.0 cm., pht 4.0 cm. Base cut from the wheel with string. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 59 Amphora 94/176 Bir el Abd clay 5Y8/4 pale yellow. Rim diam. 11.2 cm., pht 4.2 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 60 Amphora 94/174 Bir el Abd clay 5Y8/4 pale yellow. Rim diam. 11.6 cm., pht 12.2 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 61 Dish 94/175 Marl F (?) uncoated ware 10YR8/2 very pale brown. Rim diam. 26.7 cm., pht 3.6 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 62 Amphora 94/176 Bir el Abd clay 5Y8/4 pale yellow. Pht. 28.3 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.

*n/5 tomb 2*

- 63 Jar 94/179 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 8.4 cm., pht 7.6 cm. Wide black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 64 Dish 94/180 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 20.2 cm., pht. 5.5 cm. Red core, light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.

- 65 Jar 94/189. Nile B2 blue painted ware. Rim diam. 10.2 cm., pht. 13.3 cm. Grey core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete. Sherds from n/5 grave 1, n/6 grave 1, p/6 grave 1 and p/8 grave 1.
- 66 Jar 94/189. Nile B2 blue painted ware. Pht. 5.4 cm. Grey core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete. Presumably same vessel as 61.

*n/6 tomb 1*

- 67 Dish 94/165. Nile B2/e red rim 2.5YR5/6 red on uncoated ware 5YR7/3 pink. Rim diam. 20.4 cm., ht. 6.3 cm., base diam. 7.4 cm.. Base formed on the wheel. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 68 Jar 94/38. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.2 cm., ht. 51.1 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 69 Jar 94/40. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 13.2 cm., ht. 51.0 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 70 Pilgrim flask 94/46 Glass Rim diam. 2.8 cm., est. ht. 10.6 cm. Incomplete.
- 71 Large dish 94/44. Nile B2/e red rim 2.5YR6/4 light red on uncoated ware 5YR7/4 pink Rim diam. 34.7 cm., ht. 9.5 cm., base diam. 12.8 cm.. Base cut from the wheel. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 72 Dish 94/185. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 21.7 cm., ht. 5.5 cm., base diam. 8.1 cm. Base formed on the wheel. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 73 Dish 95/208 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/4 pale red. Rim diam. 24.2 cm., pht. 5.2 cm. Red core, light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 74 Dish 95/209 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 31.7 cm., pht. 5.6 cm. Red core, light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 75 Jar 95/210 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/6 light red. Pht. 20.5 cm. Wide black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 76 Amphora 95/211 Marl D cream coated ware 5Y8/4 pale yellow. Pht. 18.6 cm. Red core, brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 77 Jar 95/212 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/4 pale red. Rim diam. 10.5 cm., ht. 45.0 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete. Drawn from non-joining sherds.

*n/7 tomb 1*

- 78 Dish 94/32 Nile B2/e black rim 10R4/1 dark reddish gray on red slipped ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 14.6 cm., ht. 4.5 – 6.2 cm. Grey core, red and brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 79 Jar 94/21 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.4 cm., ht. 33.1 cm. Intact. Base unsmoothed.
- 80 Jar 94/20 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.5 cm., ht. 32.15 cm. Intact. Lifted off the wheel with fingers and the base area smoothed with the fingers.

*p/8 tomb 1*

- 81 Dish 95/6 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/8 light red. Rim diam. 25.6 cm., pht. 6.3 cm. Thin grey core, red and reddish brown oxidation zones. Incomplete. Hole made in vessel post-firing.
- 82 Dish 95/130 Nile B2/e red rim 2.5YR5/6 on red slipped ware 10R6/8 light red. Rim diam. 23.7 cm., pht. 6.5 cm. Thin grey core, red and reddish brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 83 Jar 95/133 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.5 cm., pht. 3.6 cm. Thin grey core, red and reddish brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 84 Jar 95/134 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 12.2 cm., pht. 3.2 cm. red core, reddish brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 85 Dish 95/131 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 20.2 cm., pht. 5.9 cm. Wide grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 86 Flower pot 95/184 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 31.0 cm., pht. 7.1 cm. Wide red core, thin light reddish brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 87 Large Dish 95/132 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 20.2 cm., pht. 4.2 cm. Uniform brick red break. Incomplete.

*p/6 tomb 1 Room 1*

- 88 Jug 94/35 Marl D cream coated ware 5Y8/4 pale yellow. Rim diam. 6.8 cm., ht. 11.2 cm., diam. Base 2.9 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Horizontally burnished on body, vertically burnished on neck. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 89 Jar 94/188 Marl A3 Bichrome blue and red on uncoated ware 5Y7/3 pale yellow. Rim diam. 10.2 cm., pht. 3.8 cm. Uniform white section. Incomplete.

- 90 Dish 94/196 Nile B2/e red slipped 2.5 YR 6/6 light red in, uncoated 5YR7/6 reddish yellow out. Rim diam. 24.2 cm., ht. 6.7 cm., diam. base 5.6 cm.. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Base cut from the wheel with string. Restored from sherds. Incomplete. Drawn from non-joining sherds.
- 91 Dish 94/197 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 20.2 cm., pht. 3.1 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 92 Flower pot 94/198. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/4 light brown. Rim diam. 23.8 cm., ht. 14.1 cm., diam. base 7.5 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Base cut from the wheel with string. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 93 Jar 94/41 Marl B 5Y7/3 pale yellow. Rim diam. 12.8 cm., ht. 57.7 cm. Pinkish core, light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 94 Jar 94/199 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/4 reddish brown. Rim diam. 17.5 cm., pht. 5.7 cm. Thin black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 95 Jar 94/200 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.6 cm., pht. 7.5 cm. Thin black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 96 Jar 94/201 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.6 cm., pht. 9.3 cm. Red core, reddish brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 97 Jar 94/202 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 12.0 cm., pht. 5.7 cm. Thin black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 98 Jar 94/203 Nile B2/e white slipped ware 10YR8/1 white. Rim diam. 13.6 cm., pht. 4.7 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 99 Jar 94/204 Nile B2/e red slipped rim 10R5/8 red on uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.6.0 cm., pht. 4.0 cm. Red core, light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 100 Dish 94/205 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 2.5YR5/8 red. Rim diam. 18.5 cm., pht. 3.5 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 101 Amphora 94/266 Bir el Abd clay 5Y8/4 pale yellow. Rim diam. 10.5 cm., pht. 4.6 cm. Red core, light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 102 Dish 94/209 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 20.0 cm., pht. 3.7 cm. Red core, light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 103 Jar 94/210 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 11.5 cm., pht. 6.7 cm. Red core, brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 104 Jar 94/211 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.4 cm., pht. 10.2 cm. Red core, light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.

*p/6 tomb 1 Room 2*

- 105 Jar 94/189. Marl A3 bichrome ware. Pht. 10.2 cm. Uniform yellow section 2.5Y7/6 yellow. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 106 Dish 94/212 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/8 light red. Rim diam. 22.0 cm., pht. 5.2 cm. Grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 107 Dish 94/213 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 20.2 cm., pht. 3.7 cm. Red core, light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 108 Model amphora 94/214 Nile B2 uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Pht. 6.3 cm. Grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete. Knife scraped at base.
- 109 Jar 94/207 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.1 cm., ht. 27.5 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 110 Jar 94/215 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.6 cm., pht. 2.8 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 111 Jar 94/215 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 11.0 cm., pht. 11.6 cm. Grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 112 Jar 94/215 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.6 cm., pht. 14.5 cm. Grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 113 Amphora 94/218 Bir el Abd clay 5Y8/4 pale yellow. Rim diam. 10.6 cm., pht. 2.3 cm. Red core, light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 114 Amphora 94/218 Marl D 5Y8/4 pale yellow. Pht. 14.2 cm. Red core, light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.

*p/6 tomb 1 Room 3*

- 115 Large dish 94/193 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/8 light red. Rim diam. 43.0 cm., pht. 6.5 cm. Grey core, red and brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 116 Dish 94/45. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 red. Rim diam. 21.4 cm., ht. 7.0 cm. diam. base 6.7 cm. Grey core, red and brown oxidation zones. Base formed on the wheel. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 117 Jar 94/194 Nile B2/c uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 16.9 cm., pht. 8.8 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 118 Jar 94/195 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 15.0 cm., ht. 53.0 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Drawn from non-joining sherds.

*q/5 tomb 1*

- 119 Jar 95/176 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 11.2 cm., ht. 34.4 cm. Wide black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 120 Jar 95/177 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.1 cm., ht. 33.6 cm. Black core, light brown oxidation zones. Drawn from non-joining sherds. Incomplete.
- 121 Jar 95/178 Nile B2/e uncoated ware. Pht. 30.5 cm. Grey core, light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 122 Jar 95/181 Nile B2 uncoated ware eroded. Rim diam. 10.8 cm., pht. 6.9 cm. Incomplete.
- 123 Jar 95/184 Nile B2 red slipped ware eroded. Rim diam. 10.2 cm., pht. 8.3 cm. Incomplete.
- 124 Jar 95/182 Nile B2 uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6, burnt. Rim diam. 10.0 cm., pht. 15.7 cm. Incomplete.
- 125 Jar 95/183 Nile B2 uncoated ware 10R6/8 light red. Rim diam. 10.0 cm., pht. 11.8 cm. Uniform brick red section. Incomplete.
- 126 Dish 95/179 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 20.2 cm., pht. 5.7 cm. Grey core, red oxidation zones. Incomplete.

*q/7 tomb 1*

- 127 Dish 95/173 Nile E uncoated ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 23.0 cm., ht. 6.4 cm., diam. base 8.3 cm.. Grey core, red and brown oxidation zones. Base formed on the wheel. Restored from sherds. Incomplete. Sherds from q/7 tomb 1 and t/12 tomb 1.

*r/2 tomb 1*

- 128 Jar 94/7 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/4 pale red. Rim diam. 13.2 cm., ht. 19.7 cm., diam. base 10.2 cm.. Section not visible. Intact.
- 129 Dish 94/8 Nile B2/e red slipped rim 10R5/6 red on uncoated ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 20.0 cm., ht. 6.9 cm. base diam. 6.3 cm.. Grey core, red and brown oxidation zones. Base formed on the wheel. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 130 Amphora 94/102 Bir el Abd clay 10R6/4 pale red. Rim diam. 14.4 cm., pht. 5.8 cm. Red core, light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete. Probably same vessel as 120.
- 131 Jar 94/114 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.3 cm., pht. 2.8 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 132 Beer jar 94/115 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 9.2 cm., pht. 2.8 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.

- 133 Amphora 94/103 Bir el Abd clay 10R6/4 pale red. Pht. 10.9 cm. Red core, light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete. Probably same vessel as 117.
- 134 Dish 94/116. Nile B2/e red rim 2.5YR5/6 red on uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 20.1 cm., pht. 2.4 cm. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 135 Stand 94/117. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 5YR7/6 reddish yellow. Base diam. 10.8 cm., pht. 4.3 cm. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 136 Stand 94/118. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 5YR7/6 reddish yellow. Base diam. 11.2 cm., pht. 4.2 cm. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 137 Jar 94/119. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Base diam. 3.6 cm., pht. 2.3 cm. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 138 Jar 94/121. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Pht. 7.6 cm. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 139 Dish 94/120. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 10R5/6 light red. Base diam. 6.4 cm., pht. 4.3 cm. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 140 Beer jar 94/123 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR5/6 light red. Rim diam. 9.0 cm., pht. 1.9 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 141 Dish 94/110 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 20.0 cm., pht. 6.8 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 142 Flower pot 94/107 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 20.6 cm., pht. 6.0 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 143 Jar 94/104 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 10R5/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.0 cm., pht. 6.0 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 144 Jar 94/105 Nile B2/c uncoated ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.2 cm., pht. 9.1 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 145 Jar 94/106 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 12.8 cm., pht. 6.7 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 146 Jar 94/108 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 10R5/6 light red. Rim diam. 9.5 cm., pht. 5.0 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 147 Jar 94/109 Nile B2/e white slipped ware 10YR8/1 white. Rim diam. 11.5 cm., pht. 3.7 cm. Uniform red section. Incomplete.



- 148 Jar 94/128 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 6.2 cm., pht. 6.6 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 149 Jar 94/129 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.6 cm., pht. 6.3 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 150 Jar 94/130 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.6 cm., pht. 6.1 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 151 Jar 94/111 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 5YR7/4 pink. Rim diam. 13.5 cm., pht. 7.2 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 152 Jar 94/113 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 14.5 cm., pht. 3.5 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 153 Jar 94/112 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 11.4 cm., pht. 5.8 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 154 Jar 94/126 Nile B2/e black bands on uncoated ware 10R6/6 light red. Pht. 5.7 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 155 Jar 94/125 Marl D black bands on white burnished ware 5Y8/4 pale yellow. Pht. 2.5 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 156 Amphora 94/127 Bir el Abd clay 5Y8/4 pale yellow. Pht. 6.0 cm. Red core, light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 157 Jar 94/10 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/4 pale red. Pht. 18.0 cm., diam. base 9.7 cm. Grey core, red and brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 158 Beer jar 94/122 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 9.9 cm., Ht. 26.4 cm., diam. base 11.4 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete. Drawn from non-joining sherds.
- 159 Jar 94/124. Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/8 light red. Base diam. 3.2 cm., pht. 17.6 cm. Black core, thin red and light brown oxidation zones. Hole cut in base pre-firing. Incomplete.

*r/6 tomb 1*

- 160 Dish 95/200 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/8 light red. Rim diam. 20.0 cm., pht. 5.1 cm. Red core, brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 161 Flower pot (?) 95/201 Nile B2/e uncoated ware; some shells in clay, 2.5YR6/6 light red. Base diam. 9.5 cm., pht. 5.1 cm. Wide grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.



- 162 Jar 95/202 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 10R6/8 light red, eroded. Rim diam. 16.0 cm., pht. 10.6 cm. Grey core, red and brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 163 Jar 95/203 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 10.0 cm., pht. 3.4 cm. Thin grey core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 164 Amphora 95/205 Bir el 'Abd clay uncoated ware 5Y8/4 pale yellow. Rim diam. 10.0 cm., pht. 4.1 cm. Uniform red break. Incomplete.

*r/10 tomb 1*

- 165 Dish 95/5 Nile B2/e black rim 10R4/1 dark reddish gray on red slipped ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 14.0 cm., ht. 5.9 cm. Grey core, red and brown oxidation zones. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 166 Amphora 95/142 Bir el Abd clay 5Y8/4 pale yellow. Rim diam. 12.7 cm., pht. 2.3 cm. Red core, light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 167 Jar 95/141 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red, eroded. Rim diam. 11.4 cm., pht. 3.6 cm. Grey core, red and brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.

*u/12 tomb 1*

- 168 Jug 95/8 Nile B2/e white slipped ware 10YR8/1 white. Pht. 8.0 cm. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 169 Dish 95/138 Nile B2/e uncoated ware. Rim diam. 20.0 cm., pht. 5.1 cm. Thin grey core, red and reddish brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.

*u/3 grave 1*

- 170 Dish 95/19 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 5YR7/6 reddish yellow. Rim diam. 18.1 cm., ht. 6.0 cm., diam. base 5.6 cm.. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Base cut from the wheel with string. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 171 Dish 95/20 Nile B2/e red slipped rim 2.5YR5/6 red on uncoated ware 5YR7/6 reddish yellow. Rim diam. 18.5 cm., ht. 5.8 cm., diam. base 7.6 cm.. Black core, red and light brown oxidation zones. Base cut from the wheel with string. Restored from sherds. Incomplete.
- 172 Dish 95/230 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/6 light red. Rim diam. 24.2 cm., ht. 6.7 cm., diam. base 6.0 cm.. Red core, brown oxidation zones. Base cut from the wheel with string. Incomplete.
- 173 Dish 95/231 Nile B2/e red slipped ware 10R6/6 light red. rim diam. 20.0 cm., ht. 7.3 cm., diam. base 6.8 cm.. Red core, brown oxidation zones. Base cut from the wheel with string. Incomplete.
- 174 Dish 95/233 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 2.5YR6/6 light red. Rim diam. 29.0 cm., pht. 4.7 cm. Red core, brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.

- 175 Dish 95/234 Marl F uncoated ware 10YR8/2 very pale brown. Rim diam. 32.6 cm., pht. 4.7 cm. Uniform greyish brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.
- 176 Jar 95/232 Nile B2/e uncoated ware 10t red. Rim diam. 10.5 cm., pht. 12.0 cm. Red core, brown oxidation zones. Incomplete.

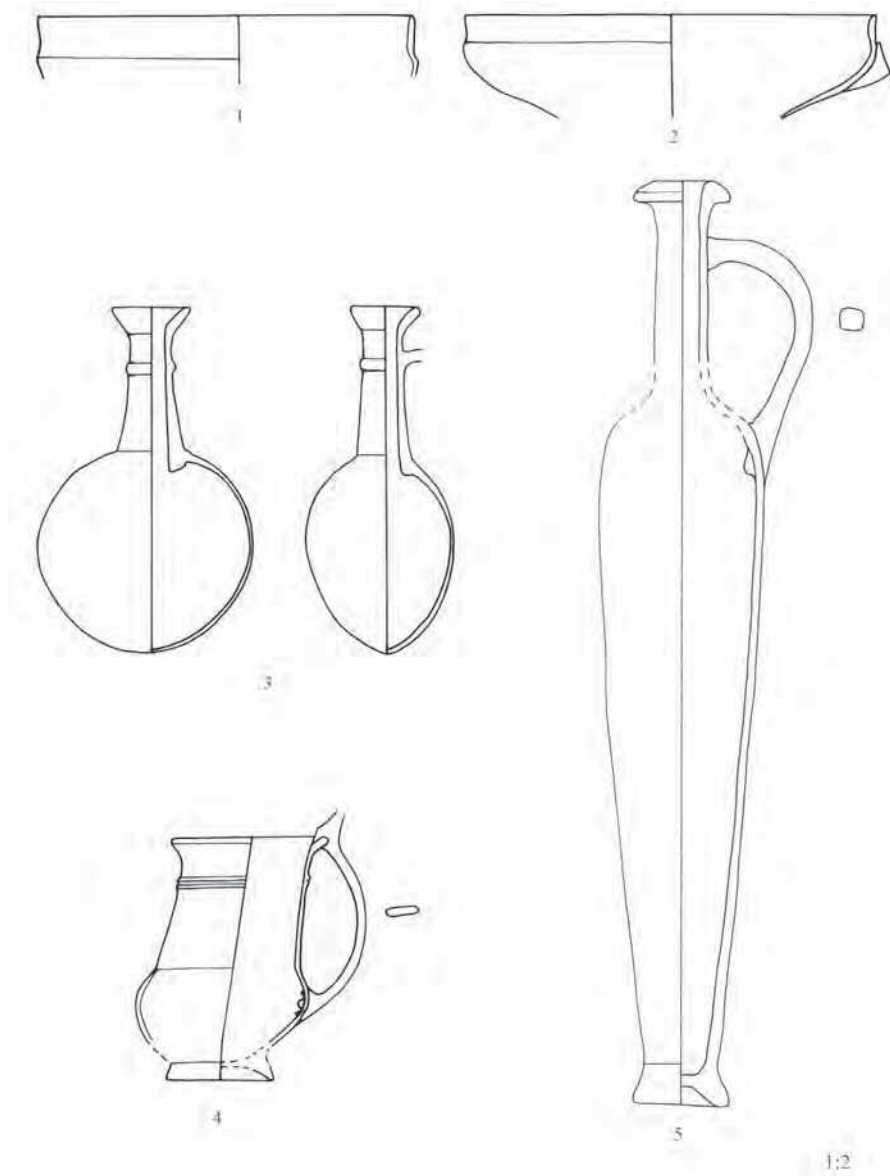
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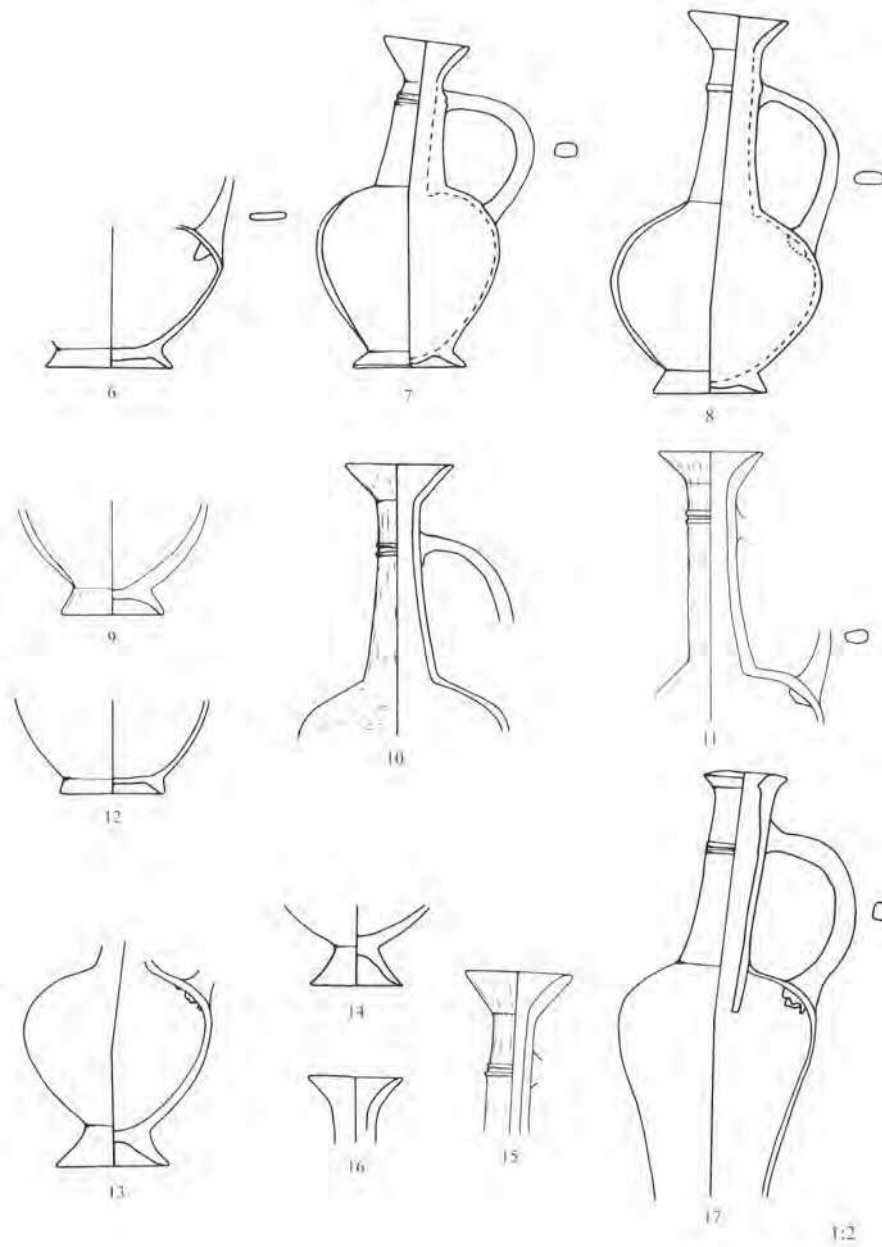
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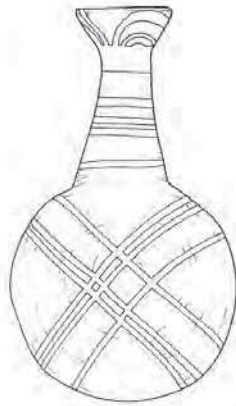


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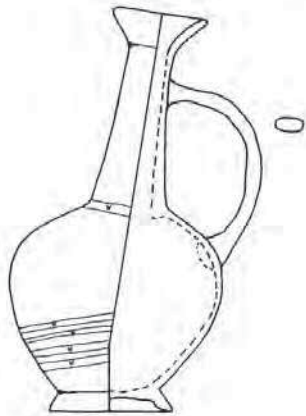


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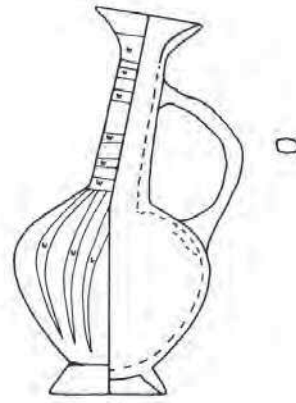




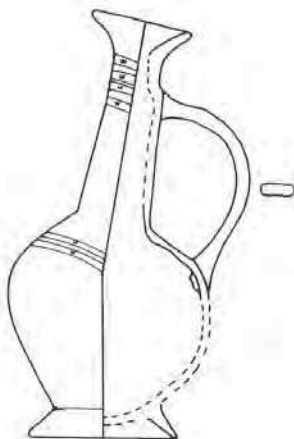
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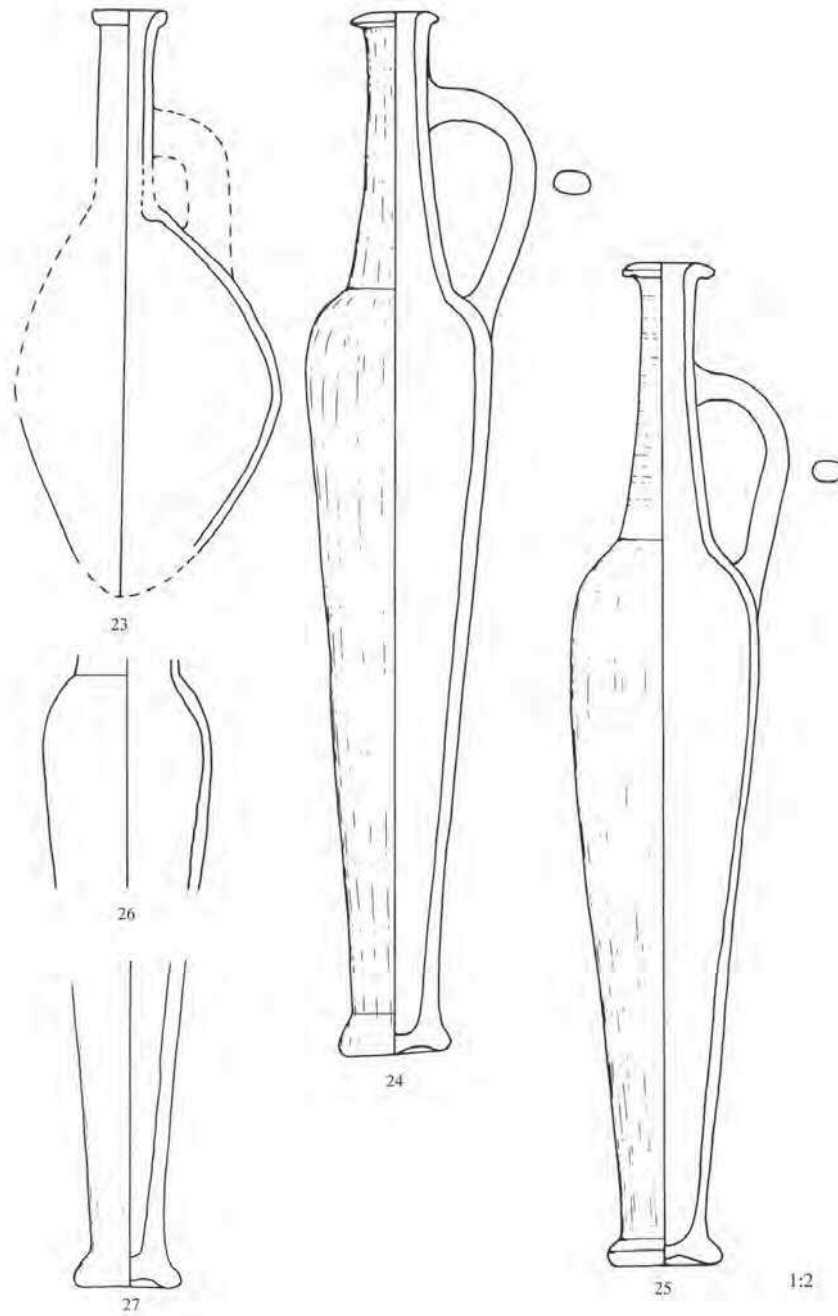


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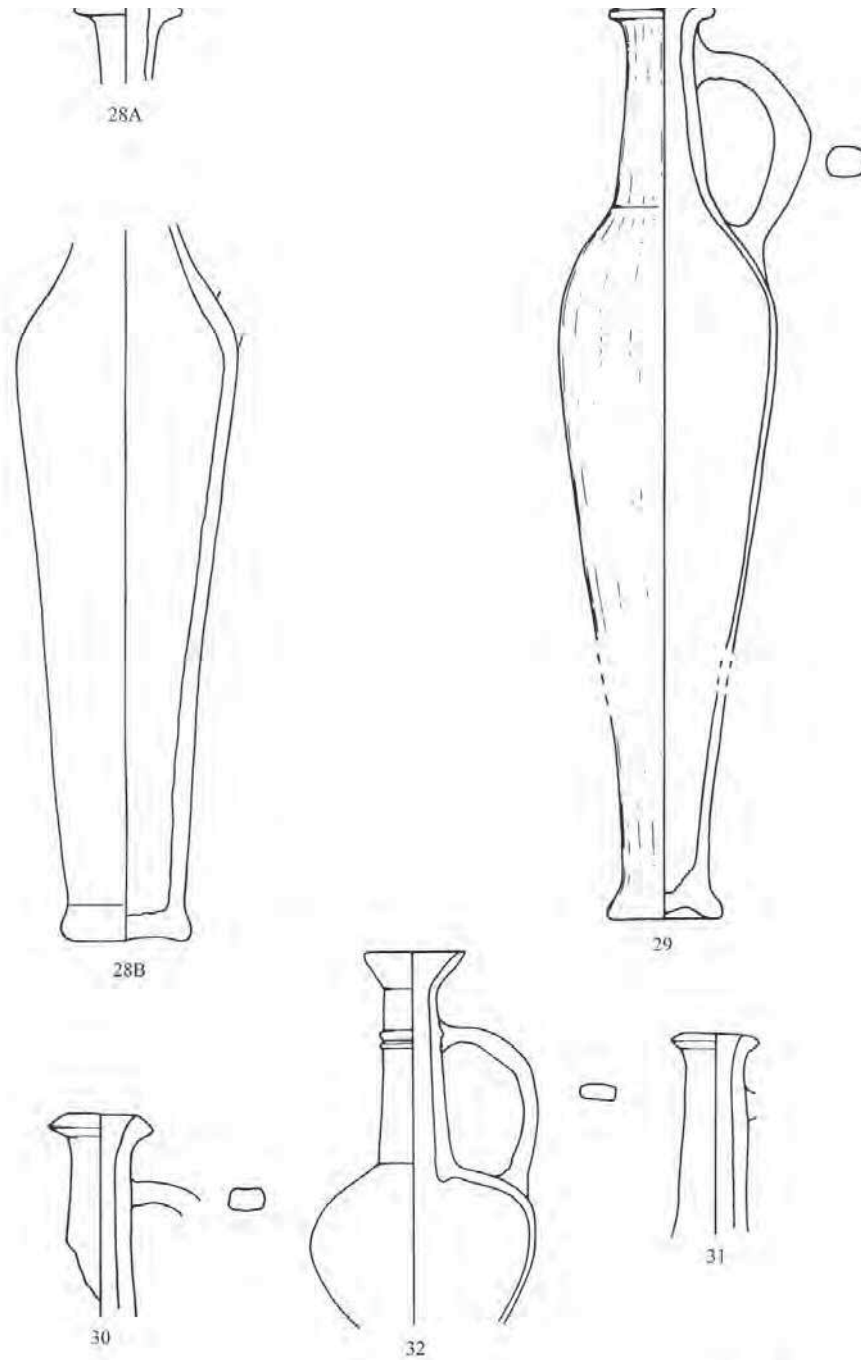
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Base Ring II



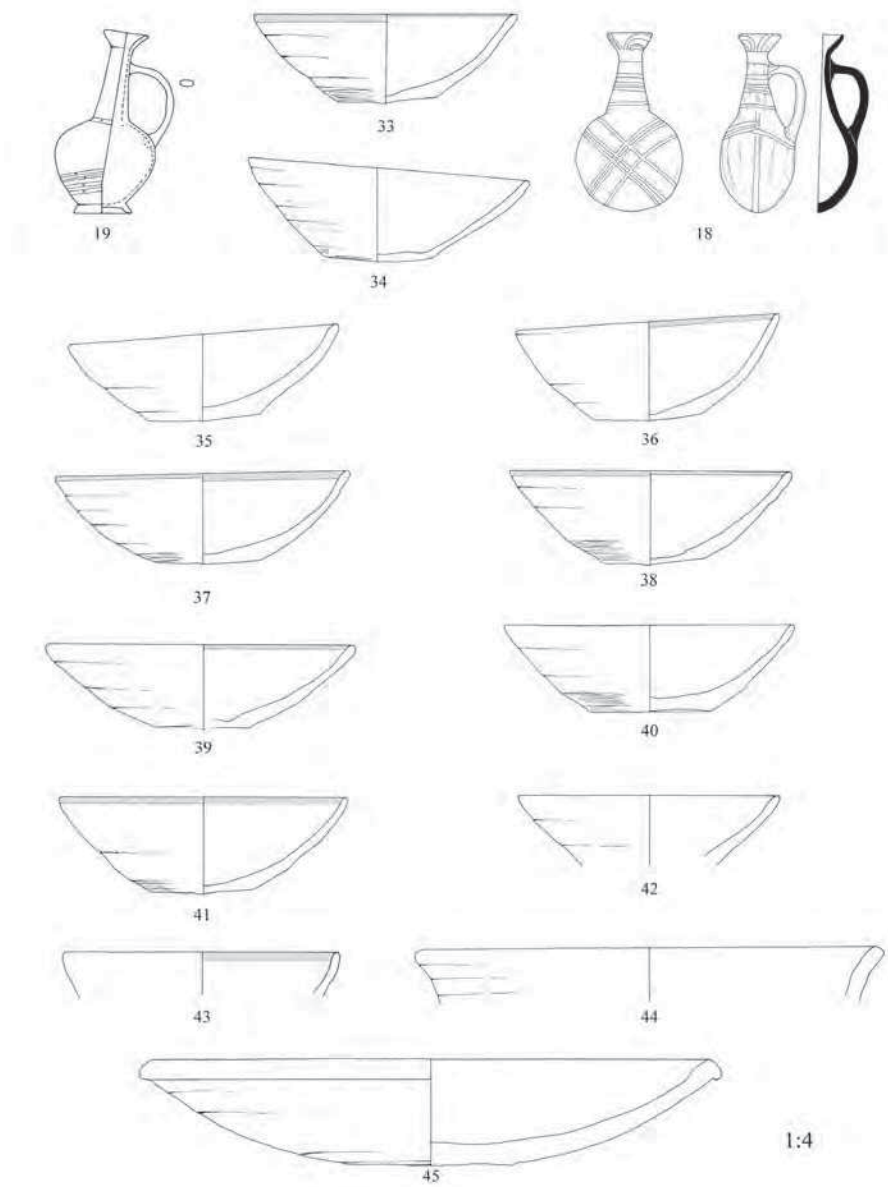


RLWM-Ware

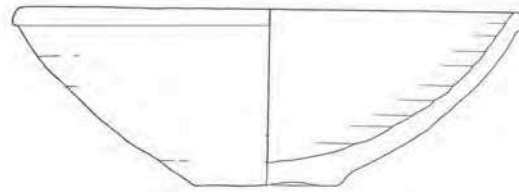


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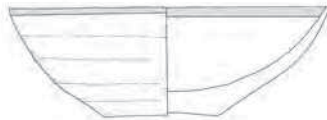
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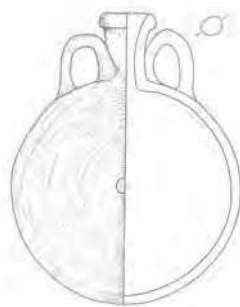
Pottery from h/4 Tomb 1



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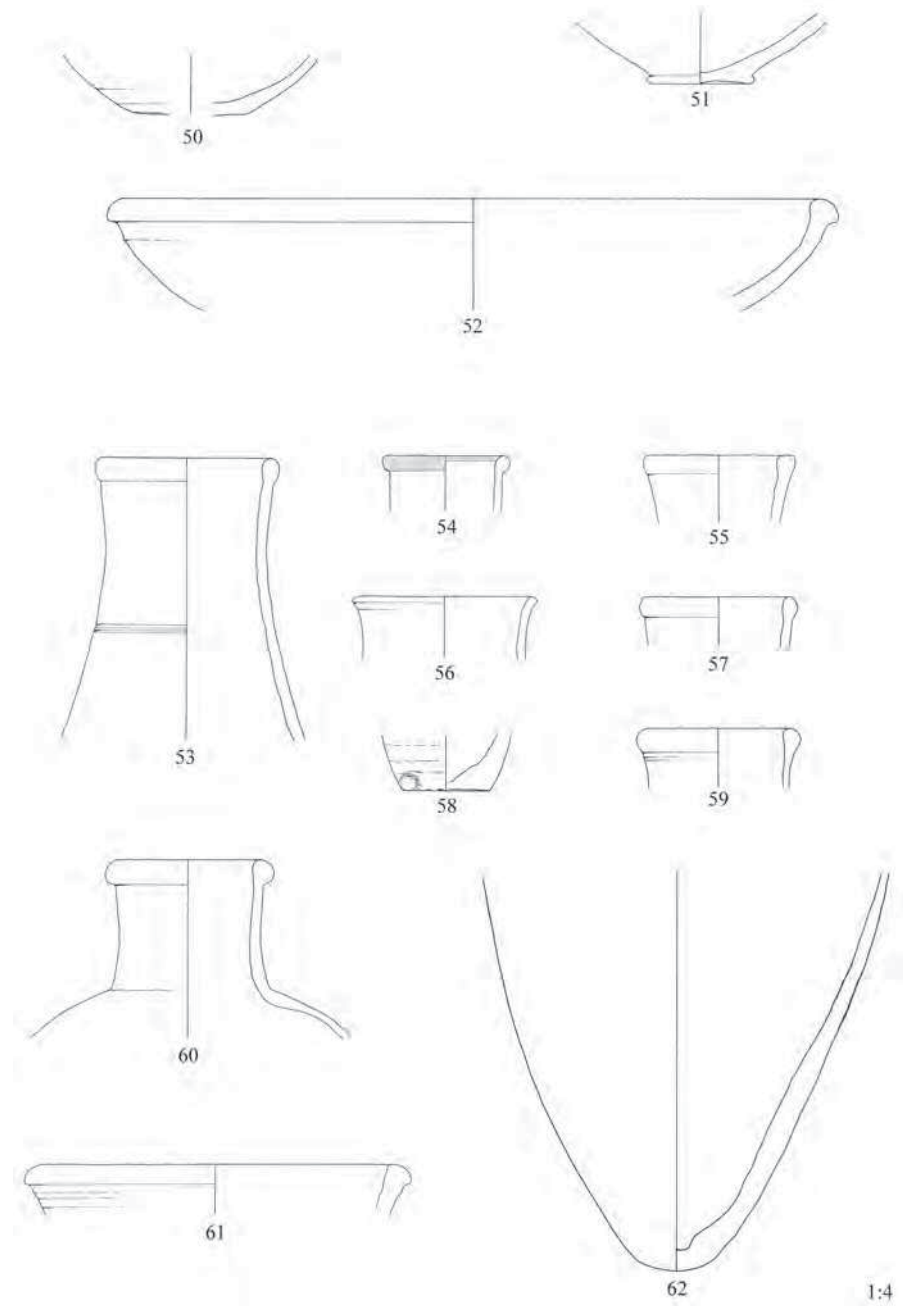
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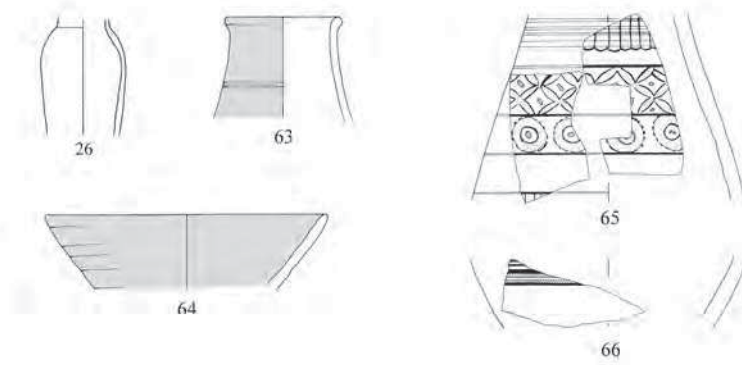
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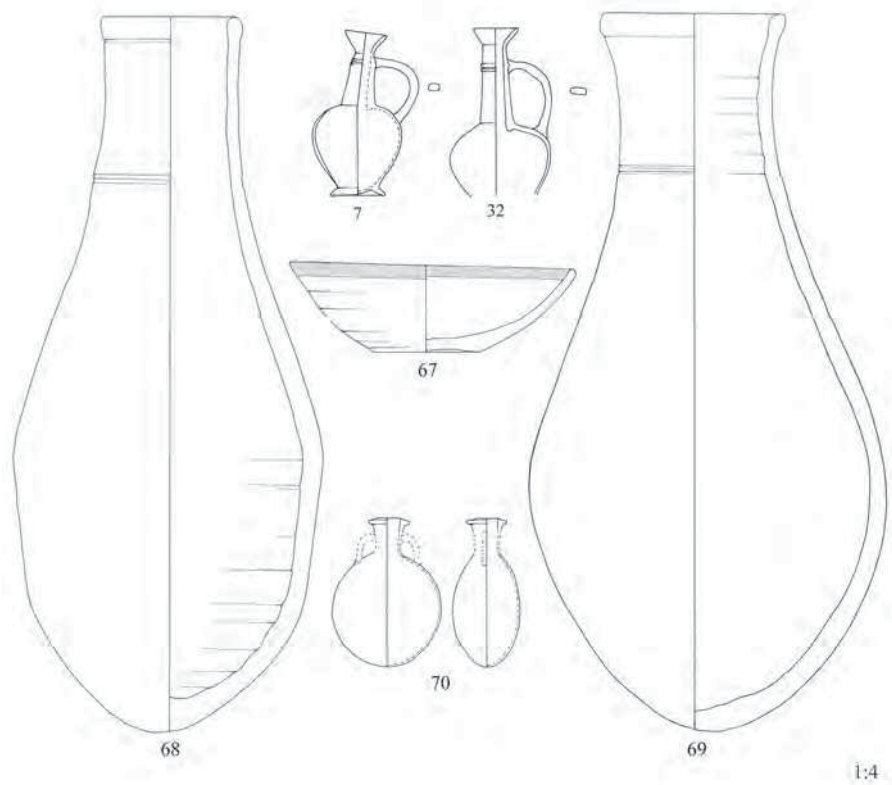
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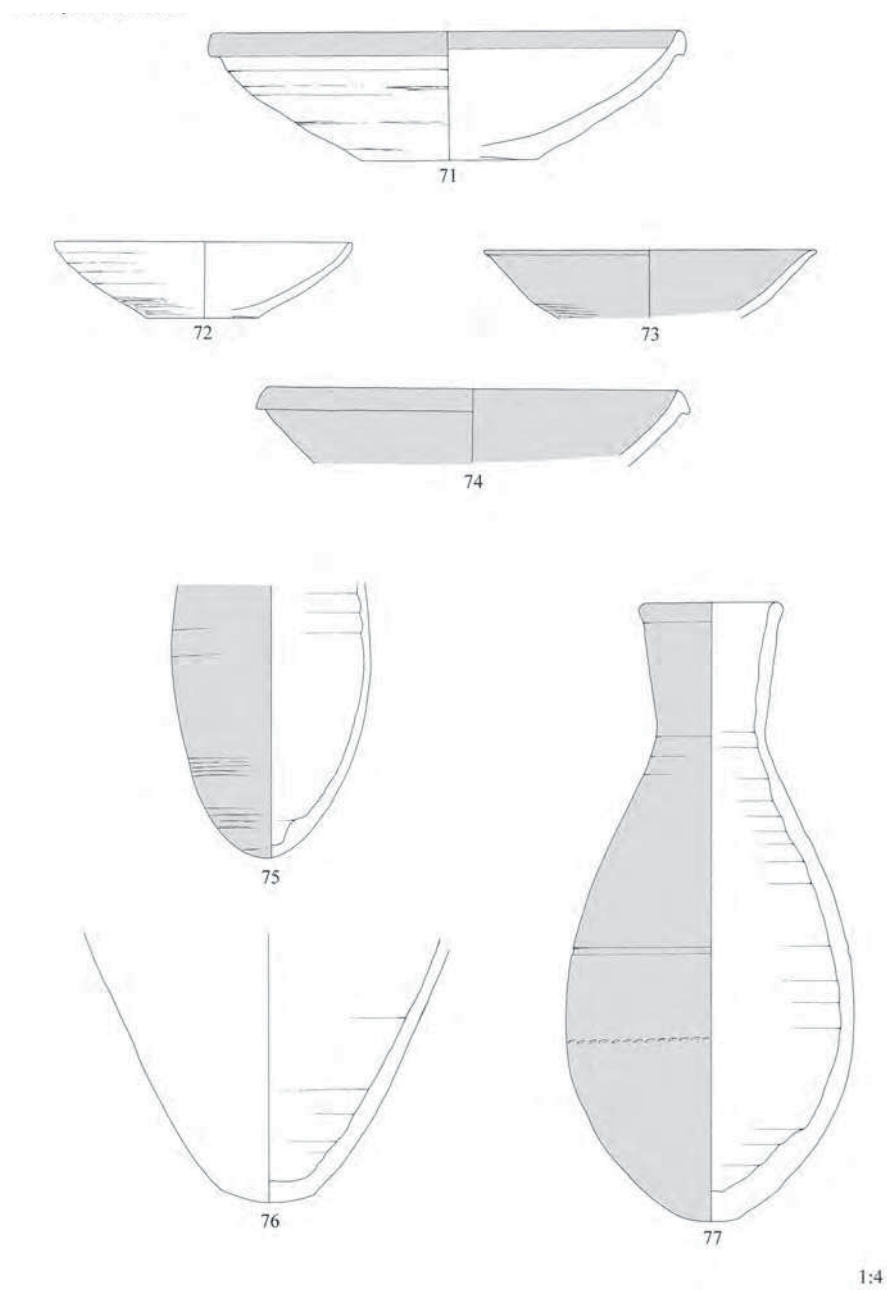
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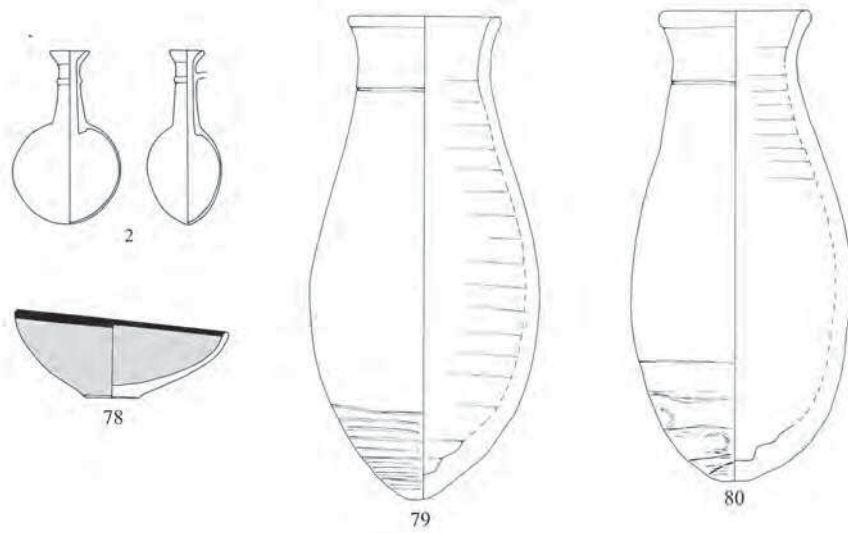
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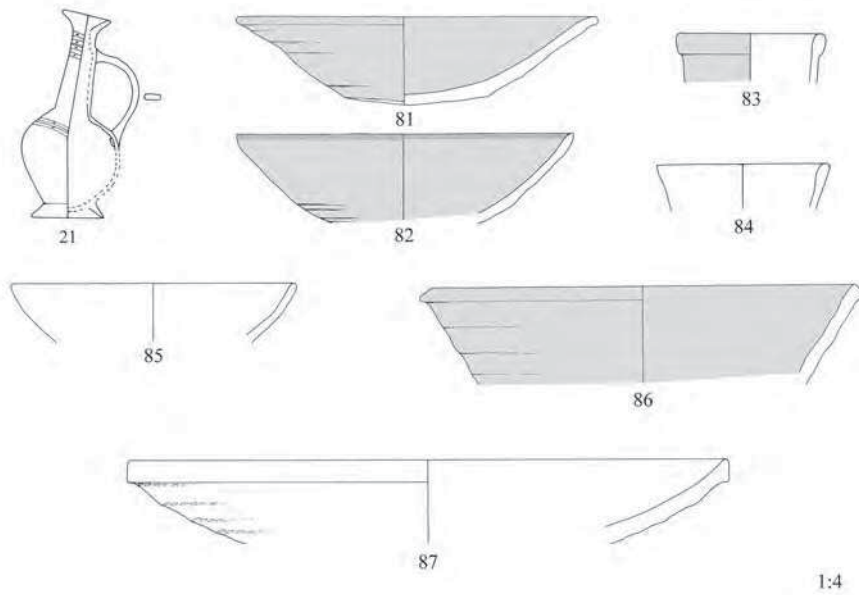
Pottery from n/6 Tomb 1



Pottery from n/6 Tomb 1

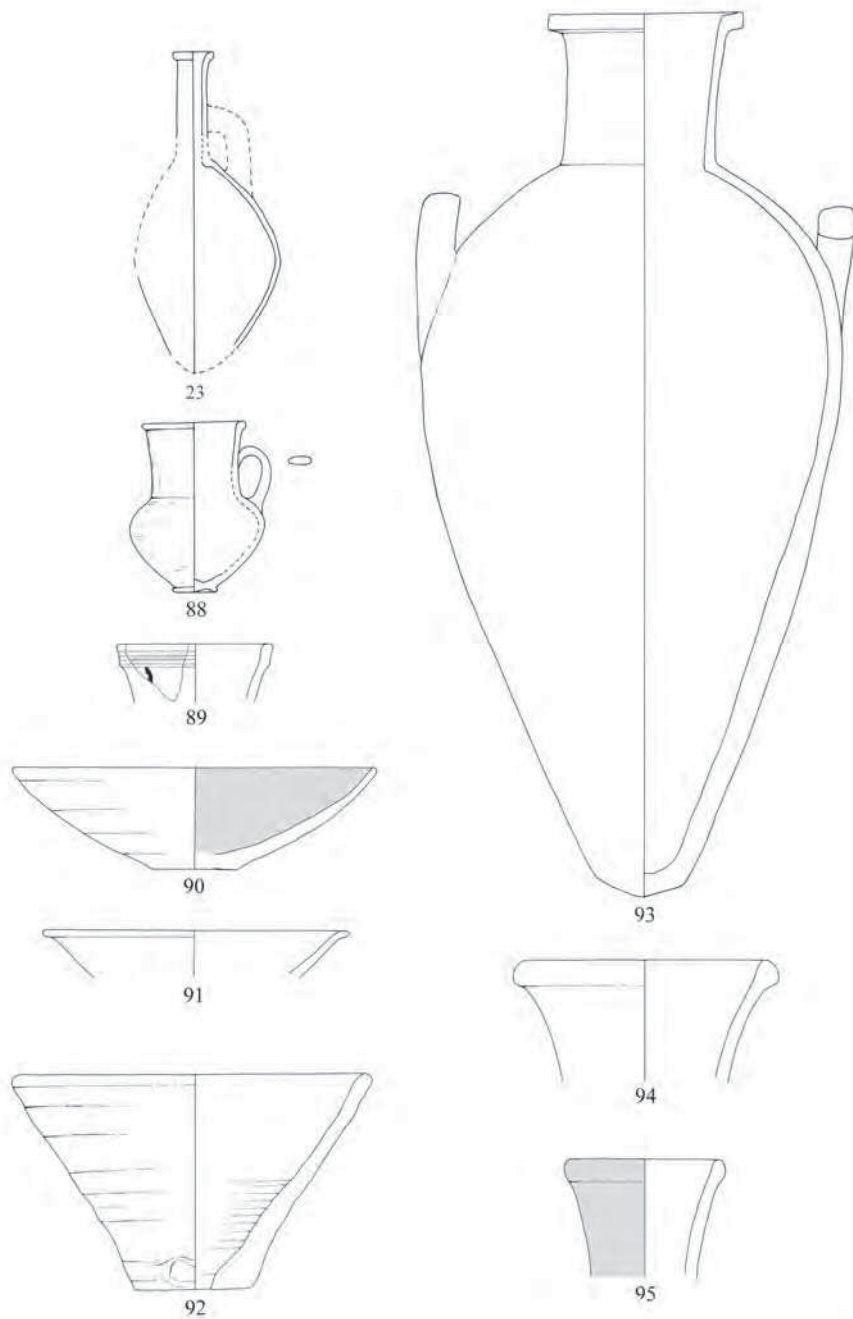


Pottery from n/7 Tomb 1



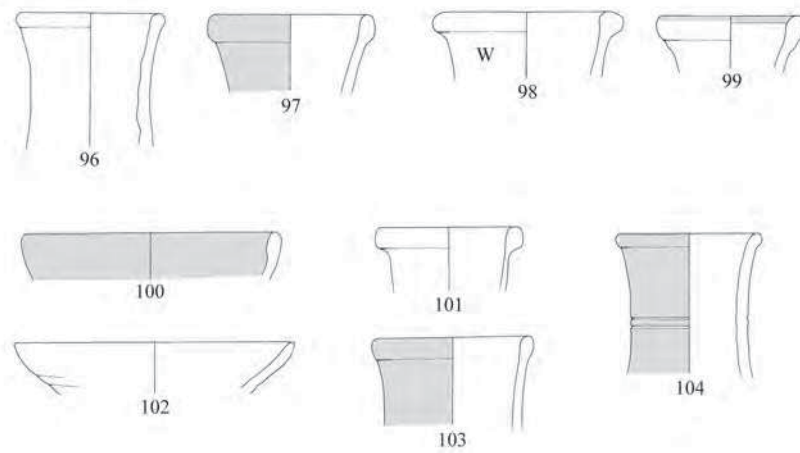
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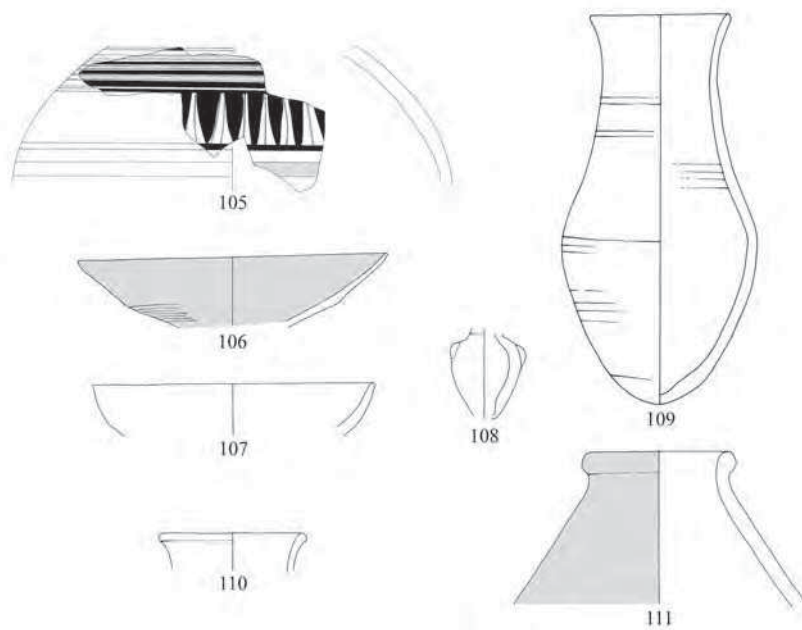


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Pottery from p/6 Tomb 1 Room 1

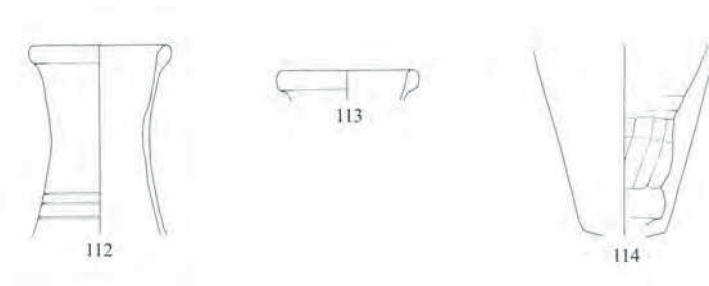


Pottery from p/6 Tomb 1 Room 1

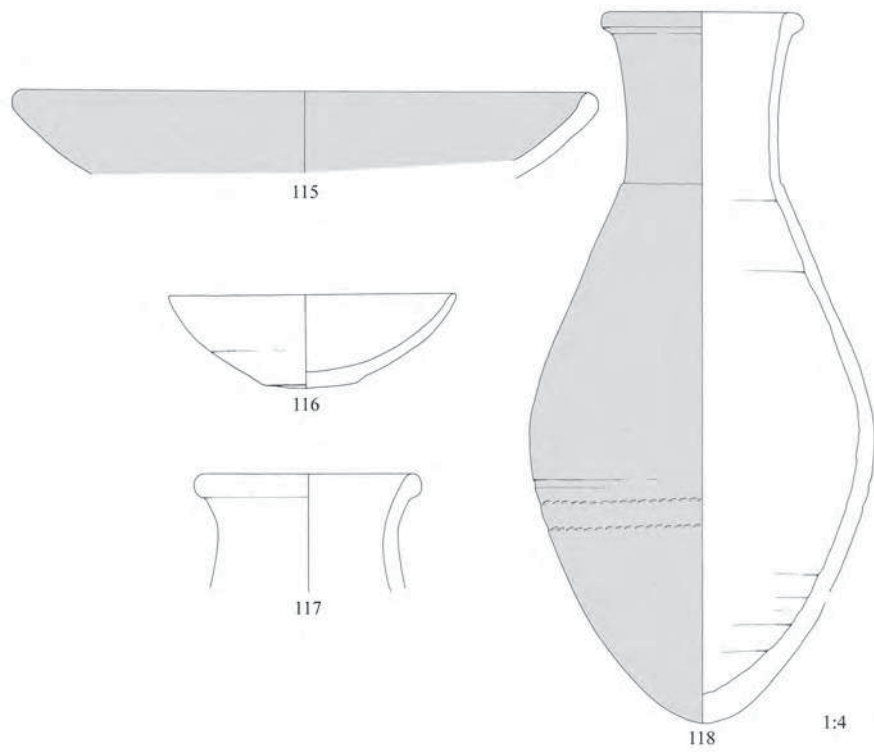


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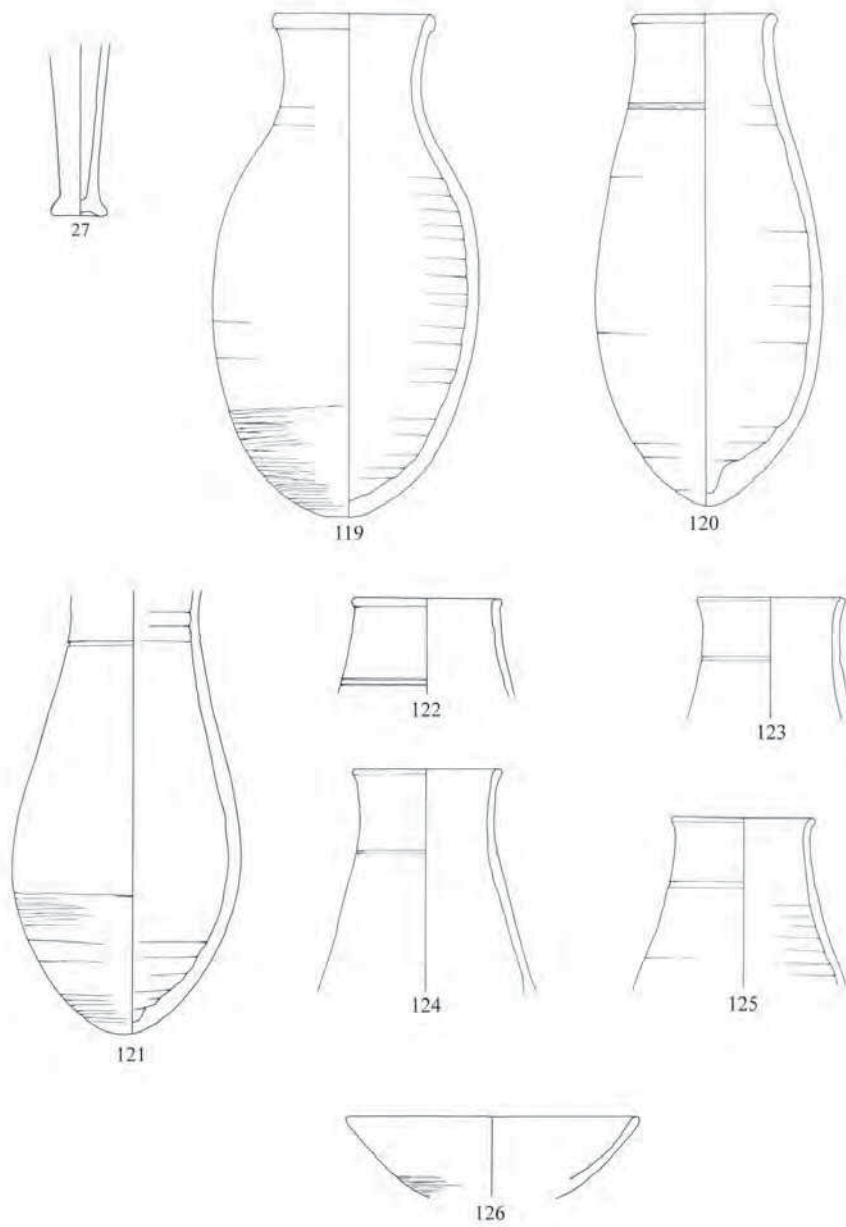
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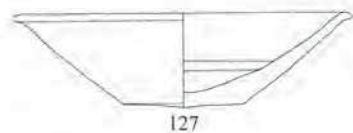
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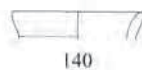
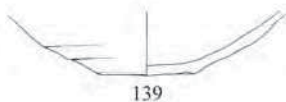
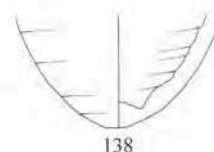
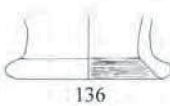
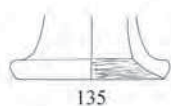
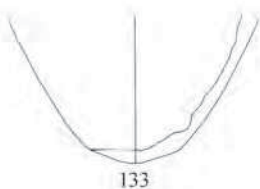
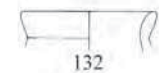
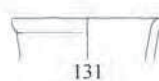
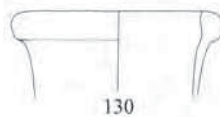
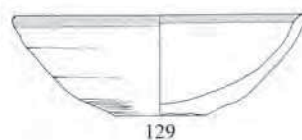
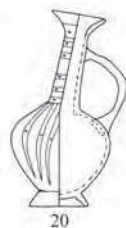
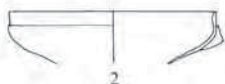
Pottery from p/6 Tomb 1 Room 3



Pottery from q/5 Tomb 1

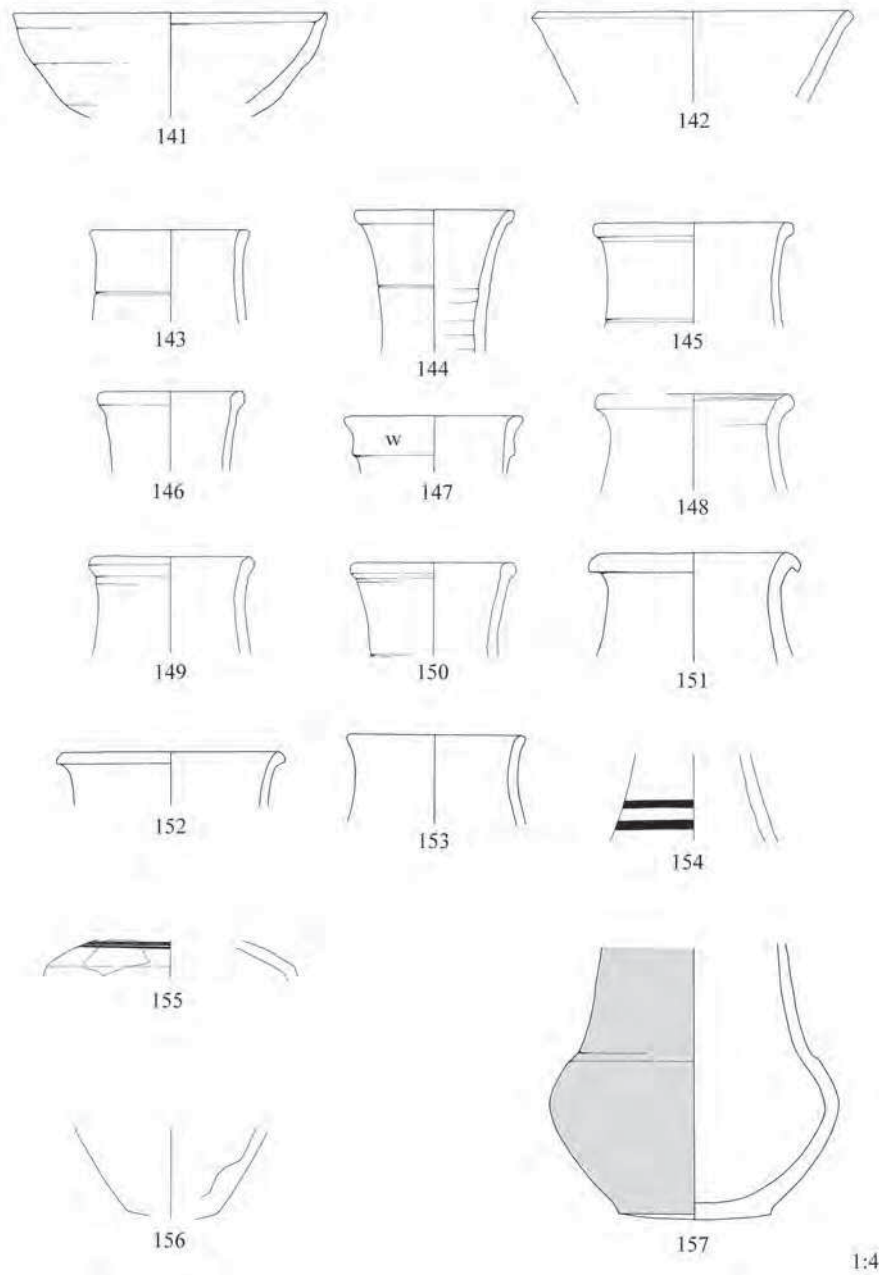


Pottery from q/7 Tomb 1

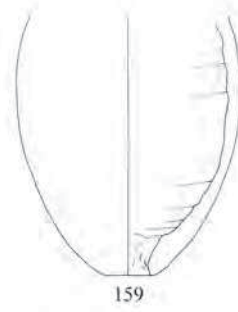
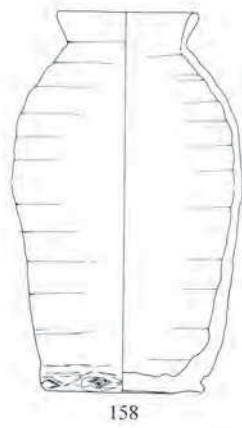


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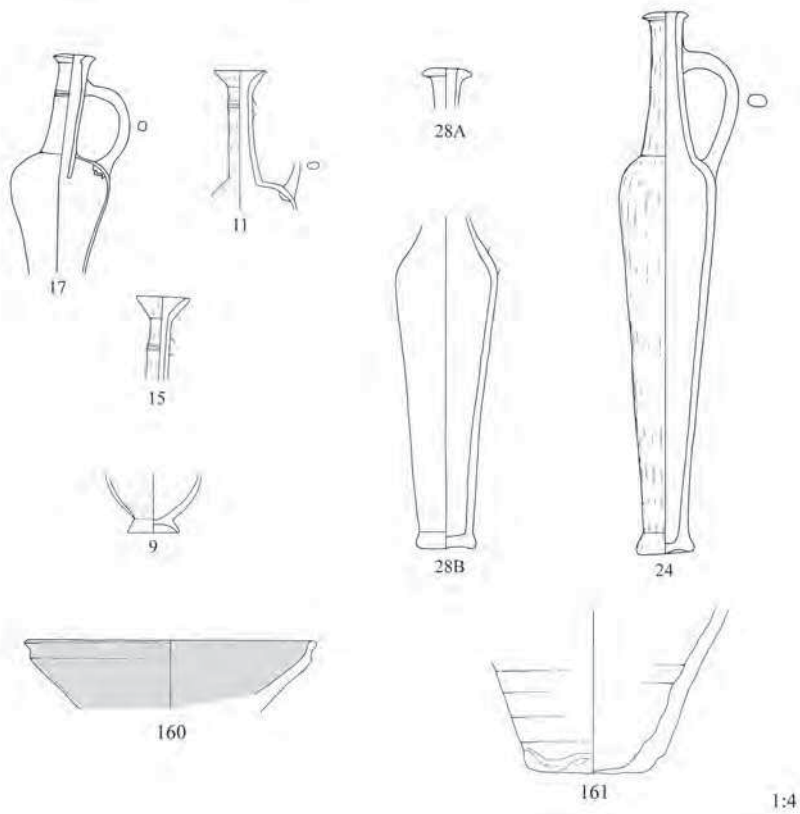
Pottery from r/2 Tomb 1



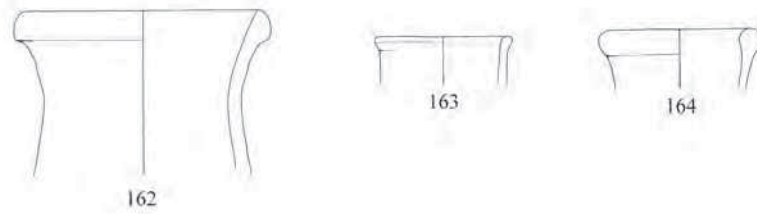
Pottery from r/2 Tomb 1



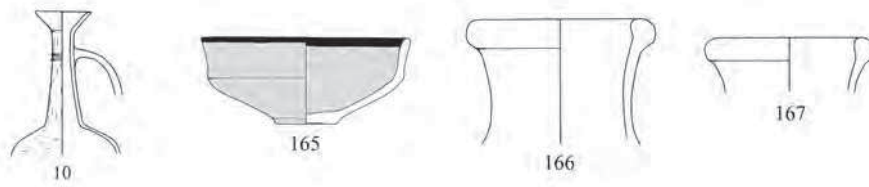
Pottery from r/2 Tomb 1



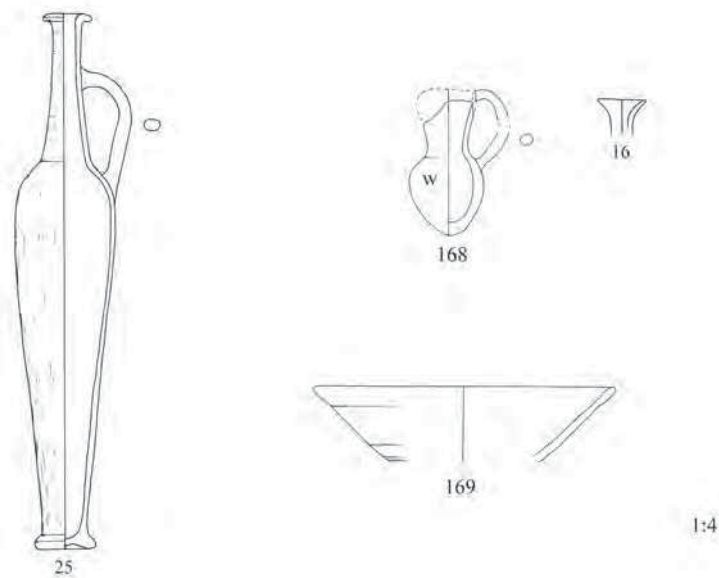
Pottery from r/6 Tomb 1



Pottery from r/6 Tomb 1

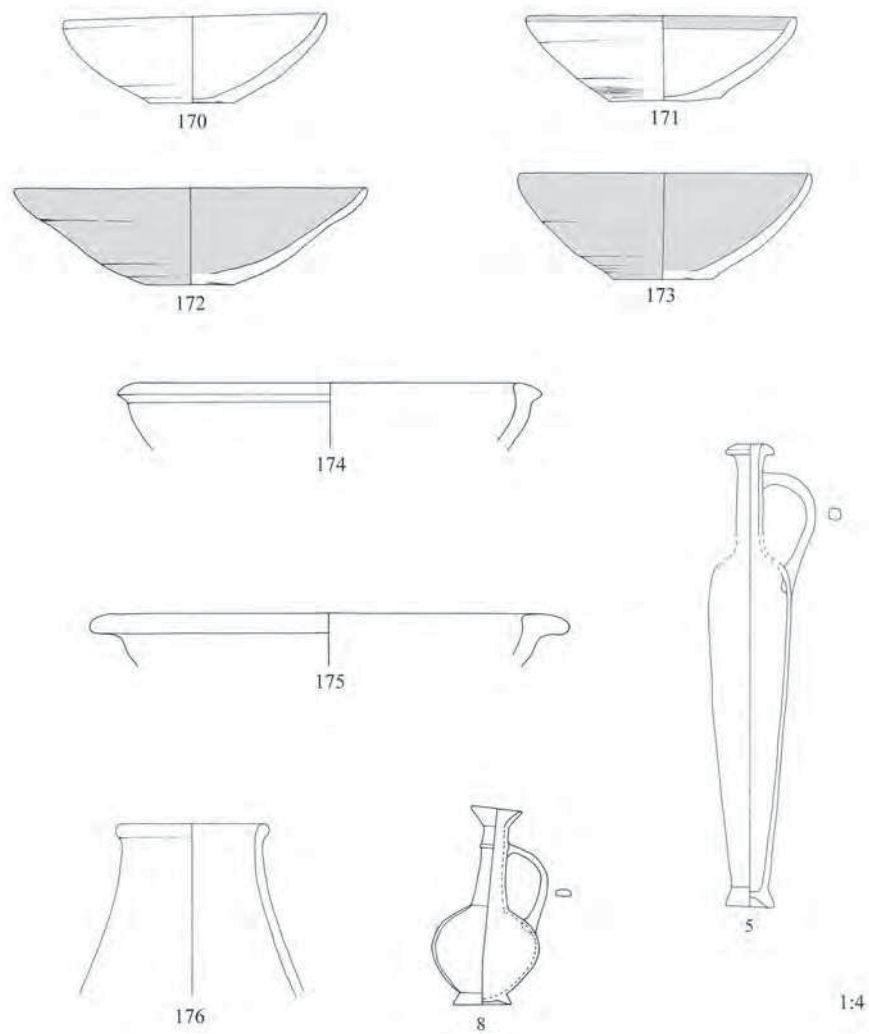


Pottery from r/10 Tomb 3



Pottery from u/12 Tomb 1





Pottery from u/3 Tomb 1

# The Mycenaean Pottery from the Occupation Levels at Tel Dan

Rachel Ben-Dov

## *Introduction*

This article discusses an assemblage of pottery fragments of Aegean origin found in the occupation levels at Tel Dan.<sup>1</sup> Tel Dan is situated at the foot of Mount Hermon in northern Israel. The site covers an area of 200 dunams (50 acres) (Fig. 1). It was identified with biblical Dan, "...however, the name of the city was formerly Laish" (Judges 18:29). Laish/Dan appears in the Bible, in the Egyptian Execration texts and in the records of Thutmosis III of the mid – 15<sup>th</sup> century BCE (Biran 1994: 21-23). Large-scale excavations at the site were carried out by A. Biran from 1966-1999 first under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities and Museums and after 1974 on behalf of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Jerusalem (Biran 1994: 7-8).

## *Stratigraphy*

Two main strata were exposed at Tel Dan assigned to the Late Bronze Age, Strata VIII and VII, covering the LB I and LB II periods (Biran and Ben-Dov 2002: Table 1.1). Stratum VII was further subdivided into VIIB and VIIA, and stratum VIIA into two subphases VIIA2 and VIIA1 (Ben-Dov, forthcoming).

Strata VIII and VII, was exposed on a very small scale, c. 30 squares, in all the areas excavated at Tel Dan. It was a very fruitful exposure which included rooms, an industrial area, remnants of buildings and an open area paved with stones. Stratum VII was built above the ruins of stratum VIII with no gap between the two levels. Continuity is observed both in architectural remains and cultural material between stratum VIII and the previous stratum IX.<sup>2</sup> A change in city planning was noticed between strata VIII and VII, although continuity was noticed in the pottery assemblages. Some stratum

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<sup>1</sup> This article is part of the final publication of Strata VIII and VII – The Late Bronze Age of Tel Dan, which will be published in the forthcoming volume DAN III. The plans were drawn by Gila Cook, pottery drawings by Michel Ben-Gal, Noga Zeevi and Alona Ruban, and pottery restoration by Nili Cohen.

<sup>2</sup> Stratum IX assigned to MB IIC (Biran 1994: 11).

VIII forms disappeared and new forms, among them the Mycenaean import, makes its first appearance in stratum VII.

Every excavated area at Tel Dan provided remains of strata VIII and VII, but they were best preserved in area B at the inner slope leading into the city on the southern flank of the site. To date, it was the largest area with strata VIII and VII remains excavated in Tel Dan. Area B was subdivided into three zones and consists of sections AB, B1 and B-East (Fig. 1).

Although the architectural remains are very fragmentary, this area provided public constructions, remnants of buildings, with a road or alley paved with a pebble foundation along them. An open area with stone pavements and some walls belonging to a gate was partially uncovered below the Iron Age II gate at the southern summit of the mound, as well as a stone built tomb (T387) with a rich Late Bronze Age material culture and a remarkable collection of complete Cypriot and Mycenaean vessels (Ben-Dov: 2002). Area B is used as a key model for other areas at Tel Dan where the stratigraphical details are ambiguous.

Small sherds of imported pottery vessels were found since the first year of excavation at Tel Dan in every excavated area together with local material. Among them are vessels imported from Cyprus, Egypt, Greece, Lebanon and the Syrian coast (Martin and Ben-Dov 2007: 200).

An assemblage of sixty three Mycenaean fragments was discovered among the finds of stratum VII occupation levels at Tel Dan (Figs. 2-4 and Table 1). About twenty items occur on floors while others originated from a fill inside the Iron Age I pits cut into stratum VII layers or from mixed loci. Since some of the sherds are small and fragmentary it is not always possible to confirm the type with certainty. As mentioned above, a collection of complete imported vessels – three Cypriot and twenty-eight Mycenaean ware – assigned to stratum VIIB were among the funerary deposit of Tomb 387 which were widely discussed and published in Dan II (Ben-Dov 2002: 94-118, Figs. 2.62-2.86). Among them were piriform jars, a Charioteer vase, straight-sided alabastra, stirrup jars, flasks, bowls and kylikes.

### *The shape*

Mycenaean sherds found in the occupation levels at Tel Dan do not differ from the various vase types represented in T387, although they provided a larger variety of forms.

The description of the Mycenaean vessels and their classification are according to Mountjoy (1986), which are based on the typology developed by Furumark (Furumark 1972).<sup>3</sup>

The repertoire of forms presented in Table No.1 consisted of open and closed vessels.

<sup>3</sup> I would like to thank Dr P. Mountjoy who generously gave of her time to assist me with the identification of the shape and designs of the small sherds presented in this section.

Table No.1: Mycenaean pottery types by shape and design

<i>Shape</i>	<i>FS</i>		<i>FM (Cat. No.)</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
		<i>Cat. No.</i>			
Piriform jars	45	1-2		MycIIIA2-IIIIB	
Piriform jar	35	7	43 Semi circles. 19 Tongue	MycIIIA2-IIIIB	
Kraters	53-55	3		MycIIIA2	
Kraters/ Large Piriform jars		4-11	60 N Pattern (5), 15 Palm (9)	MycIIIA2-IIIIB	too small to determine the shape
Rhyta	199	12-13	21 Octopus tentacle (12)	MycIIIA2	
Alabastra	94-95	14-15		MycIIIA2-IIIIB	
Alabastron	96	16	Linear	MycIIIB2	
Alabastra varia		17, 48-49			too small to determine
Globular stirrup jars	171/173	18-19, 24-25, 29, 30-32, 56		MycIIIA2-IIIIB	
Stirrup jars or piriform jars		27		MycIIIB	
Stirrup jar	182	20, 23		MycIIIA2-IIIIB	
Squat stirrup jars	179/180	34, 51		MycIIIB	
Stirrup jar	175	35	71 elaborate triglyphs?	MycIIIC	
Stirrup jars (Varia)		21, 26, 28			too small to determine
Jug?	110?	33			
Globular flasks	189	36-37		Myc style	
Stemmed Bowl	304/5	42		MycIIIB	
Bowl	296	43	Bands and white dots	MycIIIB2	
Deep bowl	284/3	45		MycIIIC	Myc style
Bowl (Varia)		50			too small to determine
Kylikes	256/257/258	38-41, 44	19 Multiple-stem (38), 48 Quirk (41)	MycIIIA2-IIIIB	
Figurines		46-47		MycIIIB	
Varia		52-55, 57-63	57 Net (62)		too small to determine

### *The Fabric*

The majority of the vessels are made of buff or yellow paste (10YR8/4), with lustrous very pale brown slip (10YR8/3), polished and well levigated with tiny black and white grits. Several samples, usually the thicker samples, have the buff color on both side of the walls and orange in the middle.

### *The decoration*

The colors of the decorations are painted with shades of brown: from orange (reddish yellow) (5YR6/6), reddish brown (5YR5/4) to dark reddish brown (5YR3/2), all shades applied on the same vase with the paint's hue varying across the different parts of the vessel. Other fragments are painted with shiny black that peeled off, leaving only the contour line of the design visible. Some are faded and the designs are vague. On most of the fragments only the linear bands and groups of fine and broad lines remain. The motifs found on the decorative zone consist of Semi circles, Multiple-stem, N Pattern, Quirk, Net, Palm, Octopus tentacle and Elaborate triglyphs (Table No. 1).

### *The Provenance*

Several fragments were analyzed by means of both Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA)<sup>4</sup> and petrography analysis, which show that the provenance of the Mycenaean pottery from T387 and other fragments found in occupation levels are from Argolid Greece (Gunneweg et al. 1992: 58\*; Table 1, and Ben-Dov 2002: 96).<sup>5</sup> Others which are defined as Mycenaean style (Myc Style), originated from the Lebanese coast north of Tyre (Table No. 2).

Table No. 2: Result of the petrography analysis by Y. Goren

<i>Object/ Cat. No.</i>	<i>Reg. No.</i>	<i>Loci</i>	<i>Clay</i>	<i>Temper 1</i>	<i>Temper 2</i>	<i>Provenance</i>
Bowl/ 45	569	106	Neogene marl	Vegetal material	No other temper added	Lebanese coast north of Tyre
Stirrup jar/ 35	17090	3212	Clayey mica-ceous	Vegetal material	Limestone	Cyprus, Turkey or the Aegean zone*

\* Recent analysis excluded the Aegean provenance see below.

<sup>4</sup> Most of the fragments were sampled and have been analyzed, with the results to be published by Sharon Zukerman and David Ben-Shlono of the Hebrew University as part of the project "A study of Aegean/Levantine Trade Patterns in the Late Bronze Age: Provenancing Imported Mycenaean Pottery from Canaan by Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA)" funded by the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung. The result of the analyses showed that all the fragments (except flask Figs. 3:12; 4:1, 2, Cat. Nos. 35, 36, 37) were made in the Argolid.

<sup>5</sup> Neutron Activation Analysis carried out by I. Perlman on nine of the imported vessels found in T387, and other from the occupation levels, including the Charioteer Vase and published by Gunneweg et al. 1992.

## 2. *Piriform jars FS45 or 166*

Four complete and one upper part of small piriform jars about 15 cm. high were among the funerary gifts in Tomb 387 (Ben-Dov 2002: 98-99 Figs. 2.67 and 2.81). Among the vessels found in the occupation layers were: fragments of a wide and short neck with a sloping lip (Fig. 2:1, Cat. No. 2) and a fragment of a torus base (Fig. 2:2, Cat. No. 1). The rim is decorated with three reserved bands, monochrome neck and a fine line at the base of the neck (probably part of a group that was not preserved), and a band inside the rim. The lower part of the body and the base are monochrome. Both fragments were found on a pebble layer assigned to stratum VII.

Another fragment is part of a decorative zone of a large piriform jar FS35 (Fig. 2:8, Cat. No. 7). It has a rounded section ornamented with lustrous brown paint. The motifs of decoration consist of semicircles FM 43 and Tongue FM19 motifs framed by a wide band. Remains of a painted ring which encircled the handle was also preserved. This fragment was found in uncertain stratigraphy, MycIII A2-III B.

## 3. *Amphoroid Krater FS53-55*

Several thick wall fragments were uncovered but only a few can be identified with certainty as kraters. Among them were fragments of a worn out horizontal rim with concave neck (Fig. 2:3, Cat. No. 3), a neck (Cat. No. 4), and other body sherds (Fig. 2:4-6). They are made of yellowish to pink fabric with tiny brown inclusions and decorated with lustrous orange to brown or black paint. The rim is ornamented with group of ten transverse lines and monochrome neck on the interior (hereinafter int.) and exterior (hereinafter ext.). It was found in stratum VII in a layer cut by early Iron Age pits, a similar decoration appearing on a krater rim from Ugarit (Hirschfeld 2000: Fig. 6: Cat. No. 38). The lower part of the body is decorated with wide bands (Fig. 2:7, Cat. No. 8). The body sherds may have been either parts of kraters or large piriform jars FS35. The decorations consisted of N Pattern FM60 (Fig. 2:5, Cat. No. 5) and Palm FM15 with small dots above it that may have been the remains of the top leaves (Fig. 2:6, Cat. No. 9). Palm motif also decorated a krater and a rhyton from Ugarit (Hirschfeld 2000: Fig. 4: Cat. No. 35 and Fig. 20: Cat. No. 282) and a rhyton from Kamid el-Loz (Metzger 1993: Fig. 131), MycIII A2-III B. The best example of a complete krater was found in Tomb 387 the Charioteer vase (Ben-Dov 2002: 100-102, Figs. 2.70 and 2.82: 86).

## 4. *Rhyta FS199*

Two small body sherds with thick walls of rhyta FS199, were found in the occupation layers both of MycIII A2 ware. This type of vessel was not presented among the artifacts of Tomb 387. Rhyton (Fig. 2:10, Cat. No. 13) is a

small fragment decorated with a thin white line flanked by two vertical broad reddish brown lines. It was found while cleaning the top of W190 which was adjacent to the upper courses of the western wall of the tomb (Fig. 5; Ben-Dov 2002: Fig. 2.20). The other rhyton sherd (Fig. 2:9, Cat. No. 12) was decorated with an octopus tentacle painted with lustrous orange paint with white line in the center. Complete examples with the same motif were found on rhyta from Ugarit (Hirschfeld 2000: Fig. 19: Cat. No. 280, Yon 1987: Fig. 2:12) and Kamid el-Loz T2a (Metzger 1993: Fig. 130). This form is widely distributed in Syria and Israel (mainly along the coast) and may have functioned as a filter (Leonard 1981: 99). Both fragments were found in mixed stratigraphy in two different areas and give us no indication about their original location in antiquity.

#### *5. Alabastra – Straight sided 94-95*

Three fragments of straight sided alabastra were identified (Fig. 2:12-13, Cat. Nos. 14-16) and all are body sherds. It is possible that other fragments found in the occupation levels belong to this shape but they are too small to define in certainty. All the fragments are imported, one sherd (Fig. 2:13, Cat. No. 16) was found while dismantling an early Iron Age wall and may have originated from Strata VIIA2 or VIIA1. It is decorated with lustrous orange paint with a wide band above and below the monochrome handle. The other fragments are decorated with groups of fine and broad linear bands. None of the fragments of this shape were found in sealed loci. Similar alabastra were among the artifacts of Tomb 387 (Ben-Dov 2002: Fig. 2.83:88-90). MycIII A2-III B.

#### *6. Stirrup Jars*

Stirrup jars are the most common vessels in the Mycenaean repertory found in both Tomb 387 and occupation levels of Tel Dan. As in any other sites they are the most popular vessel of the MycIII A2 and III B1 and continue as such until the end of the Mycenaean period (Mountjoy 1986: 77). They are found at almost every site that has produced imported Aegean wares (Leonard 1981: 91). The identified fragments among the Tel Dan collection consisted of globular shape 171 and 173 (Fig. 3:6, 9-11, Cat. Nos. 18-19, 30 and 32, Table 1), conical shape 182 (Fig. 3:2, Cat. No. 20) MycIII A-III B and a squat shape 180 or 179 (Fig. 3:5, 7, Cat. No. 34, 51) MycIII B and FS175 (Fig. 3:12, No. 35) MycIII C (Table No. 1). The fragments included shoulders, strap handles and the lower part of the body with a ring base. They are decorated with group of fine and wide bands and also painted on the exterior of the base.

Most of the fragments were found in pits or mixed loci, and there were joins between fragments found in different squares, long distances apart from each other or in different elevations. Only three examples are better preserved than the others (Fig. 3:5, 11, 12; Cat. Nos. 18, 34 and 35).

Fragments of stirrup jar Cat. No. 18 (together with No. 19 and handle No. 21, Fig. 3:3, 6, 11; may belong to the same vessel), were the only ones assigned to a certain stratum, VIIA2. They were found in the earth covering the collapsed stones that sealed the funerary goods of T387, with joins between parts found inside a pit cut into the upper courses of the tomb's northern wall (Fig. 5).

From a squat stirrup jar FS180 / 179 (Fig. 3:5, Cat. No. 34) a shoulder, handle stub and a squat belly were preserved. It is decorated with a group of three fine lines flanked by two broad bands on the shoulder and another one below the belly, painted with lustrous reddish brown color. A line at the base of the false neck and the spout (both missing) form a single oval band, and there is a trace of unclear motif on the decorative zone. It was found in two different loci about 1 meter deep apart from each other in nearby squares (Fig. 6).

Stirrup jar (Fig. 3:12, Cat. No. 35) FS175, was found in a pit full of ash in unsealed loci, fragments spread over a depth of c. 0.50 m., and was heavily burnt. Large fragments of the jar were preserved, but no joins were found between them and restoration was made only when drawn. It has squat body, tall and narrow spout, rounded lip and only one strap handle preserved. It is made of fine heavily burnt fabric, thin metallic walls, tiny brown and white inclusions, polished and with lustrous dark brown paint. It is the only example of a stirrup jar on which the decorative zone was preserved, a part of elaborate triangle FM 71, although the paint is faded and part of the decoration has unidentified motif. A band is painted on the lip and a circular band on the tall spout, a group of fine three narrow lines below the decorative zone, and streaky paint at the lower part of the body. Horizontal bands are painted on the strap handle, MycIIIC.<sup>6</sup>

Several fragments can be part of either stirrup or piriform jars, among them is a large fragment of a vessel belly (Fig. 3:4, Cat. No. 24). It was found in two different pits built one next to the other which cut stratum VII stone pavement, L4626 (Fig. 6). Together in the pit was also strap handle, Cat. No. 26, which may point to the fact that the fragment of the belly may belong to a stirrup jar rather than a piriform jar. A collection of seven complete stirrup jars was found in Tomb 387 (Ben-Dov 2002: 103-104, Figs. 2.73-2.74 and 2.84: 93-99).

### 7. *Flask – Globular type*

Two fragments of globular type flask, similar in fabric and decoration were found in the fill in two different seasons, one next to the other in different elevations (Fig. 6). These may belong to the same vessel which was

<sup>6</sup> Although several analyses were made on the vessel its origin remains unknown. Recent NAA analysis (see above, n. 4) exclude an Argolid origin; according to Goren it has a Mediterranean source (see Table No. 2).



reconstructed in drawing (Fig. 4:1-2, Cat. Nos. 36 and 37). The walls of the flask are relatively thick and the shape resembles in form and decoration the MycIIIA2 type FS189 found in Tomb 387 (Ben-Dov 2002: 105, Figs. 2.75 and 2.85:100-102). They are not from the Argolid, Myc style.

#### 8. *Kylikes FS258 and 256/7*

In addition to a fragment of a kylix with a linear decoration found in Tomb 387 (Ben-Dov 2002: Fig. 2.85:108), four rims and a small fragment of a domed base were identified among the Mycenaean repertoire of the occupation levels (Fig. 4:4-6, 8-9, Cat. Nos. 38-41 and 44) but no stem was preserved. They are all painted on the rims, two sherds have remains of a vertical strap handle. The handle of Cat. No. 39 is painted with reserved triangle at the top, and Cat. No. 40 is monochrome. Bowl Cat. No. 41 is shallow, and it has a folded rim, and a semi-globular body decorated with Quirk FM48 motif framed by a group of wide band and fine lines below the band. The bowl of kylix Cat. No. 38 has remains of multiple stem FM19, similar to a bowl found in Ugarit (Hirschfeld 2000: Fig. 23; Cat. Nos. 373 and 377). The decorative motif on bowl No. 40 is not clear, with only two vertical lines preserved on the body, and the handle is missing. Base No. 44 is very fragmentary and has a remnant of a high dome underneath and is decorated with wide orange bands on its exterior. Two fragments were found on floors: Cat. No. 39 on a floor assigned to stratum VIIB and Cat. No. 40 on a floor assigned to stratum VIIA1. NAA showed that it was made in the Argolid (Gunnweg et al. 1992: 57\*, Table 1, DAN 80). Other kylikes were found in mixed loci.

#### 9. *Bowls*

Four fragments of various types of bowls were distinguished. A small rim fragment of stemmed bowl FS304/5 (Fig. 4:7, Cat. No. 42) and one body sherd of a bowl FS296 (Fig. 4:3, Cat. No. 43) was preserved. It is decorated with wide bands on both sides and a row of white dots along the band inside. This sherd was heavily burnt, and it was found on a plaster floor assigned to Stratum VII. Two complete bowls of the same shape were found in Tomb 387 (Ben-Dov 2002: Fig. 2.85:105-106). A body sherd of a deep bowl with horizontal handle FS284 type (Fig. 4:10, Cat. No. 45). The fragment is monochrome inside, band on and above the handle, and heavily polished in the exterior. The bowl is similar in shape to a bowl found in Kamid el-Loz (Metzger 1993: Fig. 141:9). It originated on the Lebanese coast (Table No. 2) and was found on the surface in the first season of excavation at Tel Dan, a Myc style ware, and belongs to MycIIIC horizon.

### *10. Figurines*

Two fragments of figurines of a horned animal, possibly bovine, (French 1971: 151-159) were found. Remains of the head and the front part (Fig. 4:11, Cat. No. 47) was in the fill above the pavement of the lower gate at the southern end of the site with Iron Age II context. The horns, nose and legs of the figurine are missing. It is interesting to note the technique of manufacture of the figurine head: the horns were formed as a rounded core and covered with clay that created the forehead (see the top section Fig. 4:11, Cat. No. 47). This fragment may have been a chariot type figurine, similar to those found in the tombs at Argos and Mycenae (Tamvaki 1973: 238, Fig. 17). The other figurine (Fig. 4:12, Cat. No. 46) consisted of the back of an animal and two back legs (the edge of one leg is broken). The tail is flattened and doubled over, projecting at the top. The decoration on both fragments is linear, of linear II type of LH IIIB ware. A similar decoration was found on a fragment found in Mycenae (French 1971: Pl. 25a, Nos. 50-257, 53-665) and Minet el-Beida (Schaeffer 1949: Fig. 55:6). A complete figurine, similar in shape but not in decoration, was found in the temple of stratum 1A in area H at Hazor, L2115, (Yadin et al. 1961: Pl. CCLXXXII:14), MycIIIB.

### *Summary and Conclusions*

To date the most prominent feature of the Late Bronze Age II at Tel Dan was and is the 'Mycenaean' tomb (Tomb 387) in Area B-East (Ben-Dov 2002: 94-118). The tomb is assigned to Stratum VIIIB and dated from the second half of the fourteenth to the mid thirteenth centuries BCE, mainly based on its rich collection of imported Mycenaean IIIA2-MycIIIB ware.

Mycenean fragments were scattered all over the site (Figs. 1, 5-6), where every excavated area yielded imported pottery sherds. The assemblage of vessels found in stratum VII consisted also of fragments imported from Cyprus, and the Lebanese coast alongside with local material characteristic of the Late Bronze Age II repertoire.

The collection of the imported Mycenaean vessels discovered in the occupation levels at Tel Dan does not differ from the various vessel types represented in T387. The majority of the vessels are closed vessels and several are open shapes. Unlike the collection found in the tomb, the Mycenaean ware from the occupation levels consisted mainly of small sherds, some too small to identify their shapes with certainty, but their fabric and decoration are most distinct. Only three fragments were restorable, even though some conclusions can be drawn. The shapes consisted of a large variety of vessels, some comparable to the assemblages of the funerary goods of T387, but there are types such as the rhyta and the figurines that were not included in the tomb repertory. The occupation layers consisted also of types which are later to the tomb period, such as the Myc style and MycIIIC shapes.

Only a few fragments were found on floors, the majority discovered in pits or mixed loci. In restoration there were joins between fragments found far from each other or in different elevations but in the same squares (Figs. 5-6). Those sherds were removed with the earth when the Iron Age pits were dug, cutting into stratum VIII and VII occupation levels.

Many of the fragments are dated to the MycIII A2-III B period which was the time when Mycenaean pottery was manufactured on a large scale in the Argolid and exported to reached the Near East (Hankey 1970: 23; Mountjoy 1993: 173). The majority are closed shapes, common in southeastern Mediterranean assemblages (Hankey 1974: 136). The closed shapes were used in the trade as containers for their commodity. They contained food, honey, grain, fruit, nuts, liquids, cosmetics, medicines and dyes. The small stirrup jars and flasks were used to hold pourable oil (olive oil). The wide mouthed alabstra and piriform jars were used for holding thicker, more viscous oil or unguents, honey and spices (Leonard 1981: 94-96). The kraters were exported to Cyprus and the Near East as luxury objects (Mountjoy 1993: 163). The fine open vessels served as drinking vessels, indicative of a trade in fine tableware (Leonard 1981: 91, 99-100).

The most popular shapes of the Mycenaean trade in LHII A2 were the small piriform jars, alabstra, stirrup jars, globular flasks and kylikes (Hankey 1974: 136, Mountjoy 1993: 172) In LHIII B the majority are the stirrup jars.

The imported vessels found at Tel Dan attest to the large variety of vessel types that arrived at the site in antiquity. They demonstrate the wealth of the city during the Late Bronze Age and the city's involvement in international trade at that time. It should be kept in mind that the city was located at the junction of major trade routes. Artzy suggests that the trade route to Tel Dan was from the coast to the Lebanese Baqa via Kamid el-Loz (Artzy 2006: 86). Indeed, many forms found at Tel Dan have similar shapes in Kamid el-Loz assemblages. The bulk of the imports reached the city of Laish in the Late Bronze Age II at the peak of the trading period of exports to the East, and to a lesser extent, towards the end of the period.

The types of imported vessels found at Tel Dan in sealed sequence support the dating of the various layers of the Late Bronze Age levels and the conclusion that there was no gap in the occupation levels of Tel Dan all throughout the period under discussion.

As mentioned above, the stirrup jars – the most popular vessel of the MycIII A2 and III B period – were found at Tel Dan both in the tomb and the occupation levels and continued as an imported commodity up to the beginning of the Iron Age.

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### 1. Catalogue

In the following catalogue each sherd was given a catalogue number; to which we refer in both the text and the figures, including also the area and year of excavation; locus number; register number; grid and Fig. No. Other abbreviations appear in the following catalogue are: int. (internal), ext. (external), pres. (preserved), D. (diameter) H. (height), L. (Length), W (width), FS (Furumark shape) and FM (Furumark Motif), NAA (that a fragment was taken for and its sample number will be published in the future publication).<sup>7</sup>

1. B/68, 344: 1419/8, G17, (Fig. 2:2).

Torus base of a small piriform jar FS45 or FS166

Fine buff fabric, tiny white and brown inclusions, lustrous dark orange paint.

The lower part of the body and the base are monochrome.

Find context: stratum VII, pebbles surface

D. base: 5.6 cm.; pres. H. 2 cm.

Comparison: T387, Ben-Dov 2002: Fig. 2.81.

MycIIIA2.

(NAA DANIII/4)

2. B1/75, 1203: 10668, B18 (Fig. 2:1).

Rim and neck from piriform jar FS45.

Wide and short neck with a sloping lip and shoulders.

Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, lustrous brown paint.

Group of reserved lines on the lip, band below rim (int.), monochrome neck (ext.) and a fine line at the base of the neck.

Find context: Pebble layer cut by Iron Age I pits.

D. rim: c. 8 cm. (ext.), pres. H.: 2.3 cm.

Comparison: Ben-Dov 2002: Fig. 2.81.

MycIIIA2-IIIB.

(NAA DANIII/30)

3. M/85, 8232: 20892, E10, (Fig. 2:3).

Rim and neck of an amphorioid krater FS53-55.

Horizontal rim, pale buff and orange fabric, tiny brown inclusions, buff slip, lustrous dark orange to brown paint.

Group of ten transverse lines on rim, monochrome neck (int.) and (ext.).

Find context: Stratum VII, pebbles level cut by pits.

D. rim: c. 35cm., pres. H.: 3 cm.

Comparison: decoration, rim of krater from Ugarit (Hirschfeld 2002: Fig. 6, Cat. No. 38).

MycIIIA2.

(NAA DANIII/8)

4. B/68, 362: 1549/7, F17 (not illustrated).

Neck of an amphorioid krater.

<sup>7</sup> There were also a few unstratified pieces which appear only in the catalogue/

Fine buff fabric, tiny brown inclusions, polished, lustrous brown and paint.  
Monochrome (int. and ext.).  
Find context: Stratum VII, destruction layer.  
Pres. W.: 2.5 cm., pres. H.: 4 cm.  
MycIIIA2.  
(NAA DANIII/5)

5. B1/75, 1229: 10650/19, A18 (Fig. 2:5).  
Shoulder of an amphorioid krater or a piriform jar (same as Cat. No. 6).  
Fabric (No. 6).  
Remains of the bands framing FM 60 N pattern, tall.  
Find context: pit located on stratum VII pavement.  
Pres. W.: 4 cm., pres. H.: 4 cm.  
MycIIIA2-IIIB.  
(NAA DANIII/20)

6. AB/79, 4203: 18097/10, U13-14 (Fig. 2:4).  
Shoulder of an amphorioid krater or piriform jar (same as No. 5).  
Fine buff fabric; tiny brown inclusions, buff slip, dark brown paint.  
Remains of a wide band.  
Find context: inside burnt bricks.  
Pres. W.: 3.5 cm., pres. H.: 3 cm.

7. B/67, 185: 921/2, E17, (Fig. 2:8).  
Fragment of a large piriform jar FS35?.  
Fine buff fabric, small brown inclusions, buff slip, polished, lustrous brown paint.  
Wide band below FM 43 semicircles and FM19 tongue, remains of a painted ring that encircle the handle.  
Find context: above Middle Bronze Age Tomb.  
Pres. W.: 7.5 cm., pres. H.: 7 cm.  
MycIIIA2-IIIB.  
(NAA DANIII/17)

8. B/68, 331: 1367/6, F14 (Fig. 2:7).  
Lower part of an amphorioid krater or a large piriform jar.  
Pale buff and orange fabric, tiny brown inclusions, reddish-brown paint  
Remains of wide bands.  
Find context: destruction level.  
Pres. W.: 4 cm., pres. H.: 4.5 cm.  
MycIIIA2-IIIB.  
(NAA DANIII/7)

9. B1/84, 4326: 18565, B18 (Fig. 2:6).  
Fragment of of a piriform jar?  
Fine buff fabric, tiny brown inclusions, buff slip, lustrous orange paint.  
FM15 Palm with small dots above it.  
Find context: ash layer.  
Pres. W.: 4 cm., pres. H.: 2.5 cm.

Comparisons: the motif: Rhyton from Kamid el-Loz (Metzger 1993: Fig. 131).  
MycIII A2-III B.  
(NAA DAN III/22)

10. B1/88, 4733: 25205, U18 (not illustrated).  
Small fragment of a horizontal rim.  
Buff fabric, tiny brown inclusions, lustrous orange to brown paint, monochrome (int.) and (ext.).  
Find context: mixed fill parallel to Stratum VIIA2.  
Pres. W.: 1 cm., pres. H.: 3 cm.

11. B/67, 219: 1218/2, G19 (not illustrated).  
Fragment of thick wall krater or large piriform jar  
Fine buff fabric; tiny brown inclusions, buff slip, lustrous brown paint (faded)  
Wide bands.  
Find context: plaster floor, cut by pit.  
Pres. W.: 4 cm., pres. H.: 2.3 cm.

12. B1/85, 4603: 23005, B18 (Fig. 2:9).  
Body fragment, upper part of a conical rhyton FS199.  
Thick walls, buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, polished (int. and ext.), buff slip, lustrous orange paint with white line in the center.  
FM 21 octopus tentacle.  
Find context: ash layer.  
Pres. D. (ext.) c. 12 cm., W.: 4 cm., pres. H.: 4.5 cm.  
Comparison: Ugarit (Hirschfeld 2000: Fig. 19: Cat. No. 280).  
MycIII A2 late.  
(NAA DAN III/14)

13. B/68, 361: 1541/11, F17 (Fig. 2:10).  
Body fragment of a upper part of a conical rhyton FS199.  
Thick wall, fine buff fabric, tiny brown inclusions, buff slip.  
Narrow white line flanked by two broader lustrous reddish-brown strips.  
Find context: mixed loci  
D. 8 cm., pres. W.: 2.5 cm., pres. H.: 2.2 cm.  
MycIII A2.  
(NAA DAN III/26)

14. B/68, P336: 1400/9, G18 (Fig. 2:12).  
Shoulder and wall of a straight-sided alabastron FS94-95, slightly concave sides, handle stub.  
Fine burnt buff and orange fabric, tiny brown inclusions, pink slip, polished, lustrous orange-brown paint.  
Group of fine and broad lines, remains of unclear motif on the decorative zone.  
Find context: Iron Age I pit.  
Pres. W. 3 cm., H.: 3.2 cm.  
Comparison: T387 Ben-Dov 2002: Fig. 2.83:92.  
MycIII A2.  
(NAA DAN III/12)



15. B1/88, 4733: 25212/1, U18 (not illustrated).

Body sherd of a straight-sided alabastron.

Fine buff fabric; tiny brown inclusions, buff slip, lustrous brown paint.

Group of fine and broad lines.

Find context: mud brick collapse of stratum VIIA2.

Pres. W.: 1.6 cm., pres. H.: 3 cm.

16. B/67, 174: 898/4, E17 (Fig. 2:13).

Shoulder and upper part of straight-sided alabastron (FS96), slightly concave sides, only one horizontal rounded handle preserved.

Fine buff fabric; tiny brown inclusions, pink slip, lustrous orange paint.

Wide band above and below the monochrome handle.

Myc Style

Find context: dismantle of Iron Age wall.

D. max.: c. 10, pres. H.: 2.5 cm.

(NAA DANIII/24)

17. AB/99, 7283: 24995/9, U14 (not illustrated).

Base of an alabastron?

Buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, polished, lustrous orange paint.

Bands on base and the lower part of the body.

Find context: in burnt layer.

Pres. W.: 2.4 cm., pres. H.: 2 cm.

18. B/69+70, 363a: 1842/7+6307/9+ P439: 6291/1, G16 (Fig. 3:11).

Lower part of a globular stirrup jar FS171. Raised concave base, and a globular body. Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, polished, lustrous orange and brown paint.

Group of fine and broad lines below the belly; and on the base (ext.).

Find context: the base: inside Pit 439 cut into T387 northern wall, joins with sherds found in the fill at the top of the burial chamber.

D. Base. 5 cm., D. max. 11.6 cm., pres. H.: 5 cm.

Comparison: T387, Ben-Dov 2002: Fig. 97-99.

NAA: Made in the Argolid (Gunnweg et al. 1992: Ills.209: 6)

19. B/70, P439: 6291/2, G16 (Fig. 3:6).

Sholder or a belly of a stirrup jar probably No. 18.

Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, polished, lustrous brown paint.

Group of fine and broad lines.

Find context: Iron Age I pit 439 cut into the northern wall of T387.

Pres. W.: 4.8 cm., pres. H. 2.5 cm.

20. B/70, 363a: 6307/8, F16 (Fig. 3:2).

Shoulder and handle remnant of a conical stirrup jar FS182, rounded shoulder with almost flat top.

Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, polished, orange and brown paint.



Group of fine and wide lines, monochrome handle.

Find context: Stratum VIIA2, fill above the stone collapse that covers the burial chamber of T387 with No. 18.

Pres. W.: 4 cm., pres. H.: 5 cm.

Made in the Argolid (Gunneweg et al. 1992: Ills. 209:5).

(NAA DANIII/18)

21. 38. B/70, 363a: 6303/2, F/16 (Fig. 3:3).

Strap handle of a stirrup jar either 18 or 20.

Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, orange broad line paint outside.

Find context: see No. 20.

Pres. H. 4.5 cm.

22. B/91, 7209: 24746/2, E16 (Fig. 3:1).

Shoulder of a stirrup jar.

Burnt fine fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, polished, lustrous brown paint.

Group of fine and wide lines (faded), and a painted line circles the bases of flash neck or the spout.

Find context: cleaning a section in the proximity of T387.

Pres. W.: 4 cm., pres. H.: 3.5 cm.

23. B/70, 431: 6253/1, G16 (not illustrated).

Shoulder and a handle stub of a stirrup jar FS182?

Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, lustrous orange paint.

A group of fine and wide lines.

Find context: with Iron Age context.

Pres. W.: 2.6 cm., pres. H.: 3 cm.

24. B1/85, 4628: 23152 + 4620: 23058, B19 (Fig. 3:4).

Belly of a stirrup jar FS173 or a conical piriform jar FS166.

Fine buff fabric (10YR7/0), tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, polished, lustrous brown paint.

Group of fine and broad lines.

Find context: Joined between two Iron Age I pits cut into a stratum VII wall.

D. max. c. 10 cm., pres. H.: 5 cm.

MycIIIB.

(NAA DANIII/9)

25. B1/85, 4629 (W5502): 23114, B19 (not illustrated).

Belly of a stirrup jar or piriform jar (maybe No. 24).

Fabric and paint see no. 24.

Remains of two wide bands.

Find context: Section.

Stratum VIIA2

Pres. W. 6.5 cm., pres. H.: 3 cm.

26. B1/85 4620: 23058, B19 (not illustrated).

Strap handle of a stirrup jar.

Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, lustrous brown paint.  
Monochrome (ext.).  
Find context: Iron Age I Age Pit with no, 24.  
Pres. L. 3.5 cm.

27. T/79, 2422: 12742/2, D18 (not illustrated).  
Fragment of a stirrup jar or piriform jar.  
Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, polished, lustrous brown paint.  
Group of wide and fine lines.  
Find context: Iron Age context.  
Pres. W.: 3.5 cm., pres. H.: 1.2 cm.

28. B/91, 7215: 24817/2, E16 (not illustrated).  
Fragment of a stirrup jar?  
Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, lustrous orange paint.  
Traces of wide and fine lines (faded).  
Find context: on a plaster floor of Stratum VII.  
Pres. W.: 2.3 cm., pres. H.: 2.5 cm.

29. B1/75, 624/679: 10253/2, A18 (not illustrated).  
Small fragment lower part of a globular stirrup jar FS171/173  
Fine burnt fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, polished, lustrous orange paint.  
Traces of a group of wide and fine lines.  
Find context: ash level, mixed.  
Pres. W.: 2.5 cm., pres. H.: 2 cm.

30. B/66, 129: 657/4, E/F17 (Fig. 3:9).  
Fragment of the the lower part of the body of stirrup jar.  
Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, polished, lustrous orange to brown paint.  
Remains of broad and fine lines.  
Find context: Iron Age I floor.  
Pres. W.: 4 cm., pres. H.: 2 cm.

31. B1/75, 698: 10573, B19 (not illustrated).  
Fragment of a stirrup jar, shulder or the lower part of the body may be part of No. 34.  
Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, lustrous brown paint.  
Group of fine and wide lines.  
Find context: mixed.  
Pres. W.: 3 cm., pres. H.: 2.5 cm.

32. B/67, 174: 898, E17 (Fig. 3:10).  
Ring base of a globular stirrup jar FS173  
Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, polished, brown paint.  
Band on the base.  
Find context: Dismantle of Iron Age I wall.  
D. Base. 4.1 cm., pres. H.: 2.1 cm.

33. AB/85, 7005: 24032/2, T13 (Fig. 2:11).

Raised concave base of a Jug FS110?

Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, lustrous black paint.

Band on the base (faded).

Find context: Stratum VII stone pavement.

D. Base: c. 6.4 cm., pres. H.: 1.2 cm.

MycIIIB.

(NAA DANIII/21)

34. B1/75, 645: 10075 + 638: 10339, B20 (Fig. 3:5).

Shoulder, handle stub and belly of a squat stirrup jar FS179 or 180.

Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, lustrous reddish brown paint.

A group of fine and broad lines. A painted line at the base of the false neck and the spout (both missing) forming a single oval band, a trace of unclear motif on the decorative zone.

Find context: mixed, joins between two different loci about 0.80 m. apart.

D. Max.: 16 cm., pres. H.: 4.3 cm.

Comparison: T387, Ben-Dov 2002: Fig. 2.84:96.

MycIIIA late-IIIB.

(NAA DANIII/11)

35. Y/79, 3212: 17090, 17087, 17109, 17101, 17102, and 3216: 17212 (Fig. 3:12).

Squat stirrup jar (half), spout, one handle, false neck and base are missing FS175.

Squat body, Tall and narrow trumpet-shaped spout, rounded lip, strap handle.

Fine heavily burnt fabric, metallic, tiny brown and white inclusions, polished, lustrous dark brown paint (faded).

Band on the lip and circular band on the tall spout, FM 71 Elaborate triangle motif.

A group fine lines below the decorative zone, streaky paint at the lower part of the body. Horizontal bands on the strap handle. Minoan motif.

Find context: burnt layer or Iron Age I pit, spread over a large area.

D. Max.: 16 cm., pres. H.: 10 cm.

Petrographical analysis: import from the Mediterranean.

MycIIIC.

(NAA DAN III/25)

36. AB/74, 583: 9443/1, A17 (Fig. 4:2).

Fragment of a globular flask, handle stub, Myc style (FS189).

Buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, pale brown slip, lustrous reddish brown paint.

Concentric wide and narrow circles on the body, monochrome handle.

Find context: Fill.

Pres. W.: 4 cm., pres. H.: 4 cm.

Comparison: T387, Ben-Dov 2002: Fig. 2.85:100-102.

37. B1/75, 1214: 10611/6, B17 (Fig. 4:1).

Fragment of a globular flask (FS189) part of No. 36 (no joins).

Fabric and decoration see no. 36.

Find context: pebble layer.

Pres. W.: 3 cm., pres. H.: 4 cm.

Myc style.

(NAA DANNIII/23)

38. B1/91, 7227: 24705/1, U18 (Fig. 4:8).

Rim from a kylix FS258

Flaring lipless rim, shallow semi globular body.

Fine buff fabric, small white and black inclusions, buff slip, polished, lustrous brown paint.

Band at rim (int. and ext.), FM 19 multiple stem.

Find context: ash layer.

D. rim: c. 14.3 cm., pres. H.: 4 cm.

Comparison: Ugarit (Hirschfeld 2000: Fig. 23: Cat. Nos. 373, 377).

MycIIIB.

(NAA DANIII/1)

39. AB/88, 7145: 23842/1, U15 (Fig. 4:6).

Rim and vertical strap handle from a kylix FS258.

Lipless rim, fine buff and orange fabric, tiny brown inclusions, buff slip, lustrous dark brown paint.

Band at rim (int. and ext.), monochrome handle with reserved triangle at top.

Find context: Stratum VII plaster floor on pavement 7085.

Pres. W.: 1 cm., pres. H.: 1.5 cm.

MycIIIA2-IIIB.

(NAA DANIII/16)

40. B/70, 436: 6272/1, H16 (Fig. 4:5).

Rim from a kylix FS256/7.

Flaring lipless rim, shallow semi globular body, with handle stub.

Fine pale brown / buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, lustrous dark brown paint.

Band at rim (int. and ext.) monochrome handle, remains of vertical lines at the decorative zone.

Find context: ash level above stratum VIIA1 floor.

Pres. W.: 2.5 cm., pres. H.: 2.8 cm.

Made in the Argolid (Gunneweg et al. 1992: 57\*, Table 1. DAN 80).

(NAA DANIII/28)

41. B/66, 129: 662/4, F17 (Fig. 4:4).

Rim from a shallow bowl or kylix FS256/7.

Hollow rim; bulge below the rim (ext.), semi globular body.

Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, light brown, dark brown paint.

Band at rim (int. and ext. faded). FM 48 Quirk at the, fine and wide lines around lower body (ext.).

Find context: Iron Age I floor.

D. rim: c. 13.1 cm., pres. H.: 3.4 cm.

MycIIIB.

42. AB/88, 7152: 23864/1, U15 (Fig. 4:7).

Rounded rim from a stemmed bowl FS304/5.

Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, lustrous dark brown paint.  
Band at rim (int. and ext.) monochrome inside.  
Find context: Iron Age I installation.  
D. rim: c. 17.2 cm., pres. H.: 1.7 cm.  
Comparison: Shape: Mountjoy 1986: Fig. 165.  
MycIIIA2-IIIB.  
(NAA DAN III/27)

43. B/66, 219: 1148/11, G19 (Fig. 4:3)  
Fragment of a shallow angular bowl FS296.  
Burnt fabric, tiny brown inclusions, gray slip, lustrous brown paint.  
Narrow and wide lines (ext.), wide bands with white dots (int.) burnt marks.  
Find context: floor cut by Iron Age I pits.  
Pres. W.: 3 cm., pres. H.: 4 cm.  
Comparison: Minet el Beida Tomb V récent 3 (Schaeffer 1949: Fig. 58:3).  
MycIIIB2.  
(NAA DANIII/19)

44. K/85, 6428: 22585/1, N4 (Fig. 4:9).  
Fragment of a domed base of a kylix FS257/8.  
Fine buff and orange fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, lustrous orange paint.  
Wide bands on the base (ext.).  
Find context: ash and pebbles cut by Iron Age I pits.  
Pres. W.: 2.5 cm., pres. H.: 1.5 cm.  
(NAA DANIII/13)

45. B/66, 106: 569/6, F17 (Fig. 4:10).  
Fragment of a hemosphrical bowl with horizontal rounded handle, thick wall, FS284.  
Buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, reddish yellow slip, heavy polished, lustrous red paint.  
Monochrome inside, circle around the handle (ext.), monochrome handle.  
Find context: surface fill.  
Pres. W.: 6 cm., pres. H.: 3.5 cm.  
Comparison: Kamid el-Loz (Metzger 1993: Fig. 141:9, MycIIIC.  
Myc style.  
Provanance: according to petrographic analysis: Lebanese coast north of Tyre.

46. B1/84, 4343: 18594/1, B20 (Fig. 4:12; Biran 1994: Fig. 85:9)  
Fragment of a figurine, a tail and two back legs (one broken).  
buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, polished, lustrous brown paint, faded.  
Find context: destruction level.  
D. body: 1.7 cm., pres. L. body: 5 cm., L. leg: 3.5 cm.  
Comparison: French 1971: Figs. 25:66; Minet el-Beida (Schaeffer 1949: Fig. 55:6).  
MycIIIB.  
(NAA DANIII/2)

47. A/77, 5036: 15227, J3 (Fig. 4:11)

Fragment of a figurine, head and two front legs (broken), horns missing, maybe the chriot type. (driven oxen or plough group)

Buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, polished, lustrous reddish brown paint.

Find context: Iron Age II pavement.

D. body: 1.4 cm., pres. L. body: 3.2 cm., L. leg: 0.6 cm., pres. Head 2.5 cm.

Comparison: similar decoration, Minet el-Beida (Schaeffer 1949: Fig. 59:9).

(NAA DANIII/3)

Miscellaneous

48. AB/78, 4190: 14820, E19 (not illustrated).

Fragment of straight-sided alabastron.

Fine buff fabric, tiny brown inclusions, buff slip, black paint.

Band (faded).

Find context: mixed.

Pres. W 2.5 cm., pres. H.: 4 cm.

49. B1/91, 7230: 24810/2, U18 (not illustrated).

Small fragment of straight-sided alabastron?

Buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, polished, lustrous reddish and dark brown paint

Group of narrow and wide lines.

Find context: mud bricks fill of stratum VIIA2.

Pres. W.: 1.6 cm., pres. H.: 2 cm.

50. AB/88, 7145: 23832/5, U15 (not illustrated).

Small fragment of a bowl.

Buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, black paint (int. and ext.).

Find context: ash layer above pavement 7085.

Pres. W.: 3 cm., pres. H.: 2 cm.

51. B/91, 7215: 24785/1, E16 (Fig. 3:7).

Fragment of the lower part of a squat stirrup jar FS180.

Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, lustrous brown paint.

Group of wide and fine lines.

Find context: section above stratum VII floor.

Pres. W.: 2 cm., pres. H.: 3 cm.

MycIIIB.

(NAA DANIII/6)

52. Y/76, 3012: 13055/5, L15 (not illustrated).

Fragment of a close vessel thick wall

Buff pink fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, pink slip, polished, lustrous orange paint.

Wide band.

Find context: Bulk dismantle.

Pres. W.: 3.5 cm., pres. H.: 2.5 cm.

53. AB/74, 583: 9443/5, A17 (not illustrated).

Fragment of a flask handle with flattened section

buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, lustrous brown paint.

Monochrome.

Find context: fill.

Pres. L.: 3 cm.

MycIIIA2.

54. AB/88, 7160: 23902/11, A15 (not illustrated).

Fragment of a lintoid flask variation of FS186? thick wall

Buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, pink slip, lustrous orange paint. Concentric lines.

Find context: mixed.

Pres. W.: 4 cm., pres. H.: 3 cm.

Comparison: T387, Ben-Dov 2002: 2.85: 103?

55. B1/88, 4733: 25232/1, U18 (not illustrated).

Fragment of a lintoid flask variation of FS186?

Buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, lustrous orange paint.

Narrow and wide bands (faded).

Find context: ash layer to Stratum VIIA2 L7230.

Pres. W.: 2 cm., H.: 4 cm.

56. AB/88, 7145: 23842/2, U15 (Fig. 3:8).

Fragment of the lower part of a globular stirrup jar FS171/173

Fine burnt fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, gray slip, polished, dark brown paint.

Group of fine and broad lines.

Find context: Stratum VII pavement 7085.

Pres. W: 2.2 cm., pres. H.: 2.8 cm.

MycIIIB.

(NAA DANIII/10)

57. AB/85, 7005: 24032/3, T13 (not illustrated).

Small fragment of stirrup jar or a base of alabastron?

Fine buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, polished, lustrous brown paint.

Group of fine and broad lines.

Find context: Fill above stratum VII pavement.

Pres. W.: 2.2 cm., pres. H.: 2 cm.

58. B1/75, 679:10400/1, A17 (not illustrated).

Fragment, thick walls flask?

Gray fabric; tiny brown and white inclusions, orange paint.

Narrow and wide concentric lines.

Find context: Iron Age I fill.

Pres. W: 3 cm., pres. H.: 2.5 cm.

59. AB/79, 4203: 18175/5, U13-14 (not illustrated).

Small fragment.

Fine buff fabric, black paint (faded).

Wide bands.

Find context: fill

Pres. W: 2 cm., pres. H.: 2 cm.

60. T/78, 2309: 12079, D18 (not illustrated).

Small fragment, thick wall.

Buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, polished, lustrous dark brown paint.

Wide bands.

Find context: mud bricks collapse with Iron Age I material.

Pres. W.: 1.9 cm., pres. H.: 2.4 cm.

61. B1/85, 4623: 23064/5, B20 (not illustrated).

Small fragment.

Fine buff fabric, lustrous orange paint.

Narrow and wide lines.

Find context: bulk.

Pres. W: 1.4 cm., pres. H.: 1.6 cm.

62. T/85, 2890: 19959, F20 (not illustrated).

Small fragment.

Fine buff fabric, buff slip, reddish-brown paint.

Net pattern FM57 framed by wide band.

Find context: pebble layer.

Pres. W: 1.5 cm., pres. H.: 1.1 cm.

63. B1/75, 1214: 10611/7, B17 (not illustrated).

Fragment with thick walls

Buff fabric, tiny brown and white inclusions, buff slip, black paint (faded).

Find context: pebbles layer.

Pres. W.: 3.5 cm., pres. H.: 3.5 cm.



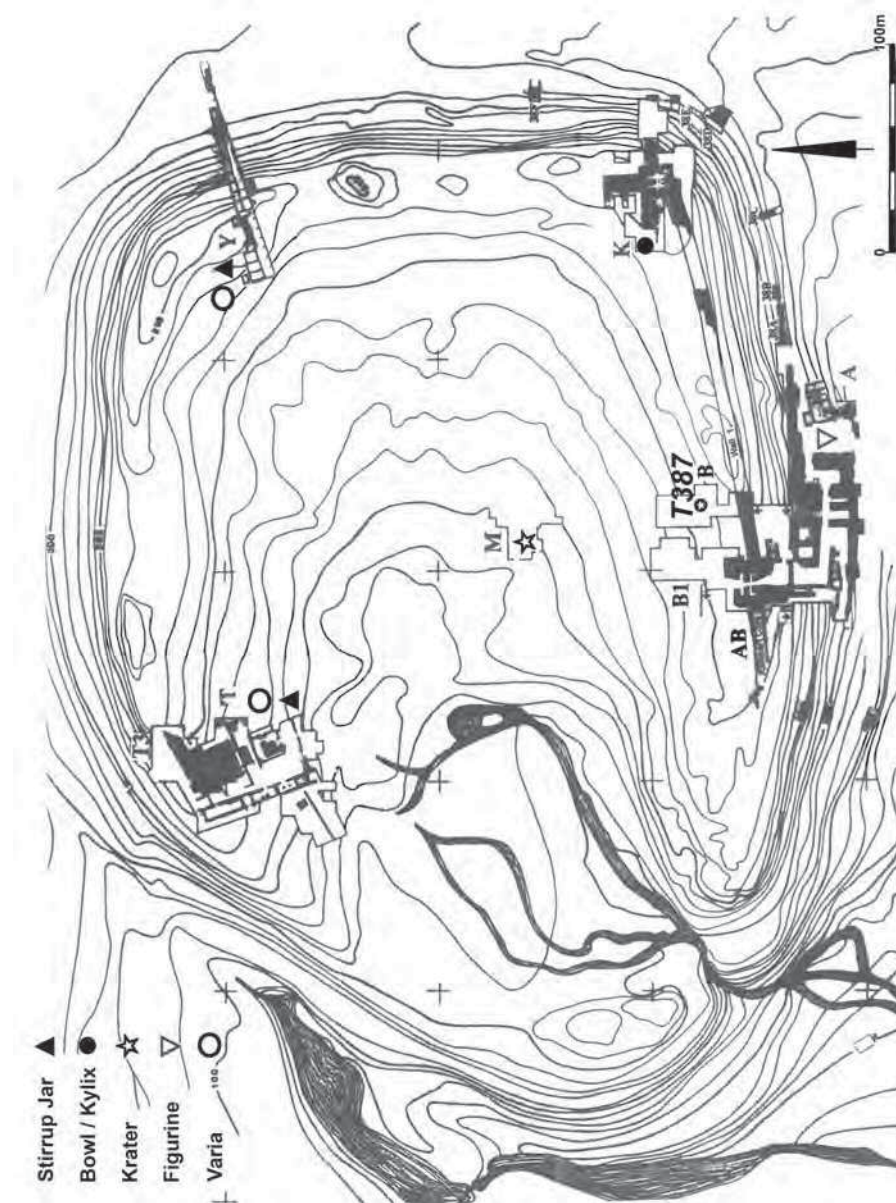


Fig. 1: Topographical map of Tel Dan with the location of the various areas of excavation

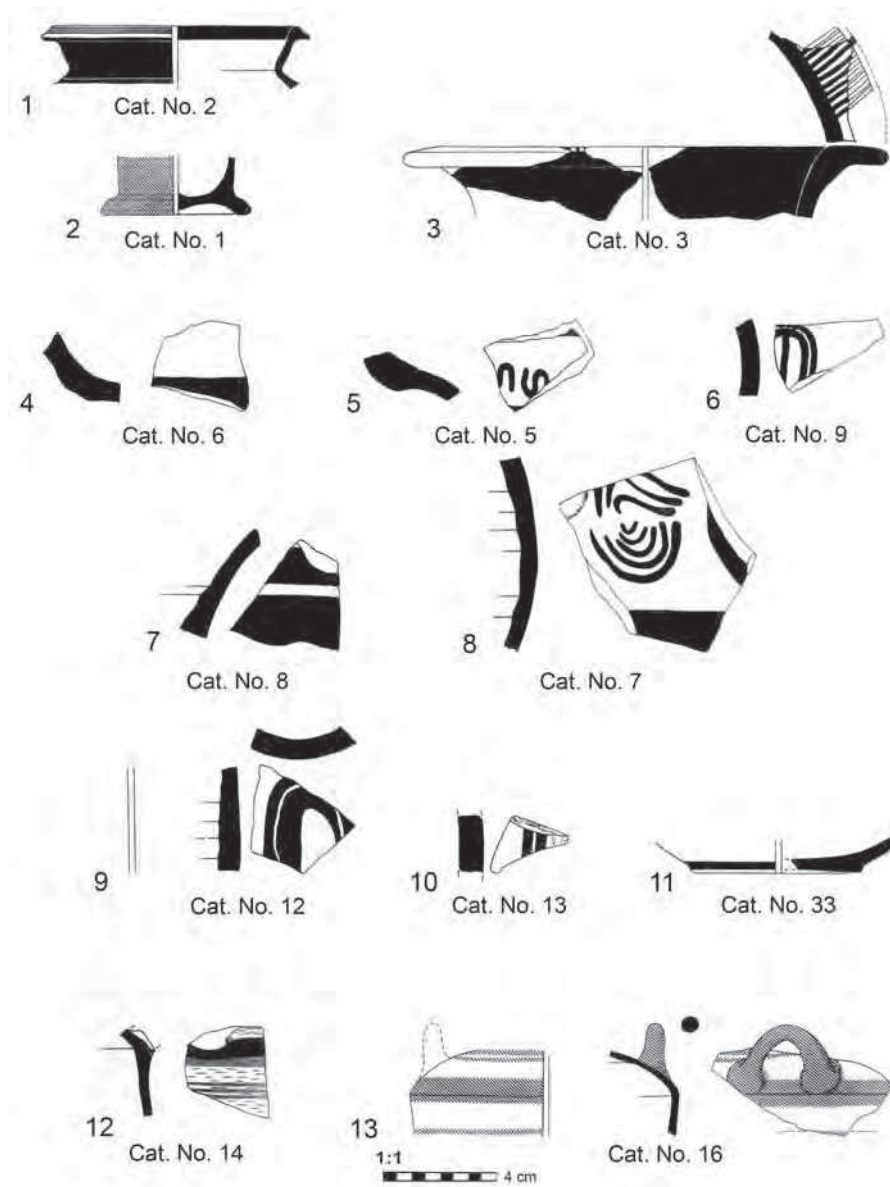


Fig. 2: Piriform jar, Kraters, Rhyton and Alabastrons

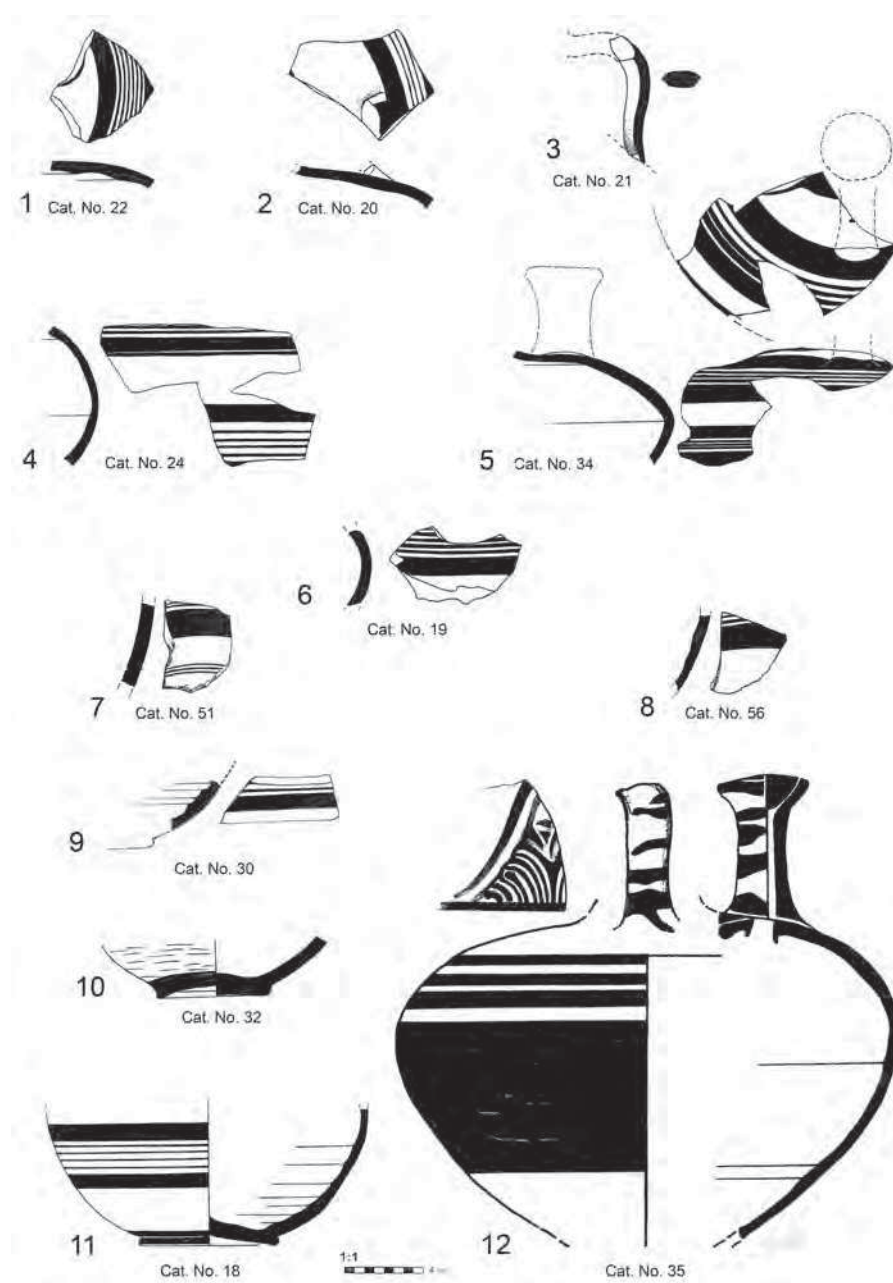


Fig. 3: Stirrup jars

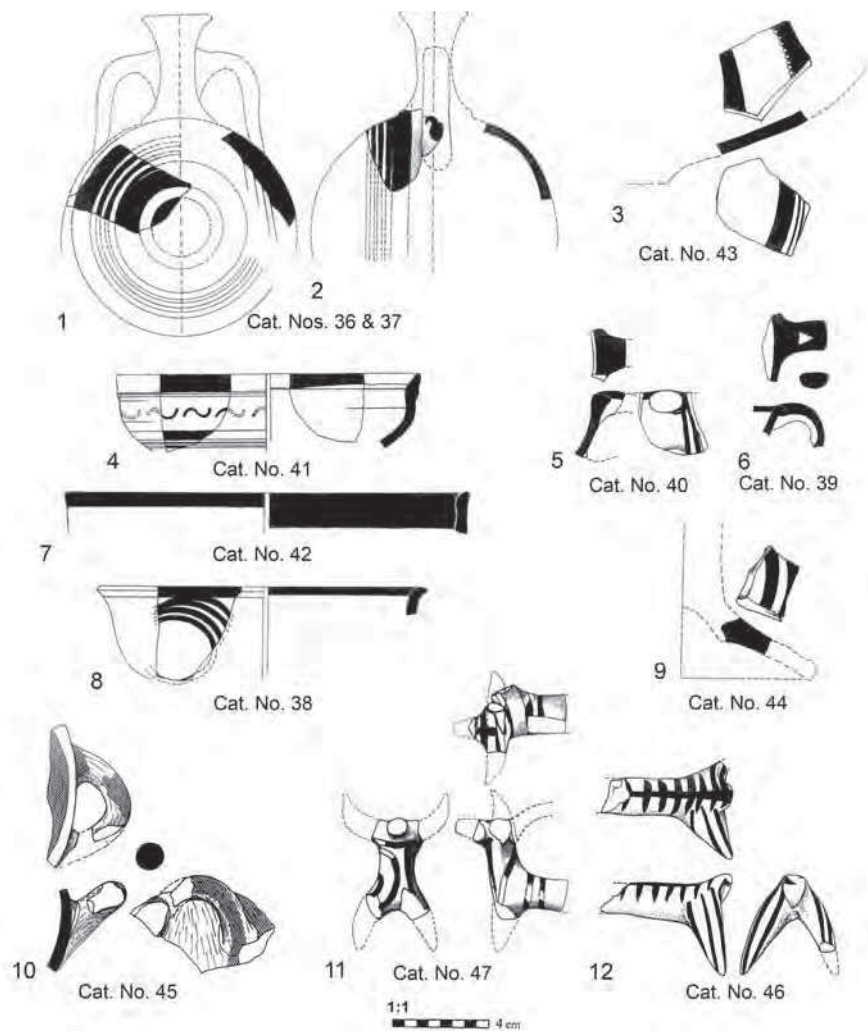


Fig. 4: Flask, Kylikes, Bowls and Figurines



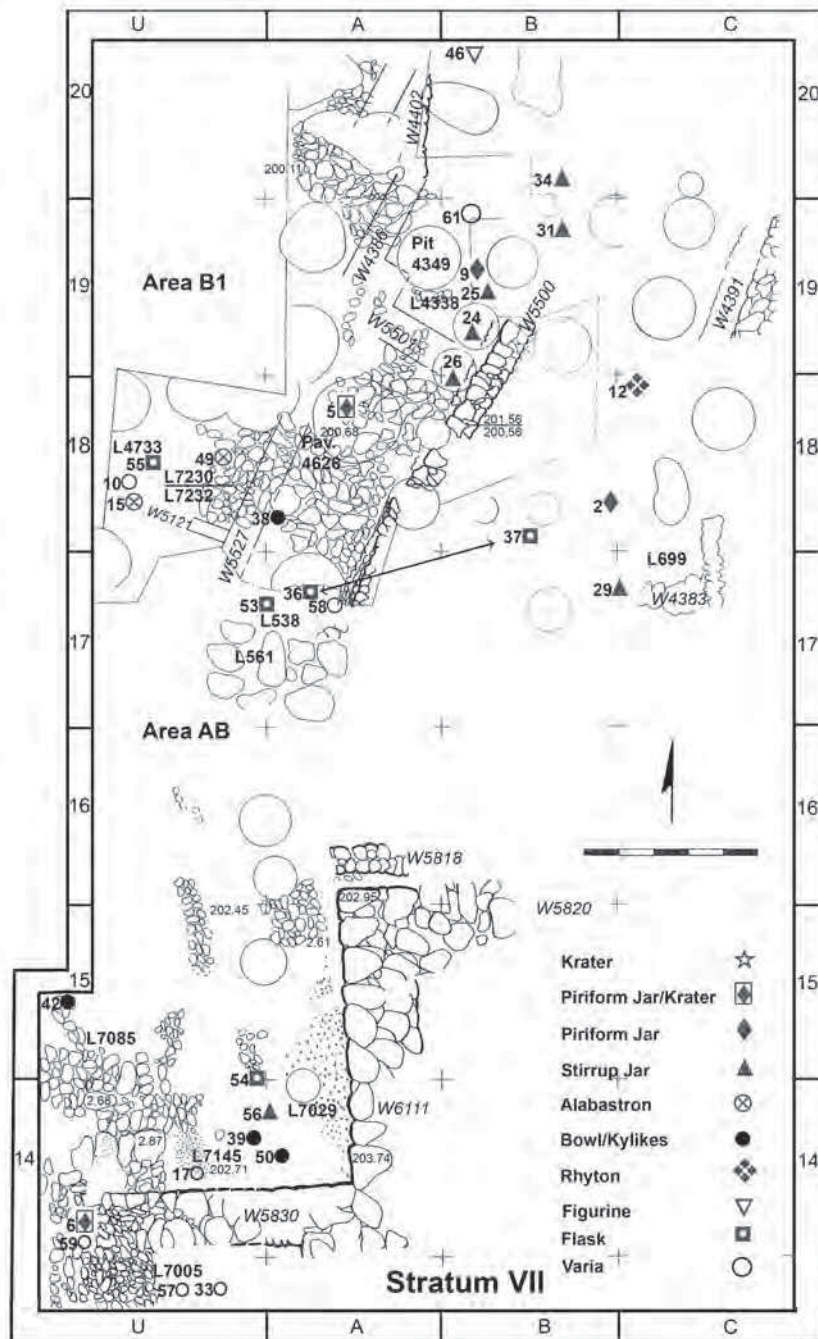


Fig. 5: Map of distribution of Mycenaean fragment in area AB and B1

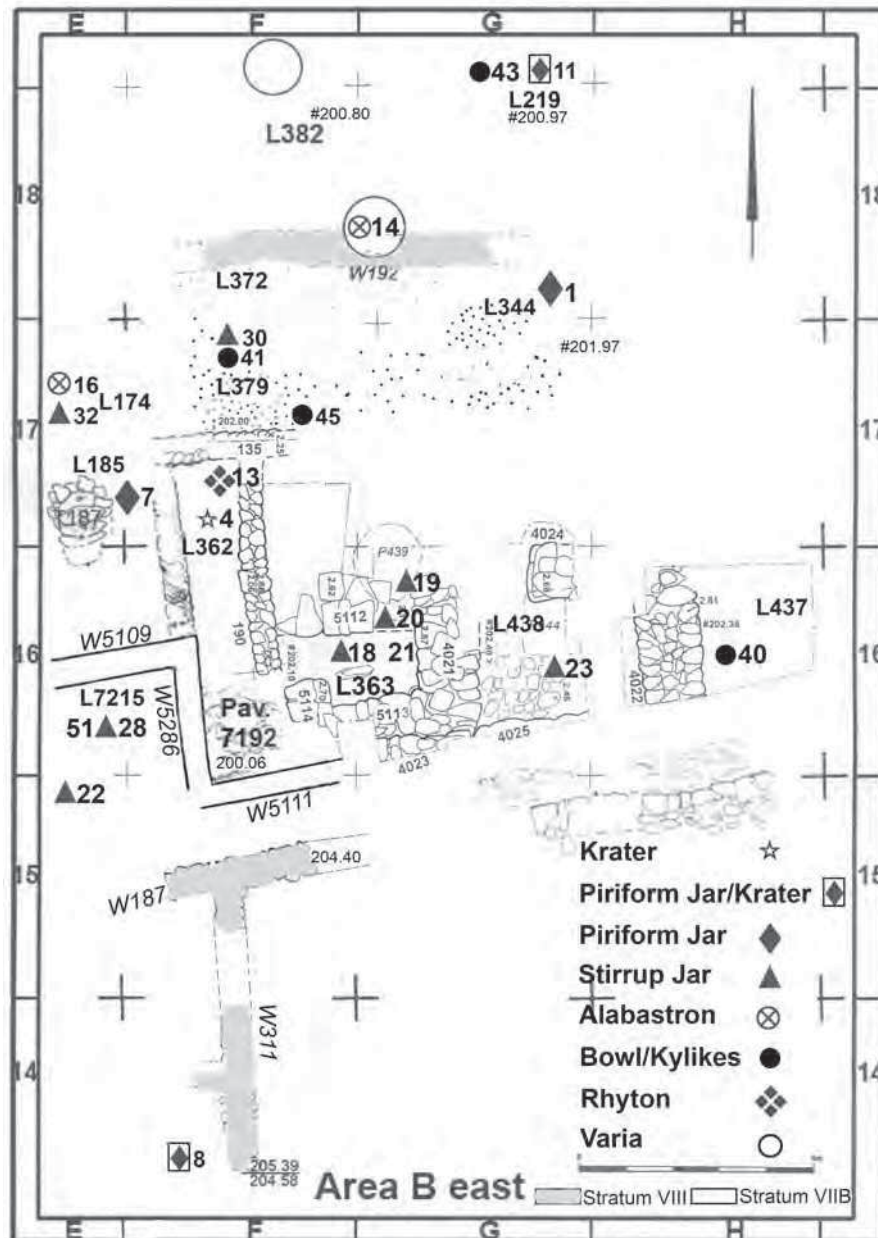


Fig. 6: Map of distribution of Mycenaean fragment in area B east



## The Beth-Shean Level IX Group. A Local Scarab Workshop of the Late Bronze Age I

Daphna Ben-Tor and Othmar Keel

An exceptional group of scarabs, first noted by Keel (2004a: 52; 2004b: 1549), displays highly unusual features indicating that the scarabs were produced in molds as replicas of other scarabs – a phenomenon unique to this group. The fact that not a single example showing characteristics of this group was found outside Palestine argues for the local production of these scarabs. Keel has proposed that the group was produced at Beth-Shean after the city had become an Egyptian stronghold following the conquest of Tuthmosis III. This is indicated first and foremost by the number of examples found at Beth-Shean compared with other sites, and, as these scarabs are made of glazed composition, by the evidence for Late Bronze Age silicate manufacture at the site (McGovern et al. 1993). Scarabs displaying characteristics of this group were found in all Late Bronze levels of Egyptian occupation at Beth-Shean (levels IX, VIII, and VII). Yet considering the small size of these scarabs, the motifs decorating their base, and the fact that examples are first attested in level IX, Keel has considered the group as a product of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and called it “the Beth-Shean stratum IX group” (Keel 2004a: 52; 2004b: 1549).<sup>1</sup> Taking into account both excavated and unprovenanced scarabs assigned to the group, there is sufficient evidence to establish a coherent group and to argue in favor of the date and origin initially proposed by Keel. We wish to present and discuss this group here as a contribution to our friend and colleague Eliezer Oren, for whom the subjects of the Late Bronze Age Egyptian occupation of Palestine, and the city of Beth-Shean are well-known territories.

The historical and cultural implications of scarabs found in Palestine in archaeological deposits dating from the second millennium BCE were discussed in many studies, which stress their contribution to our understanding of Egyptian/ Levantine relations during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages.<sup>2</sup> It is now generally accepted that the principal difference between scarabs from Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age deposits in Palestine is their place of production. While scarabs from Middle Bronze Age contexts are

<sup>1</sup> It should also be noted that level IX yielded the largest number of examples.

<sup>2</sup> See discussions and bibliography in Tufnell 1984; Ward and Dever 1994; Keel 1995; Ben-Tor 2007.



mostly local productions (Keel 2004c; Ben-Tor 2007: 115-83), those from Late Bronze Age contexts are mainly Egyptian imports (Keel 1994: 225-26). This is not surprising considering the different political situations during these periods. While a dynasty (or dynasties) of Canaanite origin ruled over northern Egypt in the Middle Bronze Age, Egypt ruled over the Levant in the Late Bronze Age. The great majority of the scarabs found in Late Bronze Age deposits in Palestine display characteristics indicating their Egyptian origin, whether bearing royal or divine names and images, good-luck symbols and formulae, or decorative motifs (Keel 1995: §552, §582-585, §638, §642-646). So-called heirlooms consisting of Middle Bronze Age Canaanite scarabs are occasionally found (Keel 1995: §692-§693),<sup>3</sup> but there is no evidence for the continuation of local production of scarabs in Palestine after the Egyptian empire was established by Tuthmosis III.<sup>4</sup>

The scarabs assigned to the Beth-Shean level IX group, although undoubtedly of local production, differ considerably from Middle Bronze Age Canaanite scarabs. The former were produced in moulds and made of glazed composition while the latter were hand carved and made of steatite. Moreover, the Beth-Shean level IX scarabs were made as replicas of individual Egyptian scarabs (below), while the Middle Bronze Age Canaanite scarabs were made as generic imitations of Egyptian prototypes (Keel 2004c; Ben-Tor 2007: 115-83). These differences strongly argue against any association between the workshops that produced the two groups, or a continuation of the same tradition.

The two most striking features of the Beth-Shean level IX group are the complete absence of any indication of the scarab's legs, and the fact that the base designs always face left. On the other hand, items showing identical designs but not displaying the typical features of the group show the designs facing right. These distinctive features best define the scarabs of the Beth-Shean level IX group, and they reflect their process of production. Separate molds – one of the back and one of the base of a particular scarab – were filled with glazing material and placed against each other. The final product shows the back of the beetle resting directly on the plinth, and the scarab's sides, which usually depict the insect's legs, are not indicated. The scarabs used for creating the molds are in most cases known types of Egyptian 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty scarabs. Unlike their replicas, the Egyptian prototypes display sides showing the scarab's legs, and the designs facing right. The color of the glaze ranges between blue/green and white/gray, the former showing the original colors, which were often worn off or faded into light shades of blue/green or white/gray.

<sup>3</sup> Heirloom scarabs are attested during all periods both in Egypt and in the Levant (Keel 1995: §692-§693; Ben-Tor 2007: 1, 7, 51, 72).

<sup>4</sup> The Middle Bronze Age production of scarabs probably continued until the establishment of the Egyptian Empire in Palestine (Ben-Tor 2007: 155, 157).

Before we discuss the Beth-Shean level IX scarabs, we list below the items assigned to the group. The excavated scarabs listed according to find places are followed by unprovenanced items.<sup>5</sup>

*Scarabs from excavations assigned to the Beth-Shean level IX group*

*From Beth-Shean*

- 1 *Beth-Shean IX* – Ptah holding a *w3s* scepter, standing behind '*nh*' and *dd* signs. Blue. 15.6 x 11.1 x 6.7 mm. Keel 1989: 295, Fig. 48; Keel 2010: Bet-Shean No. 143. (Fig. 1)
- 2 *Beth-Shean IX* – Enthroned man holding a lotus flower. White. 15.5 x 11.7 x 5.6 mm. Keel 2010: Bet-Shean No. 138. (Fig. 2)
- 3 *Beth-Shean IX* – Striding man holding a lotus flower. Light green. 15.7 x 12 x 6.5 mm. Keel 2010: Bet-Shean No. 136. (Fig. 3)
- 4 *Beth-Shean IX* – Inscription: *ímn-r* in longitudinal setting, possibly flanked by *nb* signs (the base is broken, depicting only one *nb*). White-gray. 15.8 x 12 x 7.5 mm. Keel 2010: Bet-Shean No. 141. (Fig. 4)
- 5 *Beth-Shean VIII* – Horned caprid its head turned backwards, with a stylized branch above. Light blue. 14.7 x 11.2 x 8 mm. Rowe 1940: Pl. 39:2; Keel 2010: Bet-Shean No. 30. (Fig. 5)
- 6 *Beth-Shean VIII* – Striding lion with '*nh*' sign above its back. White. 17 x 12.2 x 8 mm. Weinstein 1993: Fig. 168:3; Keel 2010: Bet-Shean No. 142. (Fig. 6)
- 7 *Beth-Shean VIII* – Inscription: *s'nh ímn* or '*nh.s n ímn*' Blue-green. 15.3 x 11.3 x 7.4 mm. Weinstein 1993: Fig. 168:2; Keel 2010: Bet-Shean No. 130. (Fig. 7)
- 8 *Beth-Shean VII* – Inscription: *s'nh ímn* or '*nh.s n ímn*'. Light green. 13.9 x 12 x 6.1 mm. Weinstein 1993: Fig. 167:1; Keel 2010: Bet-Shean No. 144. (Fig. 8)

*From other sites*

- 9 *Tell Abu Hawam* – Horned caprid its head turned backwards, with a branch above. Blue. 15 x 10.6 x 6 mm. Early Iron Age context. Keel 1997: 8-9, No.10. (Fig. 9)
- 10 *Tell Abu Hawam* – Falcon standing on a uraeus, with *mr* sign behind. Blue. 16.5 x 11 x 6.5 mm. 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE context. Keel 1997: 12-13, No. 21. (Fig. 10)
- 11 *Atlit* – Thoeris. White, 16.2 x 12.2 x 7.4 mm. Surface find. Keel 1997: 768-69, No. 29. (Fig. 11)
- 12 *Gezer* – Hathor symbol flanked by uraei. Light blue. 17.5 x 12 x 7 mm. Late 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE context. Brandl 1986: 248-49, Pl. 1:4. (Fig. 12)

<sup>5</sup> The figures present the base designs of the excavated scarabs and three sides (back, side, and base design) of the unprovenanced items.

- 13 *Gezer* – Cross pattern with spirals (broken). Light green. 16 x 11.8 x 7 mm. No context. Keel 2004a: 51-52, Pl. 16:1. (Fig. 13)
- 14 *Lachish* – Striding man holding a lotus flower, with a uraeus below it. 17 x 12 x 7.4 mm. Tomb dated between 1450-1300 BCE. Tufnell 1958: Pls. 37-38: 308. (Fig. 14)
- 15 *Lachish* – Striding man holding a lotus flower, with 'nh sign between them. 17.5 x 13.5 x 7.8 mm. Tomb dated between 1425-1275 BCE. Tufnell 1958: Pl. 37-38:311. (Fig. 15)
- 16 *Lachish* – m3't feather and a uraeus above nb. White, remains of blue. 14.8 x 11 x 5.9 mm. End of LB I context (1450-1400). Keel 2004b: 1549, No. 23, Figs. 23.41-42:5. (Fig. 16)
- 17 *Taanach* – Striding man holding a lotus flower. Sellin 1904: 28-29, Fig. 23. (Fig. 17)
- 18 *Beth Shemesh* – Inscription: *ímn-htp*. Light blue. 14.6 x 10.4 x 6.2 mm. No context. Grant 1934: 43, Fig. 3:15; Keel 2010: Bet-Schemesch No. 160. (Fig. 18)
- 19 *Beth Shemesh* – Enthroned man holding a lotus flower. 14.7 x 11.7 x 6 mm. No clear context. Grant 1932: 26, no. 1395; Keel 2010: Bet-Schemesch No. 206. (Fig. 19)
- 20 *Qubeibeh* – Striding man holding a staff. White. 12 x 9 x 6 mm. 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE context. Ben-Arieh et al. 1993: 82, Fig. 5. (Fig. 20)

*Unprovenanced*<sup>6</sup>

- 21 SK 1998.20 – Striding lion with 'nh sign above its back. Blue. 17.3 x 13.1 x 6.7 mm. (Fig. 21)
- 22 SK 2002.38 – Striding lion with 'nh sign above its back. White. 16 x 11.8 x 7.8 mm. (Fig. 22)
- 23 SK 2004.4 – Reclining(?) lion with 'nh sign above its back. Light green. 16.5 x 11.2 x 7.5 mm. (Fig. 23)
- 24 SK 2004.6 – Inscription: *s'nh ímn* or *'nh.s n ímn*. Light green. 16.8 x 11.2 x 7.7 mm. (Fig. 24)
- 25 SK 2004.17 – Inscription: *s'nh ímn* or *'nh.s n ímn*. White. 15 x 11.6 x 7.5 mm. (Fig. 25)
- 26 SK 2004.2 – Uraeus and m3't feather above nb, with nfr sign behind the uraeus. Light blue. 14.5 x 11.5 x 7 mm. (Fig. 26)
- 27 SK 2004.11 – Thoeris. Light blue. 16.5 x 11 x 7.4 mm. (Fig. 27)
- 28 SK 2004.5 – Striding man holding a lotus flower. Light blue. 15.3 x 11.3 x 6.3 mm. (Fig. 28)
- 29 SK 2004.3 – Anubis as a recumbent jackal, with 'nh (or nfr) sign above its back. Light green. 15.4 x 10.3 x 7.5 mm. (Fig. 29)

<sup>6</sup> The unprovenanced items listed below were bought in Jerusalem and are part of the private collection of Othmar Keel.

- 30 SK 2007.49 – Falcon standing on a uraeus, with *mr* sign behind. Light green. 15.6 x 11.3 x 6.1 mm. (Fig. 30)
- 31 SK 2007.50 – Striding lion with a sun-disk(?) in front of it. Light green. 15.8 x 10.4 x 6.4 mm. (Fig. 31)
- 32 SK 2007.51 – Striding man holding a lotus flower. Light blue 15.2 x 10.7 x 6.2 mm. (Fig. 32)
- 33 SK 2007.52 – Kneeling fecundity figure (*h'py*) holding a *hs* vase. Green-blue glazed composition. 18 x 12.8 x 7.9 mm. (Fig. 33)
- 34 SK 2007.53 – Inscription: *imn-r' nb*. Light green. 16.8 x 13.2 x 7.6 mm. (Fig. 34)

*Parallels for the designs of the Beth-Shean level IX group*

*Horned caprid and branch (Nos. 5, 9)*

The combination of the horned caprid and branch is one of the few Canaanite Middle Bronze Age designs (Tufnell 1984: Pl. 36; Ben-Tor 2007: Pl. 96) that were adopted on Egyptian scarabs of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Jaeger 1982: 171, No. 10; Hornung and Staehelin 1976: Pl. 118:D 22; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991: Fig. 27, Pl. 18:185/665:3, 185/665:4; Teeter 2003: Pl. 37:a). Both groups include scarabs depicting the horned caprid with its head turned backwards like the Beth-Shean level IX examples.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the particular form of the designs as well as the back types of the Beth-Shean level IX examples show that they were modeled on 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Egyptian prototypes.<sup>8</sup> Jaeger (1982: 171, No. 10) dates the motif in the New Kingdom from Tuthmosis III to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The Beth-Shean level IX scarabs depict the horned caprid facing left, in contrast to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Egyptian scarabs, which always depict it facing right.

*Cross pattern (No. 13)*

Like the horned caprid and branch, the cross pattern is found on both Canaanite Middle Bronze Age (Tufnell 1984: Pl. 23; Ben-Tor 2007: Pl. 59) and Egyptian 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty scarabs (Jaeger 1982: 170, nos. 1-2).<sup>9</sup> The scarab depicting the design in the Beth-Shean level IX group displays spirals between a cross of floral petals. Cross patterns depicted on 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty scarabs often display uraei rather than spirals, with floral petals or without

<sup>7</sup> Middle Bronze Age Canaanite scarabs and Egyptian 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty scarabs also depict the horned caprid looking forward (Tufnell 1984: Pl. 36: passim; Teeter 2003: Pl. 36:b,c; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991: Fig. 27, Pl. 17:185/665:1). Whether the absence of this variation in the Beth-Shean level IX group reflects preference or accident of survival is difficult to say based on the small number of examples.

<sup>8</sup> For the typical back types of 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty scarabs see Tufnell 1984: 106-7, and 110-13, Figs. 22-23.

<sup>9</sup> Unlike the horned caprid and branch, the cross pattern is originally an Egyptian Middle Kingdom design (Ben-Tor 2007: 23-24).

them (Jaeger 1982: 170, no. 1, and ill. 224; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991: Fig. 27 bottom line; Teeter 2003: Pl. 44:b,c). Yet, examples with spirals are known (Jaeger 1982: 170m no. 2), and the particular design occurring on the Beth-Shean level IX scarab, as well as the scarab's back type indicate that it was modeled on an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Egyptian prototype. Jaeger presents both variations of 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty cross patterns – with uraei and spirals (1982: 170, Nos. 1, 2 respectively), and dates the examples with spirals between Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep III. Unlike most other designs occurring in the Beth-Shean level IX group, the symmetric outline of the cross pattern does not show the reversing of the design on the Beth-Shean level IX scarab (see also the Hathor symbol below).

*Lion with 'nh or other signs (Nos. 6, 21, 22, 23, 31)*

The lion, striding or reclining, is a prevalent motif on Middle Bronze Age Canaanite scarabs (Tufnell 1984: Pl. 40; Ben-Tor 2007: Pls. 100-101). It is also found, though less frequently, on 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Egyptian scarabs (Brunton and Engelbach 1927: Pl. 24:33, Pl. 26:40; Starkey and Harding 1932: Pl. 53:211; Jaeger 1982: 78, ill. 149, 150; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991: Fig. 27, and Pls. 14, 18:185/292:1, 185/665:3). Unlike the case of the caprid and branch, the lions depicted on 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty scarabs do not seem to have been inspired by Canaanite scarabs. The particular form of the lion with a raised tail on the scarabs of the Beth-Shean level IX group, and the back types of these scarabs show that they were modeled on Egyptian 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty prototypes.

The design depicting a lion (striding or reclining) with 'nh above its back, which occurs on five scarabs of the Beth-Shean level IX group, is found on an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty scarab from Aseka (Keel 1997: 742-43, No. 22), and a scarab from the foundation deposits of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri (Hayes 1959: 87, Fig. 48, bottom line, third from the right). Both examples depict a reclining lion. A rectangular plaque from Tell el-Far'ah (S) depicts a striding lion with 'nh in front of it (Starkey and Harding 1932: Pl. 53:211).<sup>10</sup> A scarab in Basel (Hornung and Staehelin 1976: Pl. 118:D18), and an oval plaque in Frankfurt (Schlick-Nolte and Von Droste zu Hülshoff 1990: 26, No. 5) depict 'nh signs of similar size, form, and position as the Beth-Shean level IX group in combination with a sphinx.<sup>11</sup> The features of the Basel scarab suggest an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date, and the Frankfurt oval plaque, which is typical of this period (Keel 1995: 84-86), depicts the throne name of Tuthmosis III on the other side. Also of 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date is the plaque from Tell el-Far'ah (S) noted above depicting the 'nh in front of the lion, and a plaque from Lower Nubia (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991: Pl. 18:185/665:3), which depicts a

<sup>10</sup> The other side of the plaque depicts a falcon standing on a uraeus with a mr sign behind – a design attested also in the Beth-Shean level IX group (Nos. 10, 30).

<sup>11</sup> The Basel scarab depicts a reclining human-headed sphinx, and the Frankfurt plaque depicts a striding falcon-headed sphinx.

striding lion of the same type found in the Beth-Shean level IX group.<sup>12</sup> Like all other designs in the Beth-Shean level IX group, the Beth-Shean level IX scarabs depict the lion facing left while the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty parallels depict it facing right.

*Inscription: s'nh̄ ḫmn or 'nh̄.s n ḫmn (Nos. 7, 8, 24, 25)*

The inscription found on four examples of the Beth-Shean level IX group occurs on a number of Egyptian scarabs, which display features that can be securely dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Weinstein 1993: 224).<sup>13</sup> Whether the inscription reads “Amun makes live” (Weinstein 1993: 222), “Amun is her life” (Hornung and Staehelin 1976: nos. 234-35), or “She lives for Amun” (Teeter 2003: 29, no. 17) is not entirely clear. However, it is more likely an invocation formula to Amun<sup>14</sup> rather than a personal name.<sup>15</sup> The Beth-Shean level IX group examples present the name of Amun written from left to right, in the opposite direction of all other examples, which display it from right to left.

*Striding man holding a lotus flower (Nos. 3, 14, 15, 17, 28, 32) or staff (No. 20)*

The design depicting a striding man holding a long-stem lotus flower occurs on six of the Beth-Shean level IX group scarabs, yet, strangely enough, this particular design has not been found on Egyptian scarabs of the New Kingdom. Standing or striding human figures holding a lotus are frequently depicted on Middle Bronze Age Canaanite scarabs (Tufnell 1984: Pl. 42; Ben-Tor 2007: Pl. 102). However, they display a different stylistic profile, and they could not have been the models for the Beth-Shean level IX group. The New Kingdom date of the Beth-Shean level IX scarabs is indicated by their back types, which argue for an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date. This is also true in the case of the scarab depicting a striding man holding a staff (No. 20). A standing (or enthroned – see below) man holding a lotus or staff is the only design in the Beth-Shean level IX group for which no parallels could be found. It should be noted, however, that like other designs occurring on scarabs of the Beth-Shean level IX group, the figures are depicted facing left, suggesting the existence of models facing right.

<sup>12</sup> The other side of the plaque depicts the horned caprid and branch design discussed above.

<sup>13</sup> Compare also the features of an example from Medinet Habu (Teeter 2003: Pl. 5:d) and two scarabs from Basel (Hornung and Staehelin 1976: Pl. 23:234-235) with features of 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty royal-name scarabs (Hornung and Staehelin 1976: Pls. 20-22, 25-26).

<sup>14</sup> Scarabs bearing good-wish formulae and blessings are very common during the New Kingdom (Hornung and Staehelin 1976: 181-83; Ben-Tor 1989: 34, 71-72), first appearing in the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

<sup>15</sup> *'nh̄.s-n-ḫmn* is the name of the wife of King Tutankhamun, but considering the complete absence of royal-name scarabs of this king (Hornung and Staehelin 1976: 68) it is unlikely that these scarabs bear the name of his wife.



*Enthroned man holding a lotus flower (Nos. 2, 19)*

The back types of both scarabs displaying this design indicate that they were modeled after 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty prototypes. Yet, as in the case of the scarabs depicting a striding man holding a lotus, their prototypes could not be found. Like all other scarabs of the Beth-Shean level IX group, the seated figures are depicted facing left.

*m3't feather and uraeus above nb (Nos. 16, 26)*

Designs depicting a uraeus with m3't feather or í reed above nb are found on a number of Egyptian 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty scarabs and design amulets (Teeter 2003: Pl. 49:d, e, Pl. 50:a, b; Starkey and Harding 1932: Pl. 55:316; Keel 1997: 180-81, No. 232). The back types of the two scarabs in the Beth-Shean level IX group support an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date for the scarabs used as their models. As in the case of all other designs occurring in the Beth-Shean level IX group, the signs comprising this design face left, while the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Egyptian examples depict them facing right.

*Hathor symbol flanked by uraei (No. 12)*

The particular form of Hathor symbol depicted on the scarab of the Beth-Shean level IX group is found on many 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Egyptian scarabs and design amulets (Brunton and Engelbach 1927: Pl. 24:33, Pl. 26:16; Starkey and Harding 1932: Pl. 55:290; Tufnell 1958: Pls. 37-38:319; Hornung and Staehelin 1976: Pl. 75:675; Jaeger 1982: 85, ill. 177-178; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991: Fig. 22, Pl. 15:185/338:2; Keel 1997: 175, No. 209; 2004b: Fig. 23.44:2; Teeter 2003: Pl. 45:d). Jaeger dates this variation of the symbol from the time of Tuthmosis III to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (1982: 170, No. 4). Unlike most other designs occurring on the Beth-Shean level IX group, the symmetric outline of the Hathor symbol does not show the reversing of the design on the Beth-Shean level IX scarab (see also the cross pattern above).

*Falcon standing on uraeus, with mr behind (Nos. 10, 30)*

This particular design is attested on 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty design amulets (Starkey and Harding 1932: Pl. 53:211;<sup>16</sup> Keel 2004b: Fig. 23.44:2)<sup>17</sup> and scarabs (Starkey and Harding 1932: Pl. 52:177; Rowe 1936: Pl. 21:815). Unlike the Beth-Shean level IX group examples, which depict the design facing left, the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty parallels depict it facing right. The back types of the Beth-Shean level IX scarabs displaying the design support the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date of their models.

<sup>16</sup> A rectangular plaque depicting on the other side a striding lion with an *ēnā* in front of it (above).

<sup>17</sup> A typical 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty oval plaque depicting on the other side the Hathor symbol (above).

*Name of Amun-Re (No. 4, 34)*

The name of Amun-Re is prevalent on scarabs and design amulets of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Keel 1995: 242, § 642). One of the Beth-Shean level IX scarabs (No. 4) displays the name in longitudinal setting with *nb* at the end, possibly meaning “Amun-Re Lord”. The base is broken, and it is possible that the name was flanked by *nb* signs. Both forms (with one or two *nb* signs) are found on 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty scarabs and design amulets (Brunton and Engelbach 1927: Pl. 26:19; Hornung and Staehelin 1976: Pl. 67:602-603; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991: Fig. 21; Pls. 9, 14, 15, 18:64/4:10, 185/233:4, 185/292:2, 185/293:2, 185/293:4, 185/311:11, Q20:31). The second example (No. 34) displays the name in a vertical setting above a *nb* sign, probably meaning “Amun-Re Lord”. For 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty parallels see Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991: Pl. 18:400/16:11; Ben-Arieh et al. 1993: Fig. 6; Teeter 2003: Pl. 21:b. The name of the god is inscribed from left to right in the opposite direction to all known 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty examples, which display it from right to left.

*Thoeris (Nos. 11, 27)*

Depictions of this demon-like goddess are attested on Egyptian scarabs of the Middle Kingdom (Ben-Tor 2007: Pl. 19) as well as the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Keel 1995a: 217-18, §592). All 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty scarabs and design amulets displaying Thoeris depict the goddess facing right (Hornung and Staehelin 1976: Pl. 689, 690; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991: Fig. 24, Pl. 14:185/238:6; Keel 1997: 177, No. 215), unlike the Beth-Shean level IX scarabs which depict her facing left. The 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date of the models used for the Beth-Shean level IX examples is indicated by the form of the goddess as well as by the scarabs’ back types.

*Ptah with ‘nh and dd (No.1)*

One of the Beth-Shean level IX group scarabs depicts the god Ptah standing facing left holding his customary *w3s* scepter, with ‘*nh* and *dd* signs in front of him. The figure of Ptah is commonly found on Egyptian scarabs of the New Kingdom, which depict the god with various associated motifs but always standing and holding the *w3s* scepter (Keel 1989). Unlike the Beth-Shean level IX scarab, almost all known examples depicting the figure of the god show him facing right (Keel 1989). Most New Kingdom scarabs depicting the image of Ptah date from the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Keel 1989; 1995a: 214, §581), but 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty examples are clearly attested (e.g. Keel 1989: Figs. 30-31, 37-38, 48-49, 64). The particular design on the Beth-Shean level IX group scarab is uncommon, but it occurs also on a rectangular plaque showing the throne name of Amenhotep III on the other side (Keel 1989: 294-95, Fig. 49). The 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date of the Beth-Shean level IX scarab is also indicated by the fact that it comes from level IX at Beth-Shean.



*Inscription imn-htp (No. 18)*

The base of this scarab most probably displays the birth name of King Amenhotep I of the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, suggesting that the prototype after which the scarab was modeled was a royal-name scarab of this king.<sup>18</sup> This is indicated by the back type of the scarab, which is typical of scarabs of the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Hornung and Staehelin 1976: Pls. 20-22: 200, 206, 207, 219, 221, 223, 233), and by the fact that all royal-name scarabs bearing the birth name of this king display his name on the entire base surface with no cartouche or decoration (Hornung and Staehelin 1976: Pl. 20:209, 210, Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991: Fig. 22, Pls. 10, 16: 185/14:1D, 185/450:3; Petrie 1917: Pl. 24: passim). The scarab displays the inscription from left to right, while 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Egyptian scarabs display it from right to left.

*Anubis as a reclining jackal with 'nh or nfr (No. 29)*

Anubis as a reclining jackal is depicted on scarabs of the New Kingdom mainly as guardian of the Theban necropolis (Hornung and Staehelin 1976: 93; Matouk 1977: 382: nos. 489-95; Ben-Tor 1989: 74, no. 14). An example depicting him with 'nh is known from Saqqara (Hornung and Staehelin 1976: 93, n. 30). The Beth-Shean level IX scarab depicts Anubis facing left, in contrast to all other examples, which depict him facing right.

*Kneeling fecundity figure (h'py) holding a hs vase (No. 33)*

Fecundity figures occur on scarabs of the late Middle Kingdom (Ben-Tor 2007: 34, and Pl. 19:30-34) and from the New Kingdom through the Late Period (Hornung and Staehelin 1976: 97-98). A securely dated 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty example depicting a kneeling fecundity figure holding a *hs* vase was found in a foundation deposit of Queen Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el Bahri (Hayes 1959: Fig. 48; Roehrig 2005: 143-43, cat. 75m). An exact parallel to the Beth-Shean level IX item could not be found. The fecundity figure on the Beth-Shean level IX scarab faces left, in contrast to all other examples, which depict it facing right.<sup>19</sup>

*Discussion*

Unlike the large-scale local manufacture of scarabs in the Middle Bronze Age which produced thousands of items, the number of scarabs displaying characteristics of the Beth-Shean level IX group suggests small-scale production, most probably carried out in a single workshop. As noted above, the number of examples found at Beth-Shean compared with other sites suggests

<sup>18</sup> This does not imply an early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date for the Beth-Shean IX replica, which most likely does not predate the reign of Tuthmosis III (below).

<sup>19</sup> The only exception is a sealing from Uronarti (Reisner 1955: Fig. 16:425; Ben-Tor 2007: Pl. 19:30), which, like the Beth-Shean level IX scarab, is a mirror image of an original scarab that displayed the design facing right.

Beth-Shean as the most likely place of manufacture of this group. This is supported by evidence for silicate industry at Beth-Shean, which produced hundreds of beads and pendants that constitute the largest corpus of silicate artifacts from Late Bronze Age Palestine (McGovern et al. 1993: 3; James and McGovern 1993: 126). Moreover, more Egyptian-style pendants have been found at Beth-Shean than at any other Late Bronze site in Palestine (James and McGovern 1993: 128). Although silicate manufacture at the site was dealt with mainly in association with levels VIII-VII (McGovern et al. 1993: 3-5; James and McGovern 1993: 125-35) there is clear evidence for local silicate industry prior to level VIII (McGovern et al. 1993: 5-6; James and McGovern 1993: 128).

The impact of the Egyptian presence on the silicate industry at Beth-Shean was demonstrated by analysis of the items found at the site in comparison to local silica products outside the Egyptian sphere (McGovern et al. 1993: 3). This analysis has further shown that local manufacture was limited to small objects such as beads and pendants. On the other hand, larger artifacts such as glass and faience vessels were imported from Egypt (McGovern et al. 1993: 8-9). The quantity of faience pendants at Beth-Shean, although larger than at any other Palestinian sites, is still well below that of any Egyptian New Kingdom site. Moreover, as most items were found in temple context rather than burial or residential contexts, it was suggested that they were luxury items, afforded mainly by the temple and only rarely by individuals (James and McGovern 1993: 129-30). It should be noted that most scarabs from Late Bronze contexts at the site also come from temple-area contexts (Weinstein 1993: 225). Considering the temple context of most Egyptian-related items, it was suggested that the local silicate industry of Egyptian-related types in levels VIII-VII was associated with the temple cult (James and McGovern 1993: 129). This industry almost certainly started already in association with the cult compound of level IX, where a large number of cult objects were found, many of them reflecting the intensive Egyptian presence at the site (Mazar 1993: 216). It should also be noted that Egyptian-related types of pendants from level IX, were found in the area beneath the level VIII temple (James and McGovern 1993: 128).

The cult objects found in the temple area of levels VIII-VII argue for a combined Egyptian-Canaanite cult at Beth-Shean (James and McGovern 1993: 129), for which there is also evidence in the cult compound of level IX (Mazar 1993: 216). The local production of Egyptian-style small silica artifacts also argues for Egyptian-Canaanite technological cooperation, which would have been facilitated by an already established Palestinian silicate industry (McGovern et al. 1993: 9; James and McGovern 1993: 129). Analysis of the products of the Beth-Shean local silicate workshop shows adaptation of traditional Egyptian glazing techniques (James and McGovern 1993: 161-62), which further support the Egyptian impact on the local industry, and the Egyptian/Canaanite sharing of technological expertise. It was therefore concluded that "Once Egyptians were resident at the site and a syncretis-

tic Egyptian and Palestinian cult had emerged, it would be expected that full advantage would be taken of any technological skills, whether Egyptian or Palestinian, to produce objects reflecting the two cultures" (James and McGovern 1993: 162).<sup>20</sup>

The remains of the silicate workshop at the site indicate that it was rather simple. It required no more than a furnace capable of achieving the same temperature required for the local pottery industry, and raw materials mostly available locally (James and McGovern 1993: 162). It was suggested that molds could be made by pressing an already existing pendant (James and McGovern 1993: 162), just as in the case of the level IX scarabs.<sup>21</sup> The majority of Egyptian-related types represented at Beth-Shean belong to a group restricted to the northern Palestinian coast and the Jezreel, while a different group characterized southern Palestine.<sup>22</sup> This pattern was already established in the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and most probably reflects the preferences of incoming Egyptians (James and McGovern 1993: 129)<sup>23</sup> as well as the Egyptian control of this industry (McGovern et al. 1993: 23).

Considering the evidence presented above, it is reasonable to suggest that local silicate production of Egyptian-type small objects at Beth-Shean began sometime after the site had become an Egyptian stronghold following the conquest of Tuthmosis III. Precise dating of the early workshop within the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty is not feasible on the basis of the contexts in which the scarabs were found.<sup>24</sup> As in the case of the pendants from levels VIII-VII, the workshop that produced the Beth-Shean level IX group was most probably associated with the local temple cult, and it was under Egyptian control. The early phase of manufacture of Egyptian-style small objects in level IX produced scarabs. The second phase in levels VIII-VII produced Egyptian-style pendants and amulets of different types. This distinction may reflect the type of imported Egyptian pendants available at Beth-Shean during these periods. The relatively small-scale production of the Beth-Shean level IX silicate industry in comparison with that of levels VIII-VII probably reflects the initial phase of Egyptian-style local industry, which grew significantly in the Ramesside period, when the Egyptian hold in the Levant has intensified. The clear 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty characteristics of most scarabs attested in the Beth-Shean level IX group argue against the continuing production of this type of

<sup>20</sup> See also McGovern 1993: 5.

<sup>21</sup> The same technique is attested also in the glass industry at el-Amarna (McGovern et al. 1993: 11).

<sup>22</sup> It is interesting to note that 13 of the 21 provenanced Beth-Shean level IX scarabs come from sites north of the Carmel range, unlike the majority of New Kingdom scarabs in Palestine, which were found south of this line.

<sup>23</sup> It was noted that approximately half to two-thirds of the New Kingdom Egyptian pendant types found at el-Amarna are also documented in Late Bronze Palestine (James and McGovern 1993: 129).

<sup>24</sup> For a recent discussion and reassessment of level IX at Beth Shean see Mullins 2002: 76-119.

scarabs in the Ramesside period (levels VIII-VII),<sup>25</sup> and the items found in these levels are most probably heirlooms from level IX.

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<sup>25</sup> The absolute date of level VIII is debated. While James and McGovern (1993: 5, 236) date it to the early 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Aston (1996: 227-28) and Martin (2007: 385-86) argue for a late 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date. Whatever the case, the types of the numerous locally made Egyptian-style amulets from levels VIII and VII (McGovern et al. 1993: 3-5) argue against the continuing production of the Beth Shean level IX scarabs in these levels.

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Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13

Fig. 14



Fig. 15

Fig. 16



Fig. 17

Fig. 18



Fig. 19

Fig. 20



Fig. 21

Fig. 22



Fig. 23

Fig. 24





Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35

## The Egyptian Pottery of the Second Intermediate Period from Northern Sinai and its Chronological Significance

Manfred Bietak and Karin Kopetzky

It was in the 1970s and early 80s that Eliezer Oren took the chance to investigate the Northern Sinai with an archaeological survey, including trial excavations. The material he retrieved was summarily published in his important article *The “Kingdom of Sharuhén” and the Hyksos Kingdom*.<sup>1</sup> This material gives an interesting view on the land route from Egypt to Palestine via the Northern Sinai and on its periods of use.

The published corpus of retrieved objects contains selected Egyptian vessels from the Middle and the New Kingdom.<sup>2</sup> In his M.A. thesis, Amnon Gat, one of E. Oren’s students,<sup>3</sup> presented more Egyptian pottery from this survey. This material and the one published by Eliezer Oren are the basis for the following comments on the Egyptian pottery found in the Northern Sinai.

The corpus originates from two major historical phases: the Middle Kingdom (Fig. 1) and the New Kingdom (Fig. 7). The material from the latter can be dated mainly from the early part of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. By looking at the complete corpus found in the MB II period at the Northern Sinai route it is obvious that the Egyptian material forms only a minor part of the collected pottery.

### *The Middle Kingdom*

A very small group of pottery from the Middle Kingdom corpus found in the Northern Sinai Survey was produced of Nile clay.

### *Cooking pots*

The typical Egyptian cooking pots were made of a very sandy Nile clay (Vienna System VS: Nile E) (Figs. 2:1, 2). In the Middle Kingdom these

<sup>1</sup> E. Oren, *The “Kingdom of Sharuhén” and the Hyksos Kingdom*, in: *The Hyksos; New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (ed. E. Oren; Philadelphia, 1997), 253-283.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 276, Fig. 8.24.

<sup>3</sup> A. Gat, *Northern Sinai during the MB2 Age, Middle Kingdom – Second Intermediate Period* (M.A. thesis, Tel Aviv University, 1997). We thank E. Oren for the use of part of this material for our article.

globular pots with their rounded bases and wide openings were handmade and had their rims finished on a turnable device, thus often creating a shallow bend at the shoulder of the vessel where the rim was attached. Their rims were either folded to the outside (Figs. 2:2, 4) or in some cases to the inside, where the potter created by putting some pressure on the rim a sort of an outer lip (Figs. 2:1, 3). In many cases these cooking vessels were whitewashed on the outside, either completely or at the rim. In the course of time their body shape seems to develop from an ovoid body (Fig. 2:4) in the Middle Kingdom towards a squat one in the New Kingdom (Fig. 9:6). Their rims change from being open and nearly as wide as their maximum diameter towards a narrower opening. These pots were also thrown on the wheel from the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onwards. In the Hyksos period the production on the wheel remained their main manufacturing technique. Besides Tell el-Dab'a these cooking pots were found all over Egypt from Dahshur,<sup>4</sup> Illahun,<sup>5</sup> Qasr el-Sagha<sup>6</sup> down to Abydos<sup>7</sup> and further south to Nubia.<sup>8</sup> Fragments are also reported from Serabit el-Khadim on the Sinai.<sup>9</sup> The big bulk of the Egyptian material retrieved from the survey belongs to the group of Marl clays.

#### *Marl A jars*

One of the jars picked up during the survey seems to be a jar of Upper Egyptian origin (Fig. 3:1).<sup>10</sup> These wheel-thrown jars were normally produced in Marl A2 fabric.<sup>11</sup> Their rims and ovoid to globular bodies are well burnished, thus imitating stone vessels made of calcite containing ointments.<sup>12</sup> Until now the best parallels have been found outside of Egypt in Kerma in Nubia. There they appear in burials dated from the early 12<sup>th</sup> until the early 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>13</sup> J. Bourriau mentions that similar vessels are known also from

<sup>4</sup> S. J. Allen, Dahshur 1990–1995, *BCE* 21 (2000), Fig. 4:12.

<sup>5</sup> J. Bourriau and S. Quirke, The late Middle Kingdom ceramic repertoire in words and objects, in: S. Quirke (ed.), *Lahun Studies* (Reigate 1988), 67, Fig. 5:4.

<sup>6</sup> Do. Arnold, Die Keramik, in: D. and Do. Arnold, *Der Tempel von Qasr el-Sagha* (AV 27), (Mainz, 1979), 37, Abb. 22:3, 4.

<sup>7</sup> J. Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* (New Haven, 2007), 262, Fig. 112:74, 75.

<sup>8</sup> S. T. Smith, *Askut in Nubia* (London and New York, 1995), 61, Fig. 3.7:G.

<sup>9</sup> J. Bourriau, Observations on the pottery from Serabit el-Khadim (Zone Sud): *CRIPEL* 18 (1996) 26.

<sup>10</sup> E. Oren, The “Kingdom of Sharuhén” and the Hyksos Kingdom, Fig. 8.24:9. Unfortunately no fabric classification is given.

<sup>11</sup> J. Bourriau, Egyptian Pottery Found in Kerma Ancien, Kerma Moyen and Kerma Classique Graves at Kerma, in: T. Kendall (ed.), *Nubian Studies 1998. Proceedings of the 9<sup>th</sup> Conference of the International Society of Nubian Studies, August 21–26, 1998*, (Boston, 2004), 6.

<sup>12</sup> J. Bourriau, *Nubian Studies*, 7.

<sup>13</sup> J. Bourriau, *Nubian Studies*, 6, Fig. 5:2; 7, Fig. 6:3, Figs. 7:1,2; 8, Fig. 8:4; 9, Fig. 1.

el-Kab,<sup>14</sup> Beni Hassan, Karnak-North.<sup>15</sup> Edfu<sup>16</sup> and Kom el-Hisn.<sup>17</sup> Some examples of this type though with a slightly different rim have been found at 'Ezbet Rushdi<sup>18</sup> in settlement layers dated approximately to the period of Amenemhet II.<sup>19</sup> One example comes from Elephantine, where it was found below Phase (Bauschicht) 13.<sup>20</sup> It is dated by T. Rzeuska into the late 12<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>21</sup> Another parallel was found by the British Museum excavations at Sidon above a warrior burial of the early MB IIA and is for the time being attributed to level 2.<sup>22</sup>

By looking for better dated parallels, besides the finds from the Nubian burials,<sup>23</sup> it seems that these jars are to be found more frequently in the first half than in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty – a date that is also suggested for the Sinai jar, since no fragments of these vessels were found in Tell el-Dab'a after Str. e at 'Ezbet Rushdi.

It is Middle Kingdom Marl C vessels which form the bulk of the Egyptian pottery salvaged during the Survey.

#### *Large ovoid jars with corrugated necks*

Several rim fragments and one complete example of large ovoid jars with corrugated necks made of Marl C fabric, were picked up during the survey (Figs. 4:2–5). In Egypt these vessels appear for the first time in the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, where their body shape is nearly globular. One nearly complete example and several rim fragments are known from Str. e (Ph. L) in 'Ezbet Rushdi.<sup>24</sup> Into the above mentioned time frame fall also jars from

<sup>14</sup> J. Bourriau, *Umm el-Ga'ab. Pottery from the Nile Valley before the Arab Conquest* (Cambridge, 1981), 68, Fig. 124.

<sup>15</sup> J. Bourriau mentions in *Umm el-Ga'ab*, 68 that such vessels were also found in Karnak North and refers to H. Jacquet-Gordon, A deposit of Middle Kingdom pottery from Karnak North, *BCE* 4 (1979), 30, where Jacquet-Gordon writes that the pottery dates not later than the mid 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

<sup>16</sup> K. Michalowski and C. Deroches-Noblecourt, *Tell el-Edfou 1939. Fouilles franco-polonaises III*, 1950, 258, Fig. 145.

<sup>17</sup> A. Hamada and Sh. Farid, Excavations at Kôm el Hisn. Season 1945: *ASAE* 46 (1947), Pl. LIII:19.

<sup>18</sup> E. Czerny, Zur Keramik von 'Ezbet Rushdi (Stand Mai 1997): *E&L* 8 (1998), Fig. 18.

<sup>19</sup> M. Bietak et al, Ausgrabungen in dem Palastbezirk von Auaris. Vorbericht Tell el-Dab'a/'Ezbet Helmi 1993–2000: *E&L* 11 (2001) 31, Fig. 2.

<sup>20</sup> C. von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII. Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit* (AV 91) (Mainz, 1996), 361, Abb. 161:a.

<sup>21</sup> T. Rzeuska, Zur Keramik des Mittleren Reiches: *MDAIK* 55 (1999) 203.

<sup>22</sup> I. Forstner-Müller and K. Kopetzky, An Upper Egyptian Import at Sidon: *AHL* 24 (2006) 61, Fig. 1.

<sup>23</sup> One has to keep in mind that the later pieces come from Kerma Moyen VI, which covers quite a long time span, according to J. Bourriau from the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> until the early 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

<sup>24</sup> E. Czerny, Egyptian Pottery from Tell el-Dab'a as a Context for Early MB IIA Painted Ware, in: M. Bietak (ed.), *The Middle Bronze Age in the Levant. Proceedings of an*

Elephantine Phases (Bauschichten) 14–15 (Fig. 4:1)<sup>25</sup> and “below Phase (Bauschicht)” 13.<sup>26</sup> In the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty the body shapes of these jars change to become more oblong and egg-shaped.<sup>27</sup> Before the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty the corrugation of the neck of these jars has its first groove about 1 cm below the rim, while later examples have a larger distance between the rim and the first groove and a more careless way of production.<sup>28</sup> All pieces from the Sinai survey fall into the earlier group. While the bodies of these jars are handmade their rims are attached on a turnable device. Do. Arnold suggested that the material of these jars comes from the Memphite-Fayoum region.<sup>29</sup> These vessels appear all over Egypt, in Nubia down to Kerma,<sup>30</sup> Central Sinai<sup>31</sup> and as far north as Sidon on the Lebanese coast.<sup>32</sup> Dated examples come from the princess galleries of Senwosret III in Dahshur<sup>33</sup> and fall therefore into the period of Senwosret III and his successor Amenemhet III.<sup>34</sup> At Tell el-Dab’a this type exists from stratum b (Phase I) at ‘Ezbet Rushdi until the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Ph. H – G:1-3) (Figs. 4:6-9).

#### *Marl C-1 zirs*

The largest group of Middle Kingdom vessels found during the survey were the so-called *zirs* (Figs. 5 and 6).

These large vessels made of Marl C fabric were used for all different kind of storage. In the Northern Sinai they functioned most likely as water containers to supply the caravans at their routes with water. A similar function had *zirs* found in large quantities in the Western Desert half way along the Theban road to the Kharga oasis in Abu Ziyar,<sup>35</sup> northwest of Abu Simbel

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*International Conference on MB IIA Ceramic Material, Vienna, 24<sup>th</sup>–26<sup>th</sup> January 2001, CChEM 3 (2002) 142, Fig. 26.*

<sup>25</sup> C. von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 359, Abb. 160:j.

<sup>26</sup> C. von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 361, Abb. 161:c.

<sup>27</sup> B. Bader, Tell el Dab’a XIII. Typologie und Chronologie der Mergel C-Ton Keramik. Materialien zum Binnenhandel des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit, [UZK 19] (Wien 2001), Figs. 27-32.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., Figs. 323, 35-38

<sup>29</sup> Do. Arnold, Ägyptische Mergeltone („Wüstentone“) und die Herkunft einer Mergeltonware des Mittleren Reiches aus der Gegend von Memphis, in: Do. Arnold (ed.), *Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik* (Mainz, 1981), 169-170.

<sup>30</sup> J. Bourriau, *Nubian Studies* 8, Fig. 8.

<sup>31</sup> J. Bourriau, *CRIPEL* 18 (1996), 22, Fig. 10; 27, Fig. 4:11, 12.

<sup>32</sup> C. Doumet-Serhal, I. Forstner- Müller and K. Kopetzky, Egyptian Pottery of the late 12<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty from Sidon: *AHL* 24 (2006) 53, Fig. 3.

<sup>33</sup> J. DeMorgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour* 1894, 74, Fig. 164.

<sup>34</sup> D. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III. at Dahshur. Architectual Studies* [MMA Egyptian Expedition Vol. XXVI] (New York, 2002), 68–74.

<sup>35</sup> J. C. Darnell, *Abu Ziyar and Tundaba*, [http://www.yale.edu/egyptology/ae\\_tundaba.htm](http://www.yale.edu/egyptology/ae_tundaba.htm), Fig. 4.

in Gebel el-Asr<sup>36</sup> and at the shore of the Red Sea.<sup>37</sup> All examples date to the Middle Kingdom.

In Egypt *zirs* are found from the very early 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty way into the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. At Tell el-Dab'a the pottery material covers nearly the whole range of time and gave therefore the possibility to establish a typological series of these large storage vessels.<sup>38</sup> Taking the fragmentary material from the Sinai into consideration, we shall concentrate on the rim typology of those vessels.<sup>39</sup>

In the early Middle Kingdom the rims were rolled to the outside, while their orientation follows that of the vessel wall drawn inwards (Fig. 5:3). Some of the rims from Sinai fall into this group (Figs. 5:1, 2). The same type with a rolled rim but nearly vertical profile belongs to another type (Figs. 6:1-3), which was developed during the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. In Egypt this type is found in the "south wall deposit 1" at Lisht,<sup>40</sup> which is dated by Do. Arnold into the later reign of Senwosret I, in Tell el-Dab'a from Phase L in 'Ezbet Rushdi until Phase H (Fig. 6:4)<sup>41</sup> and in Elephantine in Phase (Bauschicht) 13.<sup>42</sup> The third rim type that was picked up during the survey (Figs. 6:5, 6) exists in Egypt from the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> until the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Dated parallels were discovered in the tomb of Queen Weret, mother of Senwosret III<sup>43</sup> and in complex 6 at Dahshur,<sup>44</sup> in Tell el-Dab'a (Fig. 6:7) from Phase I (stratum b in 'Ezbet Rushdi)<sup>45</sup> until Phase F. In Qasr es-Sagha one fragment was found in the construction debris of the temple,<sup>46</sup> which is dated by Do. Arnold into the period between Senwosret II. and the beginning of the reign of Amenemhet III. Fragments appeared in Mirgissa<sup>47</sup> in Nubia, but also along the Levantine coast in Sidon.<sup>48</sup> There even a complete *zir* of this type was

<sup>36</sup> R. Engelbach, The Quarries of the Western Nubian Desert: *ASAE* 33 (1933), 67, Fig. 1. See also: Ian Shaw et al., Survey and excavation at the Gebel al-Asr gneiss and quartz quarries in Lower Nubia (1997-2000): *Antiquity* 75 (2001), Fig. 4.

<sup>37</sup> R. Fattovich et al., *Joint Archaeological Expedition at Mersa/Wadi Gawasis (Red Sea, Egypt) of the University of Naples „l'Orientale” (Naples, Italy), Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (Rome, Italy) and Boston University (Boston, USA) – 2005–2006 Field Season*, <http://www.archaeogate.org/egittologia/article.php?id=441>, Fig. 16.

<sup>38</sup> B. Bader, *Tell el Dab'a XIII*, 157, Fig. 43.

<sup>39</sup> C. Doumet-Serhal, I. Forstner- Müller and K. Kopetzky: *AHL* 24 (2006) 55, Fig. 6.

<sup>40</sup> Do. Arnold, Pottery, in: D. Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I., The South Cemeteries of Lisht Vol. I* (New York, 1988), 114, Fig. 59:3, 4.

<sup>41</sup> E. Czerny: *E&L* 8 (1998) 45, Fig. 19:b.

<sup>42</sup> C. von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 343, Fig. 152:g.

<sup>43</sup> S. J. Allen, Queens' Ware: Royal Funerary Pottery in the Middle Kingdom: *OLA* 82 (1998), Fig. 3:9.

<sup>44</sup> Do. Arnold, Keramikbearbeitung in Dahschur 1976–1981: *MDAIK* 38 (1982) 32, Abb. 8:5, 7.

<sup>45</sup> E. Czerny, personal communication.

<sup>46</sup> Do. Arnold, *Der Tempel von Qasr es-Sagha*, 31, Abb. 18:5.

<sup>47</sup> A. Villa, Un dépôt de textes d'envoutement au Moyen Empire: *Journal des Savants* 153 (1963) 153, Fig. 13:14.

<sup>48</sup> C. Doumet-Serhal, I. Forstner- Müller and K. Kopetzky: *AHL* 24 (2006) 55, Fig. 5.



uncovered reused as a burial container.<sup>49</sup> All the bases of these vessels (Figs. 5:4-6) retrieved during the survey, belong to these three rim types and therefore appear in the same time span.

Looking at the Middle Kingdom material one sees clearly that it consists only of containers, which might have been used for transport or as storage facilities.

According to A. Gat most of the zir fragments have been found south of Lake Bardawil. This is about the distance a donkey could go from the edge of the Nile valley without water still carrying an average load of about 60 kg.<sup>50</sup> It seems that the administration of the Middle Kingdom supplied these stations with fresh water. With the collapse of the Middle Kingdom the trade over this land route broke down as well. It regained its function only when the New Kingdom and its renewed state-run logistics took over again. After the breakdown of the Middle Kingdom the rulers of the eastern Delta relied solely on the maritime trade with the Levant.

The capacity of the zirs changed during the course of time. While the earlier examples of type 1 and 2 were produced for about 60 l<sup>51</sup>, the zirs of the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (type 3) were only able to take about 40 l.<sup>52</sup> Empty these zirs weigh about 10 to 15 kg. So by reducing the size it was now possible that one man alone was able to move also a filled specimen of these vessels.

It seems that in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty the Marl C jars with corrugated necks partly replaced the water-filled animal skins. They were found mainly with the zirs along the North Sinai route, while no comparable vessel type was found for the first half of the Middle Kingdom.

The Egyptian type of cooking pot is highly outnumbered by the large amount of the Middle Bronze Age hand-made flat-bottomed cooking pots found in the North Sinai survey.<sup>53</sup> The bulk of the retrieved material has a MB cultural background. It is therefore most likely that the people who actually ran the trade between Egypt and southern Palestine in the Middle Kingdom, were most likely not Egyptians but carriers of the MB IIA-Culture

<sup>49</sup> B. Bader, *The Egyptian Jars from Sidon in their Egyptian Context: AHL* 18 (2003) 34, Fig. 4. The date Bader gives needed to be corrected. Neither the Egyptian parallels (mentioned above) nor the Levantine painted pottery found together with the zir allow such a broad time frame. This zir falls into period between Senwosret II/III and Amenemhet III.

<sup>50</sup> Ancient Egyptian toll documents from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE give detailed information about the transport of goods from the Fayum oasis towards the Nile valley and the Oasis. As an average weight a donkey transported 3 artabes of weight. One artabe measures between 23 to 30l. A donkey covers an average distance of about 60 km per day. See additional data in: W. Habermann: *Statistische Datenanalyse an den Zolldokumenten des Arsinoites aus römischer Zeit II: Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 9 (1990) 50-94.

<sup>51</sup> B. Bader, *Tell el Dab'a XIII*, 155-161, Figs. 43-44.

<sup>52</sup> An exception is a zir of this type from Sidon, which has a much larger capacity. See B. Bader, I. Forstner-Müller, K. Kopetzky and C. Doumet-Serhal, *An Egyptian Jar from Sidon in its Egyptian Context. Some fresh Evidence: AHL* 29 (2009) 79-83.

<sup>53</sup> See: E. Oren, *The "Kingdom of Sharuhen" and the Hyksos Kingdom*, Fig. 8.23:3-13.

– a picture that is also supported by the paintings found in the tombs of the Middle Kingdom<sup>54</sup> and the archaeological evidence of Tell el-Dab'a in the Phases H-G:1-3.

### *The New Kingdom*

From the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onwards there seems to be a gap in the trade between Egypt and the Levant via the Northern Sinai, as no Egyptian pottery of this period was found along the Horus Road. Only with the very end of the Hyksos period or with the beginning of the New Kingdom the overland route along, what is later called the *via maris*, gained back its importance.

While in the Middle Kingdom the Egyptian pottery consisted only of containers the material from the New Kingdom, though still having its main focus on closed vessels, contains also some open shapes.

Although cups with flat bases made of Nile B-2 fabric are characteristic for the late Hyksos period, they continued to be produced in the Eastern Nile Delta into the time of Tuthmosis III. While the Hyksos examples have frequently a red washed rim, the New Kingdom cups are often red washed all over. What is typical for the New Kingdom cups is that their bases were cut from the rotating wheel with a string, thus leaving concentric circles at the bottom and a slightly concave base (Figs. 8:4, 5).<sup>55</sup> Furthermore their lower body was scraped on the turning wheel leaving horizontal marks (Fig. 8:3), while the Hyksos examples were trimmed with a tool after being cut from the standing wheel. In the early New Kingdom the fabric changed towards a version of the Nile B clay with more sand, lots of dung inclusions and sometimes even ashes. The Sinai examples (Figs. 8:1–3) may have New Kingdom features, but without autopsy of the fabric it is difficult to rule out a date of the late Hyksos Period. Most of the material was collected in the region north-east of modern Qantara near the area of Tell Hebwa (Fig. 7), with high probability of being the remains of the ancient Egyptian frontier fortress of Zaru.<sup>56</sup> This site shows an occupation from the late Middle Kingdom until the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and even in the Late Period. It is an area where during the early New Kingdom most likely several activities took place. One was the founding of Zaru, the frontier fortification. It seems as if Egypt was again responsible for the security of the *ši-Hr*, the ancient highway to the

<sup>54</sup> See the famous tomb of Chnumhotep II in Beni Hassan.

<sup>55</sup> We would like to thank our colleagues B. Bader, D. A. Aston and P. Fuscaldo for allowing us to use their unpublished material.

<sup>56</sup> M. Abd El-Maksoud, *Tell Heboua (1981–1991)*, Enquête archéologique sur la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire et le Nouvel Empire à l'extrémité orientale du Delta (Paris, 1998), 168, Fig. 1:1a, 1; Id, 9.



north. Besides Tell el-Dab'a, Tell el-Maskhuta,<sup>57</sup> Tell el-Yahudiyeh<sup>58</sup> and Tell Hebwa, these cups have also been found at Tell el-'Ajjul.<sup>59</sup> They belong to a hybrid group of pottery combining Near Eastern and Egyptian features which were developed in the eastern Delta during the Hyksos Period and continued there till the early Thutmosid Period in an unbroken tradition.<sup>60</sup> This makes the dating of these wares without fabric examination difficult.

A vessel type which existed already during the Hyksos period is a large carinated dish with a modelled rim and a flat or a ring base. While the earlier types show a low carination, the examples of the very end of that period are equipped with a high carination that lasts into the New Kingdom (Fig. 8:6) and became even more accentuated during this time (Fig. 8:7). Typical is a red wash inside or all over the body (Fig. 8:8, 9).

It is well known that during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasties the Way of Horus was one of the main routes for the Egyptian army and merchants to travel north. From these periods come two bowls that were found during the survey and depicted in E. Oren's article. One is an open red washed platter, probably made of Nile C fabric with an external ledge (Fig. 9:1). These bowls are known from Malqata (Fig. 9:2)<sup>61</sup> and were in use until the Ramesside period.<sup>62</sup> Into this last period falls most likely a rim fragment retrieved during the survey (Fig. 9:3) which belongs to a large bowl with a carination and a round base (Fig. 9:4).<sup>63</sup>

In Egypt cooking pots with external folded rims existed as early as the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (see above). Back then they were produced of Nile E fabric and white washed outside. In this early period their barrel-shaped bodies were handmade with the rims attached on a turnable device. During the span of time they change to a globular and even squeezed globular shape in the later Hyksos Period and the early New Kingdom (Fig. 9:6). Then they are produced either in Nile E or even more common in Nile B fabric and are often thrown on the wheel. The piece from the Sinai survey (Fig. 9:5) fits

<sup>57</sup> C. A. Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier: An Archaeological History of the Wadi Tumilat*, vols. I-I (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Univ. of Chicago, 1989), 816-820.

<sup>58</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite cities* (London, 1906), Pl. XIID:24, first row, 3<sup>rd</sup> vessel from left.

<sup>59</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza IV* (London, 1934), Pl. XLVIII:24Z5.

<sup>60</sup> M. Bietak, "From where came the Hyksos come from and where did they go," in: *The Second Intermediate Period (13<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects* (Proceedings of a Conference in the British Museum 2004), *OLA*, (Leuven, 2010).

<sup>61</sup> C. Hope, *Pottery from the New Kingdom: Three Studies*. The XVIII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty pottery from Malkatta (Victoria, 1989), Fig. 1:n.

<sup>62</sup> D. A. Aston, *Die Keramik des Grabungsplatzes Q I. Corpus of Fabrics, Wares and Shapes, Teil I*, FoRa 1 (Mainz, 1998), 165.

<sup>63</sup> C. Hope, *Pottery from the New Kingdom: Three Studies. Pottery of the Ramesside Period*, Fig. 2:n.

into the later group of cooking pots with its globular body. Local imitations of these cooking pots were excavated at Ashkelon, Phase 10.<sup>64</sup>

A significant chronological development of these pots shows another piece (Fig. 9:7), where the rim is folded towards the outside and stands slightly upright. In Egypt these rims were never found before the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and are typical for the cooking pots of the early New Kingdom (Fig. 9:8). Again, they are made of Nile B or E fabrics and often washed outside either with white or red colour.

Amongst the jar fragments that were picked up are rims (Figs. 10:1,3,5,7) that appear for the first time during the later Hyksos phases at Tell el-Dab'a. Again they were produced at the site also during the early New Kingdom (Figs. 10:2,4,6,8). While everted rims with a slight kettle mouth (Fig. 10:9) do not appear before the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Fig. 10:10). The same is true for elongated folded and everted rims that were horizontally trimmed (Fig. 10:11). This kind of technical detail is typical for the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Fig. 10:12). Although jars with stepped rims appear already during the Hyksos Period,<sup>65</sup> examples with a groove running along the trimmed part of the rim (Fig. 11:1), however, do not exist before the early New Kingdom (Figs. 11:2,3). While during the late Second Intermediate Period the bodies of the jars were more or less bag-shaped, they change at the beginning of the New Kingdom towards a more ovoid and later an even biconical elongated shape. A larger rim fragment (Fig. 11:4) from the Sinai survey with its rim folded inwards indicates this ovoid body shape, which is also visible on a piece from Tell el-Dab'a found in an early New Kingdom offering pit (Fig. 11:5).<sup>66</sup> Nearly all jars of the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in the north of Egypt were covered with a thin red wash complemented with a darker red in their rim and neck area.

Ovoid white washed jars with elongated folded rims and nipple bases appear frequently at the very end of the Hyksos Period (Phase D:2), but are much more common during the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Figs. 11:6,7). They were made of a sandy, over-fired Nile B clay and have therefore a quite dense and metallic appearance. Their elongated and folded rims vary from a shorter and thicker version towards a finer and more delicate one with an internal grooving. Both examples appear side by side with their trimmed rims drawn slightly inwards.

Storage jars with conical necks have their first appearance during the Hyksos period and last into the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Fig. 12:5). They are a typical example for settlement pottery and appear in various sizes. Here again an elongation of the body is visible during the span of time. Unfortunately the fragments from the Sinai survey (Figs. 12:3,4) are too small to allow a more

<sup>64</sup> M. Bietak et al., *Synchronisation of Stratigraphies: Ashkelon and Tell el-Dab'a: E&L 18* (2008) 58, Fig. 8:14,15.

<sup>65</sup> M. Bietak, *Tell el-Dab'a V* (Vienna, 1991), 265, Abb. 235:8.

<sup>66</sup> We thank V. Müller, who is studying this pit, for her permission to publish this piece.

precise dating. All of the Tell el-Dab'a examples are made of Nile B and have the upper part of the vessel covered with a red wash. Recently one large example was uncovered in Sidon, reused as a container for a child burial and dating into the late MB II period.<sup>67</sup>

In one case a small squat pot with an everted and horizontally trimmed rim was picked up (Fig. 12:1). Parallels for this type exist only in the New Kingdom levels of Tell el-Dab'a and were usually made of Marl F (Fig. 12:2). They show no signs of additional surface treatments.

Especially dealing with Egyptian material that was found between Egypt and Palestine during the New Kingdom, one has to keep in mind that the local production of Egyptian shapes in Palestine during that period was quite common. At Tell el-'Ajjul only a small number of the retrieved Egyptian shapes were really imported to the site. Most of them were probably locally produced imitating Egyptian fabrics. Therefore one might expect, especially in the New Kingdom material, a certain amount of Egyptianising material amongst the Sinai Survey pottery.

Finally it is evident that the Egyptian material from the Sinai survey, which has been published by E. Oren and A. Gat for the period of the Middle Bronze Age, covers the period from the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty until the early or middle 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and leaves afterwards a gap of occupation until the very end of the Hyksos Period or even more likely the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Therefore it appears that the land route over the Sinai was only used and possibly safe as long as Egypt guarded and provided it. Obviously it needed an administration backing logistics to run this trade, a tool that vanished with the collapse of the Middle Kingdom in the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Afterwards the settlers of Tell el-Dab'a seemed to have shifted the main focus of their trade towards the sea, due to the possibility of importing much larger amounts of goods. Furthermore the political relationship between the kingdom of the 15<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and the southern Palestinian city states is more than uncertain. Evidence for direct contact, most likely via the sea, between the Hyksos territories and southern Palestine is only available at Ashkelon.<sup>68</sup> The MB IIC city of Tell el-'Ajjul (especially Palace I), which is so often claimed as being Sharuhén,<sup>69</sup> the famous besieged city of King Ahmose and the last retreat of the Hyksos, dates already into the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, according to Egyptian pottery<sup>70</sup> and White Slip I Ware

<sup>67</sup> C. Doumet-Serhal: *AHL* 17 (2003) 13, Fig. 12.

<sup>68</sup> See for this: M. Bietak et al.: *E&L* 18 (2008) 49–60.

<sup>69</sup> See the more recent discussion with literature on the localisation of Sharuhén in J. K. Hoffmeier, James Weinstein's 'Egypt and the Middle Bronze IIC/Late Bronze IA Transition': A Rejoinder: *Levant* 23 (1991) 117–24. The discussion on the location of Sharuhén seems far from being settled.

<sup>70</sup> K. Kopetzky, Chapter 18: Tell el-'Ajjul, in: M. A. S. Martin (ed.), *Egyptian-Type Pottery in the Late Bronze Age Southern Levant, Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean*, Vienna, in press.

found in palace I.<sup>71</sup> In a foundation ditch of palace I a Base Ring I sherd was found.<sup>72</sup> Eliezer Oren in a famous article showed, that Base Ring Ware heralds the Tuthmosid Period in the Levant.<sup>73</sup> This can be well endorsed by the excavations at Tell el-Dab'a, where neither White Slip I Ware nor Base Ring I Ware appears before the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty after the conquest of Avaris.<sup>74</sup> Both wares thus far were not found before the Tuthmosid Period. One may conclude therefore that the construction of Palace I (which is generally equated with the construction of City III) falls into the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. This may have stimulated the renewal of the land route over the Sinai. The question is why the young 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty relied on the major land route again, after the Hyksos who resided in a harbour town preferred sea transport. Is it possible that the young 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty originating from Upper Egypt was principally a land power and suffered from a shortage of ships? Activities promoting a build-up of a seagoing navy are known only from the time of Tuthmosis III onwards with the dockyards at Peru-nefer<sup>75</sup> identified recently with Tell el-Dab'a/Ezbet Helmy.<sup>76</sup> Another explanation is that security demands the possession of the Horus Road with its water stations in order to ward off a potential attack from the East. This would explain the activity on the Horus Road in the Middle Kingdom, and it would also explain Egyptian activity

<sup>71</sup> C. J. Bergoffen, The Proto White Slip and White Slip I Pottery from Tell el-Ajjul, in: V. Karageorghis (ed.), *The White Slip Ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, Proceedings of an International Conference organized by the A. L. Leventis Foundation, Nicosia, in Honour of Malcolm Wiener, Nicosia 29<sup>th</sup>-30<sup>th</sup> October 1998*, Contribution to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean vol. II, Vienna 2001, 153-155.

<sup>72</sup> R. S. Merrillees, Tell el-'Ajjul, Fine and imported Wares, in: J. R. Steward (ed.), *Tell el-'Ajjul, The Middle Bronze Age Remains*, SIMA 38 (Göteborg, 1974), 95-97.

<sup>73</sup> E. D. Oren, Cypriot Imports in the Palestinian Late Bronze I Context, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 9 (1989), 143-145; see also idem, The Diffusion of Base-ring Pottery in the East Mediterranean – Contextual and Chronological Aspects, in: H. Åström, *The Chronology of Base-ring Ware and Bichrome Wheel-made Ware* (Konferenser 54), Stockholm 2001, 27ff.

<sup>74</sup> M. Bietak and I. Hein, The Context of White Slip Wares in the Stratigraphy of Tell el-Dab'a and some Conclusions on Aegean Chronology, in: *The White Slip Ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, Proceedings of an International Conference organized by the A. L. Leventis Foundation, Nicosia, in Honour of Malcolm Wiener, Nicosia 29<sup>th</sup>-30<sup>th</sup> October 1998*, ed. by V. Karageorghis = *Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. by Manfred Bietak and Hermann Hunger, vol. II (Vienna, 2001), 171-194.

<sup>75</sup> W. Spiegelberg, La ville de Prw-nfr dans le Delta: *Revue de l'Égypte ancienne* 1 (1927) 215-217; G. Daressy, Les branches du Nil dans la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie: *BSGÉ* 16 (1928-29) 225, 322-6; S. R. K. Glanville, Records of a Royal Dockyard of the Time of Tuthmosis III: Papyrus British Museum 10056L., *ZÄS* 66 (1931), 105-121, Pl. 1-8; *ZÄS* 68 (1932) 7-41; L. Habachi, *Tell el-Dab'a I: Tell el-Dab'a and Qantir: The Site and its Connection with Avaris and Piramesse*, UZK 2, Vienna; 9, 106-7; M. Kamish, Problems of Toponymy with Special Reference to Memphis and Prw-nfr: *Wepwawet* 2 (1986), 32-36.

<sup>76</sup> M. Bietak, The Tuthmoside Stronghold Peru-nefer: *Egyptian Archaeology* 26 (Spring 2005) 13-17; idem, Peru-nefer; The Principal New Kingdom Naval Base: *Egyptian Archaeology* 34 (2009) 15-17.

along the *via maris* during the reign of Tuthmosis III and afterwards, when Egypt was certainly in the possession of a seagoing navy, which met the demands for transport of troops and supplies.

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Fig. 1: Distribution map of the Middle Kingdom pottery



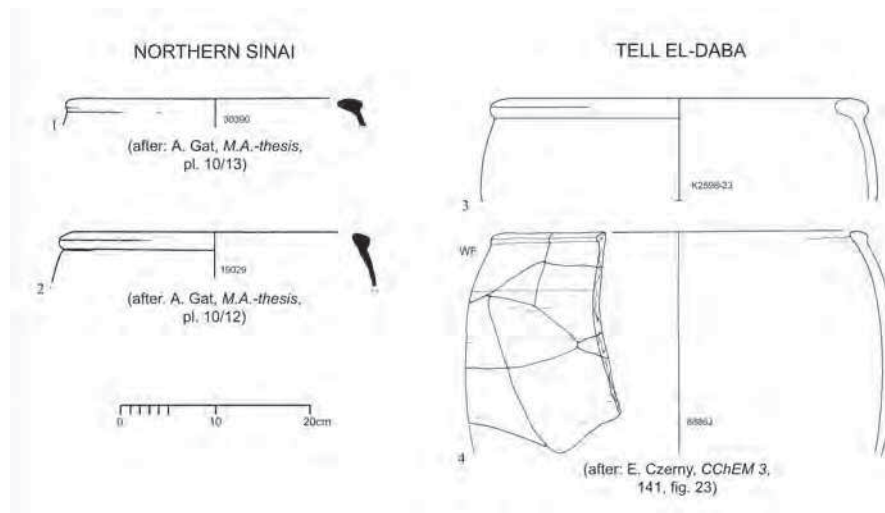
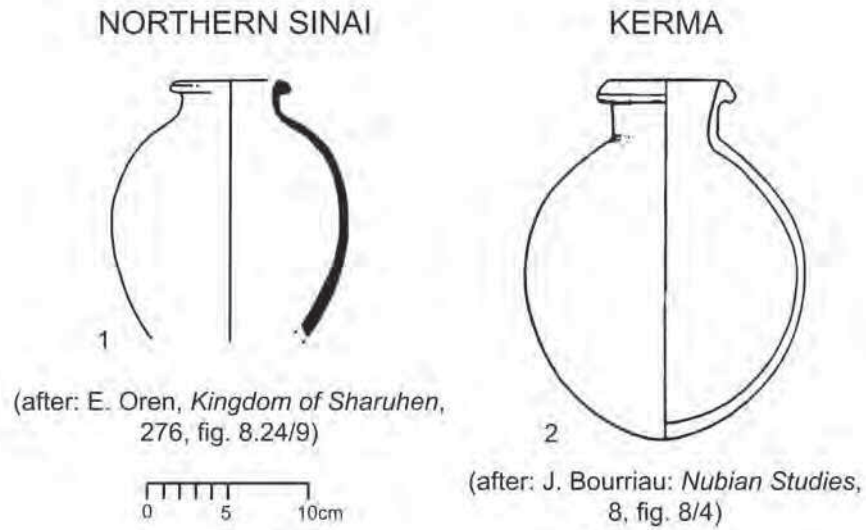
Fig. 2: Cooking pots of the 12<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Fig. 3: Upper Egyptian Marl A jars of the Middle Kingdom

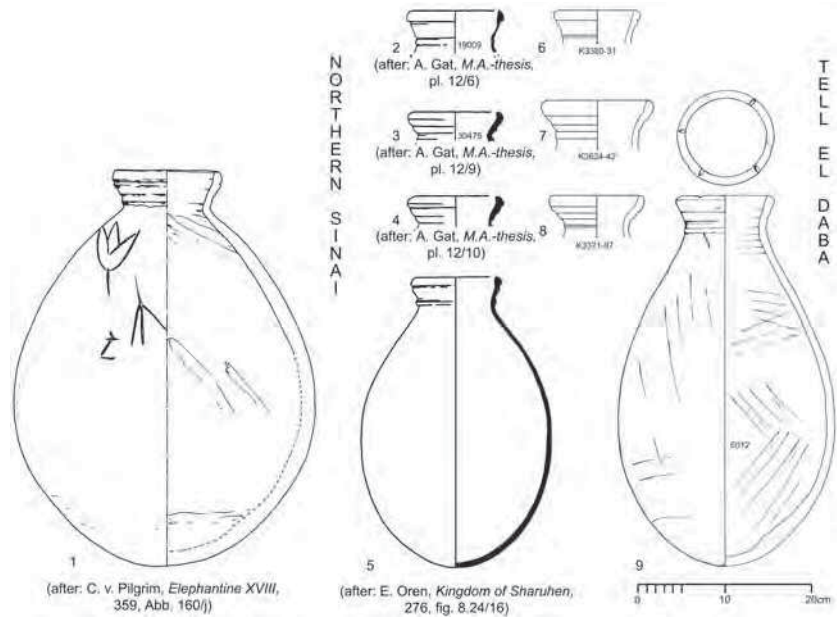


Fig. 4: Marl C jars with corrugated necks of the 12<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

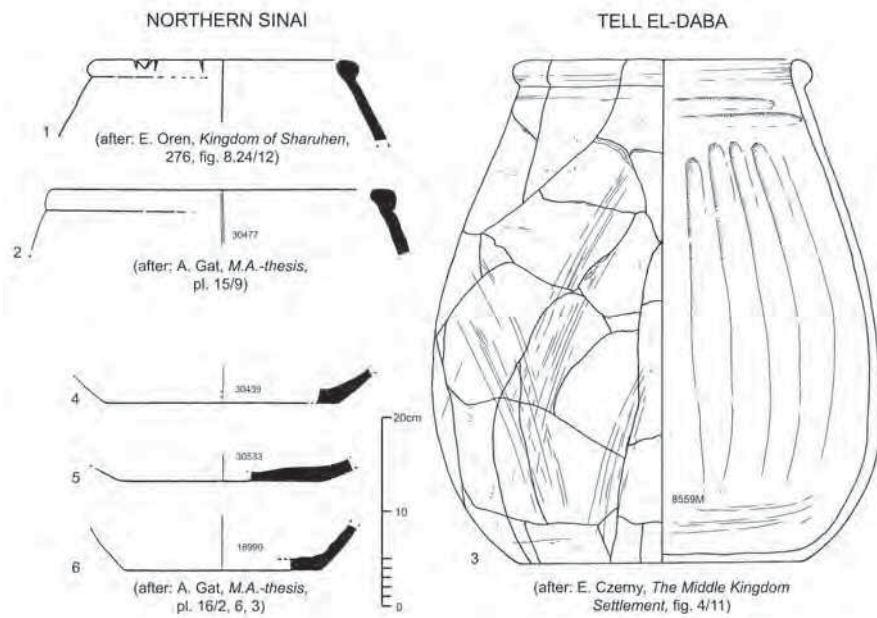


Fig. 5: Marl C zirs of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

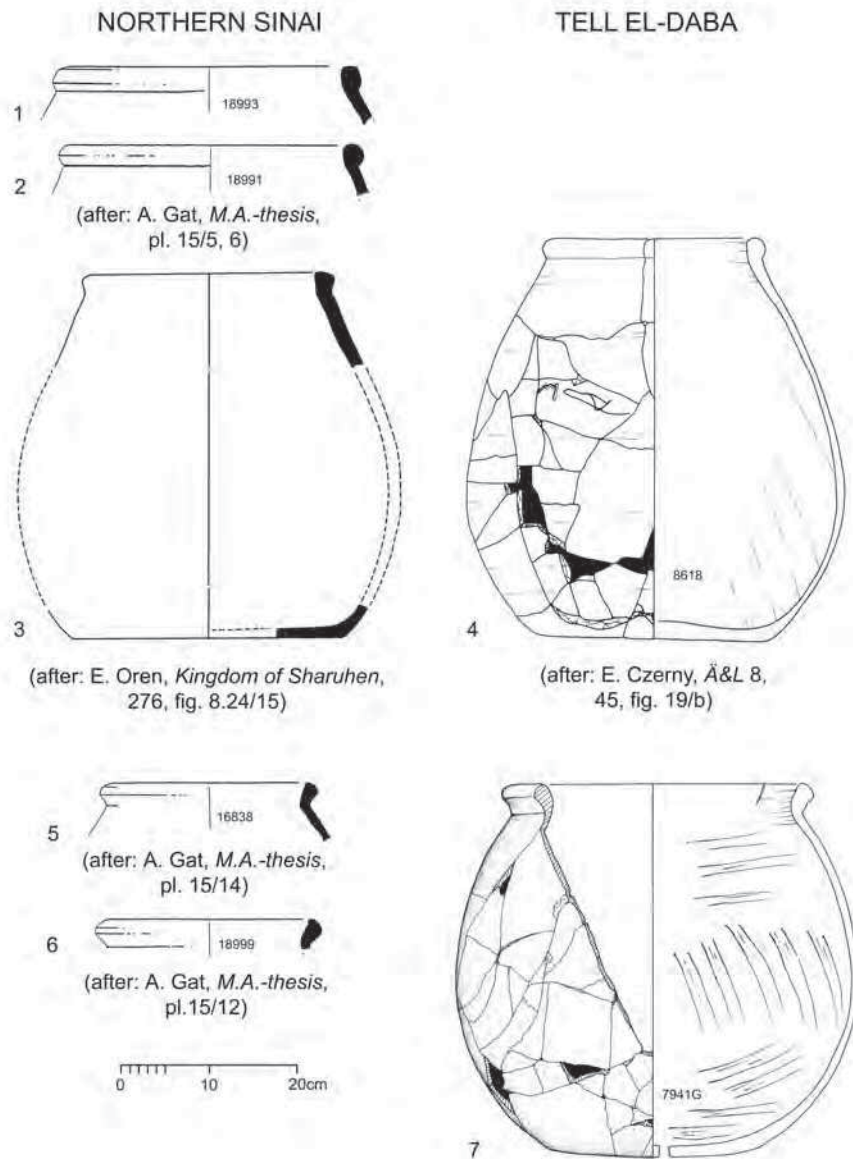


Fig. 6: Marl C zirs of the 12<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

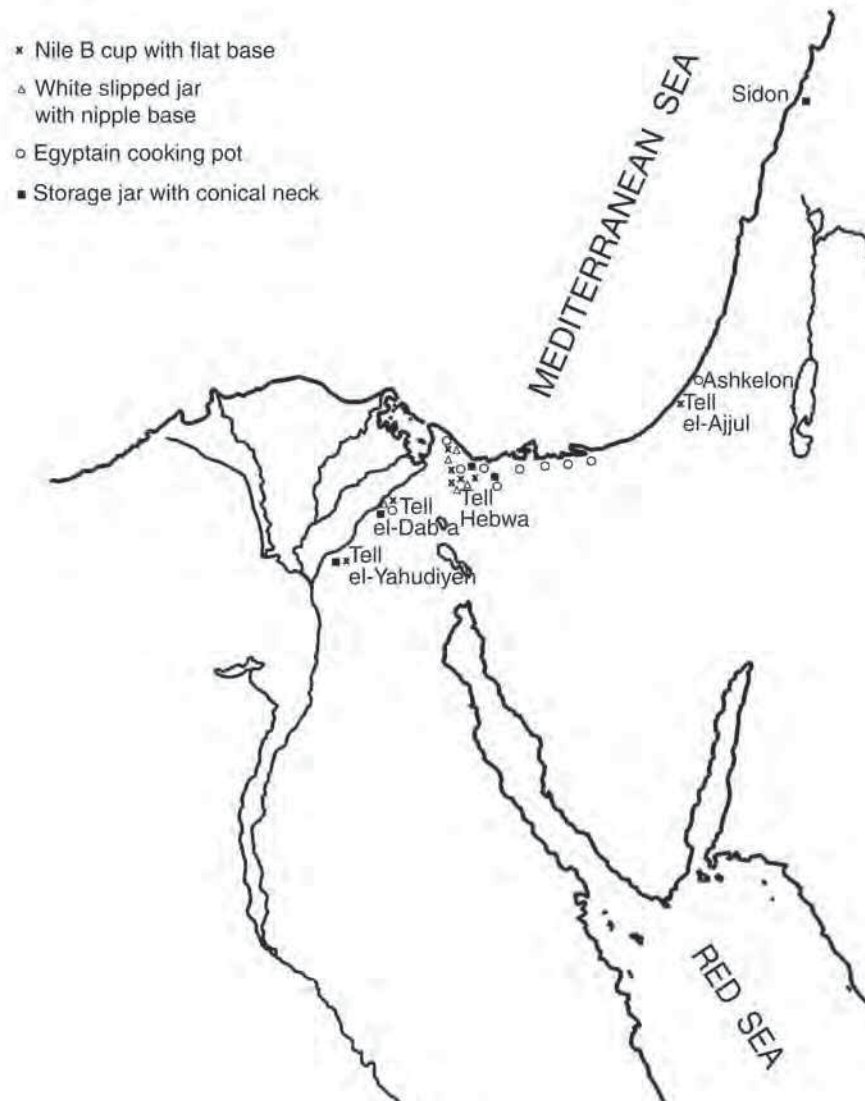


Fig. 7: Distribution map of the latest 15<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty pottery

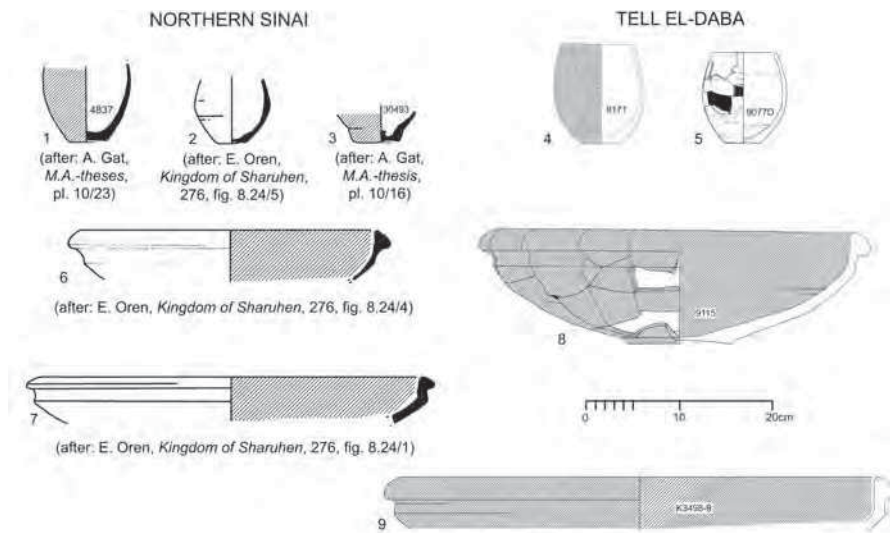
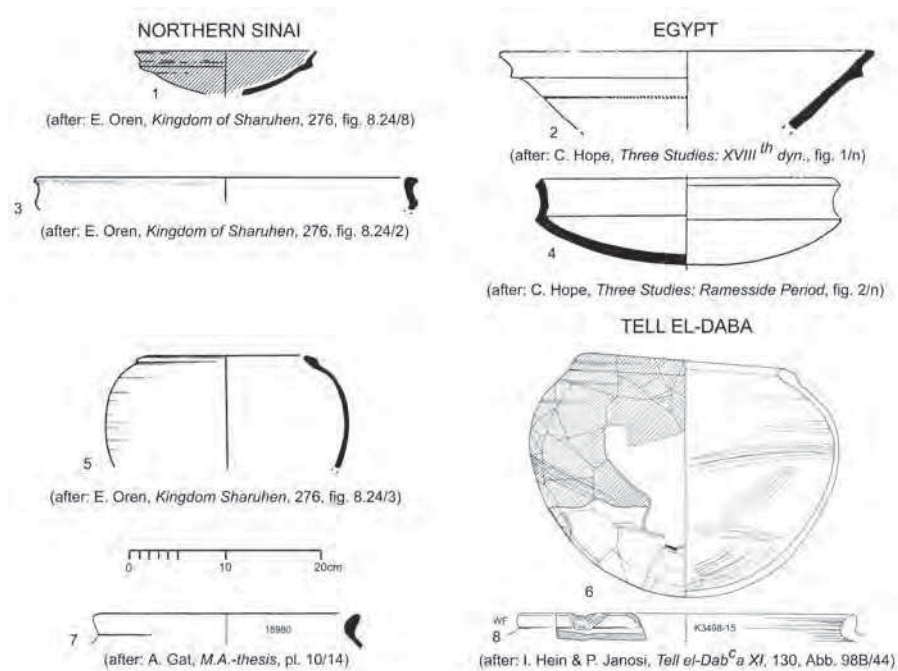
Fig. 8: Nile B pottery of the latest 15<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Fig. 9: Nile clay pottery of the New Kingdom

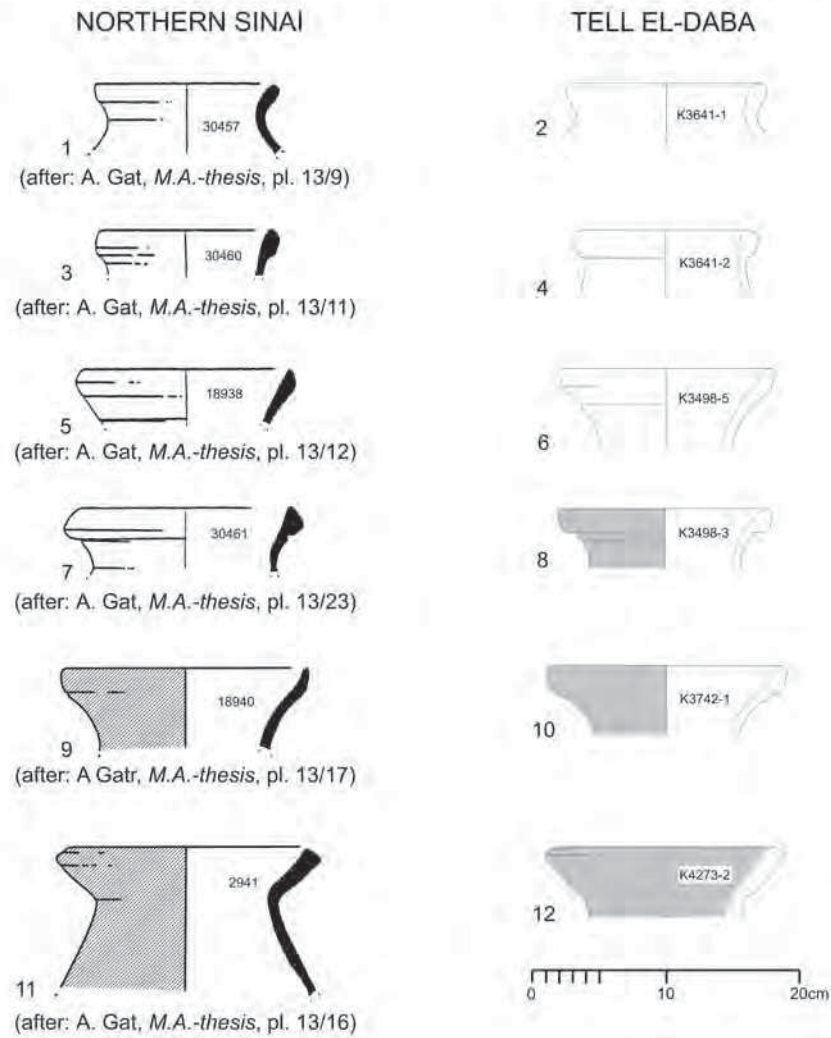
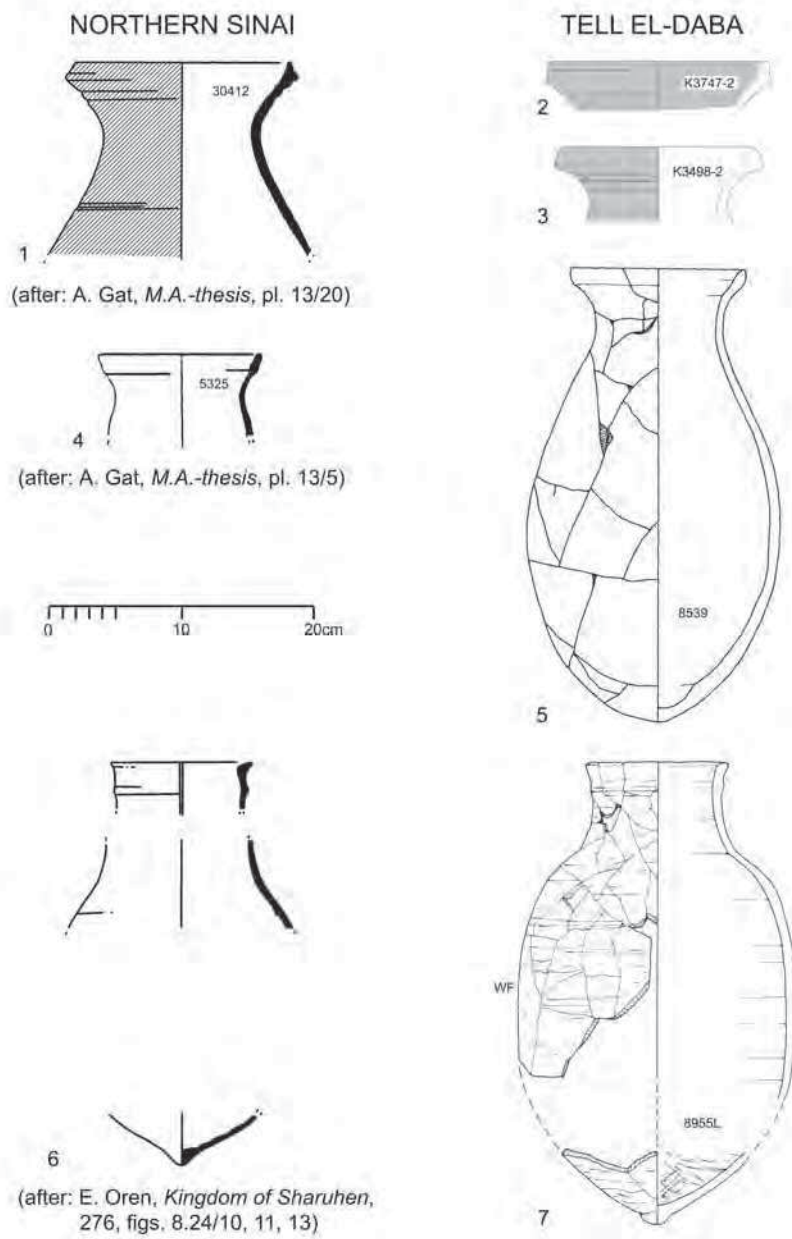


Fig. 10: Nile B jars of the latest 15<sup>th</sup> Dynasty or/and 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty



Fig. 11: Nile B jars of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

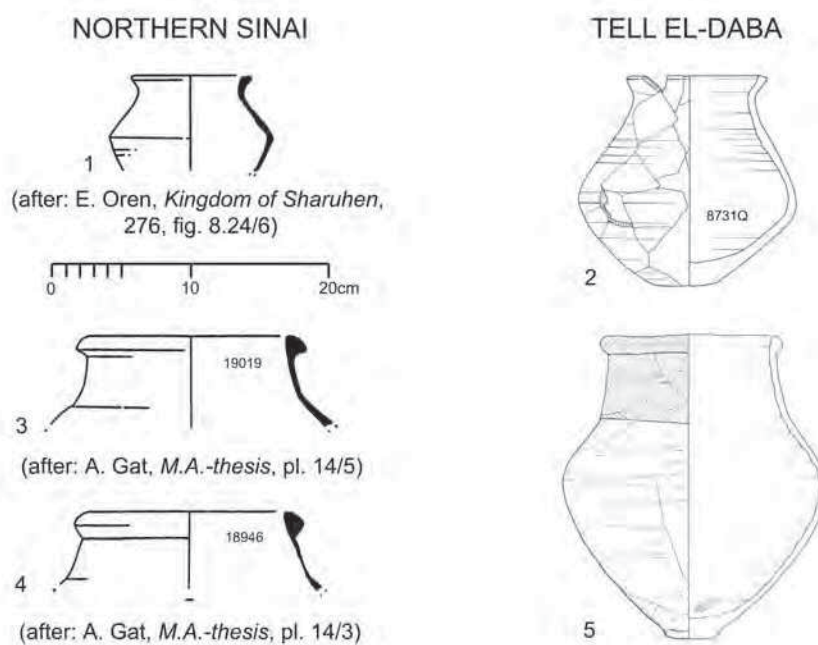


Fig. 12: Nile B pots of the latest 15<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and Marl F pot of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty





## Did Thutmose III's Troops Encounter Megiddo X?

Ruhama Bonfil<sup>1</sup>

The character of the relationship between Egypt and Canaan during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages is one of the issues to which Prof. Eliezer Oren has devoted much attention. The direct involvement of Egypt in the geographical region of Canaan increased during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, or more precisely during and after the reign of Thutmose III.

The Egyptian regime established in Canaan during the reign of Thutmose III, created significant changes in the political status of the city-states in the southern Levant, forming the basis of pharaonic hegemony during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasties (Bietak 1991:59-61; Liverani 2001:94-95; Weinstein 1981). It differs from the Egyptian regime known previously, at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The new regime, characterized by the division of Southern Canaan into several administrative centers with minimal military control. This new regime was designed to secure the loyalty of the Canaanite princes (for a discussion of the political organization of the city-states in this geographical area, see Bunimovitz 1989: 131-151). The princes fulfilled their obligations by paying tribute from their respective territories, and were also responsible for working the extensive holdings owned by the Egyptians, supplying them with produce and manpower (Ahituv 1978: 105; Na'aman 1981: 177-180; 1999: 34, 36; Weinstein 1981: 12, 15; Bunimovitz 1989: 155-156; Liverani 2001: 95-96, 176-177).

The historical sources concerning the famous battle of Thutmose III at Megiddo, emphasize the importance of Megiddo and its narrative as a City-state as providing possible definitions in the material culture, which resemble the effects of the new Egyptian policy. Is the accepted and known correlation between Megiddo IX and Thutmose III valid today? We must emphasize here that this assumption is not based on Egyptian finds found in Stratum IX assemblages, and should be reexamined.

As a benchmark for many studies dealing with these periods, it is important to reexamine the stratigraphy established for Megiddo, particularly in view of the fact that many excavations utilize material published in the Megiddo reports as a basis for comparison. Various conclusions, particularly those concerning the nature of settlement in given periods, stem from com-

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Daphna Ben-Tor and Anabel Zarzecky-Peleg for offering their advice and helpful remarks.

parisons of material culture, both architectural and ceramic, in consideration of historical data.

In fact, Tel Megiddo was and presently remains a key site for reconstructing the history and character of Canaanite settlement during the course of the Middle Bronze Age II and up to the end of the Late Bronze Age. Megiddo's importance stems from its long stratigraphic sequence, which includes most phases of the Bronze and Iron Ages, and from the fact that it is mentioned in historical sources.

To our issue it is important to identify points of rupture in the stratigraphic sequence at Megiddo during the period beginning in MB II and the Late Bronze Age. The clearest and most significant one is that between the material culture known as MB IIB (Megiddo strata XII-X) and the one known as LB I (Stratum IX). Can we synchronize this change with the beginning of the 18th Dynasty in Egypt? In our opinion, the change at the beginning of LB I (Megiddo Stratum IX) probably does not correspond to the beginning of the 18th Egyptian Dynasty, which corresponds to the period from Ahmose to Thutmose III. This phase should be related to the life time of Megiddo X. It should be noted that the excavations of the Hyksos capital at Tell el-Daba' (Avaris) apparently produce an analogous picture, in which a significant change occurs in the course of the 18th Dynasty, but not at its beginning (Bietak 1991: 57-58; Bietak et. al 2008: 52-59; Ben-Tor D. 2007: 157; Ben-Tor D. in press; Bonfil, R. Ilan, D. and Marcus E. in press)

This discussion attempts to propose a new correlation between the material culture and the historical events. Defining the various architectural phases at Megiddo is difficult and includes lacunae, mainly because of the fact that the published plans of the various buildings are schematic in nature. It is therefore difficult to examine the relations between the various walls and, as has been often said, it is not possible to reconstruct the pottery assemblages found on most of the floors of the buildings (in fact, most of the vessels attributed to MB II and the beginning of LB, that were published in the final report, were found in tombs, and their dating is difficult. (Kenyon 1969: 25-60; Kassis 1973: 5-22; Gonen 1987: 83-84; Ilan, Hallote and Cline 2000: 186). These problems also beset the proposals presented below. It appears that in the years ahead, analysis of the material culture (particularly pottery) of Megiddo must be based upon the results of the recent excavations at nearby sites.<sup>2</sup> What is presented here is, in effect, a by-product of analysis of the material originating in the excavations at Tell Qashish and Tel Yoqne'am (Ben-Tor, Bonfil and Zuckerman 2003; Ben-Tor, Ben-Ami and Livneh 2005). Both sites are located west of the Jezreel Valley, and both pro-

<sup>2</sup> The results of renewed excavations by Tel Aviv University at Megiddo are too limited and do not provide a suitable basis for comparison with the other sites (see the chapters dealing with this in the final report of these excavations, Ilan, Franklin and Hallote 2000; Ilan, Hallote and Cline 2000; Ussishkin 2000; Finkelstein and Ussishkin 2000: 591595; Franklin 2006; Gadot Y., Yasur-Landau A. and Ilan D. 2006).

vided a stratigraphic sequence similar to that encountered at Megiddo Strata XIII–VIIA, from MB IIA (the phase during which red-slipped and burnished ware appear – this phase appears at Yoqne`am and is absent at Qashish) up to the end of LB. Thus, the results of excavation at both these sites can contribute to constructing the framework of the development of ceramics through these periods. In addition, it can help us understand the excavation results from Megiddo that concern contemporary remains.

For the sake of clarity in the discussion that follows, we shall adopt the Megiddo stratigraphy nomenclature, provided by the Chicago University Expedition excavators, despite certain reservations concerning some elements. As our theme is the transitional period between the MB II and the LB, we shall deal mainly with remains attributed to Strata XII–IX.

#### *MB IIB – Strata XII–X*

An architectural continuity between the MB IIB layers can be followed through Strata XII and XI (Figs. 1–4), while several significant changes are attributed to Stratum X (Figs. 5–7 and sections, Figs. 8–9). The main change was that the city wall (that surrounded the city in Strata XII and according to our view continued to be in use in stratum XI) went out of use, and structures that reflect expansion of the settlement were erected upon it. This is noticeable in Area AA as well as Area BB. Concerning Area BB, the excavators note that in Stratum X, a street (running north–south) is the first element passing over the course of the Stratum XIII–XII walls (Loud. 1948: 97).

Although the urban planning of Stratum XI at Megiddo does not represent a significant change, several changes in the construction of the fortifications of this stratum are identified. These changes include the narrowing of the wall by some 60 cm., both in Area AA and in Area BB. In Area AA, the wall demarcating the structures in Squares K/7–8 was rebuilt some 60 cm. north of the wall that bounded the structures of Stratum XII (Section A–A Fig. 8; Loud. 1948: Fig. 416). A similar phenomenon was revealed in Area BB, where the wall bounding the structures found in Squares N–O/14–15 on the west was constructed overlapping the line of the inner wall of Stratum XII by some 60 cm. (Fig. 9).

According to the excavators the Stratum XII wall ceased to be used during Stratum XI and was replaced by a new wall (with inner projections only) some 12.50 m. from the Stratum XII wall? If so, the area between the wall and the structures was an open area. In Kenyon's view, this wall stood atop an earth rampart. If so, the structures were adjacent to the inner face of the rampart and a street ran between the two (Kenyon 1969: 56). Kenyon's proposal is based upon a section drawing (Loud 1948: Fig. 416), which, in her view, shows the wall "built on top of a considerable bank up to 5 m. thick."

In order to clarify this matter, it is important to return to the drawing of section A–A (Fig. 8; Loud 1948: Fig. 416) in which the wall bounding the structures is seen built into the inner face of the Stratum XII wall, however,

its outer face is still visible above the surface. Moreover, the main evidence for this wall going out of use is the pavement found north of the wall of the structures in Area AA (Squares K/7–8). This pavement was found above the wall at an elevation of between 153.00 and 153.20 (Loud 1948: Figs. 379, 416). This portion of pavement was found without precise stratigraphic context and may therefore be attributed to Stratum X, to which pavements at similar elevations belong (Fig. 8, Loud 1948: Fig. 416).

Thus, the Stratum XII wall continues in use in Stratum XI (Figs. 1–4), even if it is narrowed by approximately 60 cm. (Figs. 8–9). Such a proposition poses a problem concerning the attribution of the wall with inner projections resembling teeth (Area AA, Squares K/6–8) that was attributed by the excavators to Stratum XI (Loud. 1948: Fig. 379). Was it in fact utilized as an independent fortification wall? And if so, why is its outer face flat while the projections are incorporated only into its inner face? Probably, this fortification wall was a retaining wall within the rampart (Loud. 1948: 15) that formed part of a fortification constructed in Stratum XII and remained during Stratum XI, or constitutes an element later than the wall of Strata XII–XI, and if so, belongs to Stratum X (Fig. 5 and see below).

The three-chambered tower (Area AA, Square K/8), reconstructed as part of the gate structure connected to the offset/inset wall (Kempinski 1993: Fig. 33), belongs to a fortification system that we attributed to Strata XII–XI/ or Stratum X and not to Stratum VIII as Ussishkin has recently suggested (Ussishkin 2000: 117). In his view, construction of the tower wall (Wall C in the plan of the Tel Aviv University Expedition – Ussishkin 2000: Fig. 5.7) is integrated into the construction of the eastern wall of the Stratum IX–VIII palace (Wall B in the plan of the Tel Aviv University Expedition – Ussishkin 2000: Fig. 5.7). It is noteworthy that the Tel Aviv University Expedition's Wall B is part of the northeastern corner of the palace that was entirely exposed by the Chicago University Expedition. The northern wall of the corner was removed by the Chicago University expedition and the walls of Stratum XI were revealed beneath this corner (Loud 1948: Figs. 380–382). The Tel Aviv University expedition did not remove the northern part of Wall B and therefore never checked the relationship between the palace and the tower (Ussishkin 2000: Figs. 5.7, 5.19–5.20). Moreover, nearby the three-chambered tower, was found a plaster floor that seals the walls of the tower and is associated with the palace walls (Loud. 1948: Figs. 380–392). Thus, it is not possible, to connect these two elements nor to explain them as technical phases only (Ussishkin 2000: 117).

The proposal that the Stratum XII wall remained in use in Stratum XI does not make possible the existence of structures that appear on the line of the wall in Area AA, Squares K–L/6–7 (Loud. 1948: Fig. 379). It should be noted here that the same walls also appear in the plan of Stratum X (Loud. 1948: Fig. 380), and their elevations are higher than those of the structures located east of them (Squares K–L/7–8). It appears that the structures in Squares

K–L/6–7 (Loud. 1948: Fig. 379) belong to an early phase of Stratum X and not to Stratum XI (Fig. 5).

It may thus be established that the Stratum XII fortification remained in use in Stratum XI and that the urban plan followed the model established during Stratum XII (Dunayevsky and Kempinski 1973: 179–180, 186).

If so, which fortification, bounded the Stratum X settlement at Megiddo? Did a 1.50 m. thick wall, remains of which were exposed in Area AA, Squares K/6–8, (Fig. 6)? This wall passes above the line of the offset/inset wall, which was attributed to the previous phase. If so, was it connected to the gate of previous phases? Renewal of the excavation in a section perpendicular to the offset/inset wall and the fortifications of Strata XIII–XI is important for solving this problem.

The change in the boundaries of the settlement and in its fortifications does not attest to the situation within the city. There, the division of the area of the city and the plans of the dwellings and the palace are similar to those of Stratum XI (see the walls of Stratum X, constructed directly upon the walls of Stratum XI in section B–B – Figs. 3–4). An exception to this is the area of the sacred precinct where a new temple was constructed (Dunayevsky and Kempinski 1973: 180–182).

The duration of Stratum X is unclear. However, in Area AA it is possible to reconstruct two phases (Figs. 5–6). To the later of these may also be attributed the floors that were attributed to the Stratum IX palace in Area AA (Square K/8). These floors are not associated with the walls of the palace, and they may be aligned with the walls of buildings found beneath the palace (Fig. 6.). Therefore, they should probably be attributed to Stratum X rather than Stratum IX (see below). According to this interpretation, it is clear that the vessel assemblage found upon the floor (L.4031) dates to the end of the Stratum X settlement and not to the date of the construction of the Stratum IX palace (see below).

On the northern slope, The Tel Aviv University Expedition associates a plaster floor (Level F-11) to the rebuilding or consolidation of the Level F-12 embankment. This floor covers earlier phases, in Area F, at the elevation of 136.90 (Franklin 2006: 54–56).

The tombs assemblages associated with Level F-11 and Pre phase F-10b, which were found below level 136.90 (Gadot et al. 2006: Fig. 12:7), contain an MB II repertoire which differs from that of Late Bronze Age I, of Level F-10 (Gadot et al. 2006: Fig. 12:1–12.4; 171–174, 182, 185–188).

#### *Late Bronze Age I – Stratum IX*

Notable changes in architecture and pottery may be attributed to Stratum IX at Megiddo. This stratum is significant as indicator of the material culture named LB I. From the standpoint of architecture, this change is most clearly visible in Area AA where the palace was constructed. Although according to the excavators, part of it was already constructed in Stratum X, the dat-

ing of its construction is difficult and R. Gonen's proposal to date it to the Middle Bronze II on the basis of the assemblage of pottery found upon its floor (4031), identified as the courtyard of the early palace – is difficult to accept (Gonen 1987: 84–86). That vessel assemblage consisted of only two vessels, found upon the floor which is not associated with the walls of the palace and appears to have been cut by them (Loud. 1948: Fig. 380). In addition, the alignment of the two “channels” that cross the floor (one running north–south and the other east–west) conforms to the walls that appear in Stratum XI plan of (Loud. 1948: Fig. 379). It thus seems that this pavement belonged to walls with an orientation similar to those of Stratum XI – perhaps brick walls built directly upon those of Stratum XI (as proposed in Fig. 6). Thus, pavement 4031 preceded the construction of the palace in Area AA and apparently belonged to Stratum X (Fig. 6).

In our opinion, the construction of the palace should be attributed to Stratum IX. It is important to emphasize that the walls of the palace in the plan depicting Stratum X (Loud 1948: Fig. 380) appear unchanged in the plan depicting Stratum IX (Loud 1948: Fig. 381). Thus, it is quite possible to reconstruct one stratum of the early palace in which at least two sub-phases were uncovered that are represented by two floor levels (Figs. 10–11).

The dating of the Stratum IX palace is also problematic. Aside from two Middle Bronze II vessels, found in a room with a damaged floor (Room 4116, Square K/7), no vessel assemblages originating from the floors of the Stratum IX palace have been published (Gonen 1987: 89). Are these two vessels, found in a disturbed context, sufficient to date the entire Stratum IX palace, and based upon that, support the proposal by R. Gonen that the vicinity of Area AA at Megiddo was not settled during Late Bronze I (Gonen 1987: 89), or that there is a correlation between Area AA and BB at Megiddo? In our view, the palace in Area AA was constructed during Stratum IX and its two sub-phases (in the same stratum) should be attributed to Late Bronze I. Therefore, the palace in Area AA represents a single large structure built in the area in which small houses stood during the course of Strata XII–X.

This accords with the construction of the building in Area BB (Squares 14–15/N–O), referred to by C. Epstein as “Building Z” (Fig. 12), built of new walls unrelated to those of the previous phase (Epstein 1966: 89–91). In the same building were found several vessels that may be attributed to LB I, indicating that at least in this part of the site there is an architectural break matching that in the pottery. Does this break find expression in all of Area BB? Does the difficulty in distinguishing between the remains of Stratum X and IX mentioned in the excavator's field notes (Kassis 1973: 7), indeed relate to these stratum or to the remains of Stratum XI and X?

I believe that there is a correlation between the settlement in Area BB and in Area AA. Accordingly, during the days of Stratum IX there is new construction that is unrelated to that of Stratum X (except for the sacred area of the temple).



We cannot accept R. Gonen's proposal that Area AA was left destroyed for 200 years, until the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE. This view is particularly difficult to accept in consideration of her view that during the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE, there was a return to the same palace building constructed during MB II.

The question of the fortifications of Megiddo during the various phases of the Late Bronze Age faced again by the Tel Aviv University team in the renewed excavations at Megiddo. In this excavation, they dealt with the problem of the stratigraphic attribution of the gate (Area AA). In their opinion, during the Late Bronze Age, the gate was not connected with the city wall and therefore, they agree with the assertion that LB Megiddo was not fortified with a wall (Gonen 1987: 97–98; Ussishkin 1995: 259).

It is important to emphasize that the new excavators (of the Tel Aviv University team) have not solved the problem of the date of the construction of the gate. In their view, it seems logical that the construction of the gatehouse was a part of the ground scheme of building a new palace for the city's ruler at the beginning of Stratum VIII. (Ussishkin 2000: 121). Thus, it cannot be ruled out that the gate was built as early as the Stratum IX palace, as proposed by the Chicago University Expedition (Loud. 1948: 33; Fig. 381).

The renewed excavations in the vicinity of the gate revealed that the last use of the lower cobblestone pavement (following the division of the Chicago University Expedition) should be dated to the end of LB II. (Ussishkin 2000: 104–114; Finkelstein and Zimhoni 2000: 242–243; Figs. 10.1–10.3). Despite this, the evidence necessary to resolve the question of the date of the construction of the gate is still lacking. In the published plans (both in the final reports of Chicago University Expedition [Loud. 1948: Figs. 383–384] and in the Tel Aviv University excavations [Ussishkin 2000: Fig. 5.7]), no references to the elevation of the foundation of any of the walls belonging to the gate itself are found. The elevations of the tops of the walls appear only in the report of the Chicago University Expedition (Loud. 1948: Figs. 383–384). There one also finds the elevations of the top (152.45) and of the base (150.85) of the “additional wall” (Wall A of the renewed excavations [Ussishkin 2000: Fig. 5.7]). It is therefore clear that if they had found the elevation of the foundations of the gate, they would certainly have noted them.

The Tel Aviv University Expedition excavators assume that the wall of the gate “rides” upon earlier walls and, as evidence, they refer to a photograph of the excavation in the outer cell of the gate (Ussishkin 2000: Fig. 5.8). In the same photograph, the stones apparently belonging to the “earlier walls” appear to rest upon or to be associated with the gate walls and perhaps they form a part of the “missing” stone pavement in the outer cell (Ussishkin 2000: 116).

Further evidence for the possibility that the walls of the tower descend to a greater depth may be found in the eastern pilaster of the inner cell. There, the tops of basalt orthostats were found. These orthostats probably descend to a depth of at least 0.5 m. Moreover, the orthostats themselves undoubtedly rest upon a base that descends even deeper. Therefore, it is probable

that additional pavements belonging to earlier strata exist beneath the stone pavement (which went out of use in Stratum VIIA).

Stratum IX at Megiddo appears also to have been encountered in the Lower City – in Area F (in the Tel Aviv University Expedition's excavations), where it was named Level F-10 divided to two phases (F-10b and F-10a). The pottery found in these two phase belong to LB I horizon and can be synchronized with Megiddo IX on the upper mound. The remains of Level F-10 were constructed on top of the Middle Bronze Age embankment, indicating that the lower city was unfortified (Franklin 2006; Gadot et al. 2006: 171-178).

### *LB II – Stratum VIII*

The palace in Area AA is the main structure exposed at Megiddo, which contributes to our understanding of the changes that took place there during the Late Bronze Age. Consequently, in a discussion of those changes, we shall relate primarily to that palace. During the time of Stratum VIII, the plan of the inner palace underwent several changes. The most outstanding of these involves the location of the central courtyard (Loud. 1948: 25, Figs. 381–382; Figs. 11, 13).

The dating of the Stratum VIII palace is problematic. R. Gonen follows O. Tufnell in reconstructing a gap at Megiddo during the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE (Gonen 1987: 91; Fig. 5:1-5). This claim is primarily based upon the fact that at Megiddo, the White-Painted Base Ring group of vessels is absent (Kenyon 1969: 59; Tufnell 1958: 66). It must be remembered that the pottery published in Megiddo II included only complete vessels. Therefore, it is not clear if this group is entirely absent. Tufnell herself mentions a juglet, published in Loud. 1948: Pl. 26:11, and she maintains that it is rare. Other juglets of this group, found in tomb assemblages in the Megiddo cemetery, which further attest to the presence of this group at Megiddo, should be added to this one (Guy 1938: Pls. 11:11; 19: 25; 43: 8; 55: 2; 56: 7–8; 59: 12; 63: 17). In effect, from a stratigraphical standpoint as well, evidence for a gap of nearly 100 years at Megiddo has not been found (Baumgarten 1978: 26).

While in Area AA the continuity of the palace building is apparent, in the excavations of the domestic dwelling areas in the Lower City (Area F), a different picture emerged. The pottery assemblage found in the Level F-10 buildings is similar to that characteristic Stratum IX (in the Chicago University excavations). These buildings were abandoned, earth fill was deposited over them and upon it were built new structures (Level F-9). According to the excavators, the typical pottery of Level F-9 is similar to that characteristic in Stratum VIII in the Chicago University excavations (Ilan, Franklin and Hallote 2000: 86–92; Ilan, Hallote and Cline 2000: 208–220).

It appears that Level F-9 represents an earlier phase in a two-phased stratum – the earlier, Level F-9 and the later, Level F-7. In both of these, the

same walls were used, though minor changes were made to some of these (compare Ilan, Franklin and Hallote 2000: Fig. 4.22 with Ilan, Franklin and Hallote 2000 Fig. 4.14). It is important to note that Level F-8 is not an independent stratum, but a technical phase only. This stratum does not represent a living surface but only various activities involving the remains of Level F-9 for the purpose of utilizing them in Level F-7 (Ilan, Franklin and Hallote 2000: 92–93).

The Tel Aviv University Expedition proposes dating the pottery assemblage of Level F-7 as contemporary to that of Stratum VIIA (of the Chicago University Expedition – Finkelstein, Ussishkin and Halpern 2000: 11; Ilan, Hallote and Cline 2000: 220), while noting that “the small assemblage of level F-7 shows much in common with that of level F-9” (Ilan, Hallote and Cline 2000: 220)

Accordingly, nothing prevents us from attributing Level F-7 to any phase in Stratum VIII or VIIB. Therefore, we may cancel Level F-8, which was artificially created by the excavators, who perhaps intended to make a correlation between F-9 and VIII on the one hand, and F-7 and VIIA on the other.

To summarize, we may affirm that there is an architectural break between Stratum IX and Stratum VIII in the dwellings in the Lower City.

Following the general scheme we have outlined, MB II and LB Megiddo (Stratum XII–VIII) may be divided into three distinct phases:

1. *Strata XII–XI* – Fortified city, with dwellings constructed along streets. Some of them abut the city wall. Within the city, the sacred precinct undergoes a change and a palace is built next to it. These strata are defined as beginning perhaps during the transition between MB IIA and MB IIB, and continue in the MB IIB.

2. *Stratum X* – during this phase, the city wall of Strata XII–XI ceased to be in use, and the area of the city expanded. It is unclear if any type of fortification surrounded the city. Inside the city, a change is apparent in the sacred precinct where Temple 2048 was constructed. The plans of the dwellings and the palace (in Area BB) do not reflect significant changes. As regards pottery, this stratum presents a culture more closely resembling that which characterized Stratum XI than that of Stratum IX. It thus appears that it should be viewed as the end of MB IIB (at least as regards material culture).

3. *Strata IX–VIII* displays new construction at Megiddo that ignores the structures of the previous phase, with the exception of the temple (2048), which continues to exist until the end of the Iron Age. The new building is primarily represented by the construction of the palace in Area AA, “Building Z” in Area BB and new structures in the Lower City (Level F-10) which cover the earlier embankment.

In the palace in Area AA, there is notable continuity between Stratum IX and VIII. On the other hand, in the Lower City there is a break in architecture between Level F-10 and F-9 (which apparently parallels Stratum VIII in Area AA). Did the fact that the palace served as a public building result in its

continuous use, contrary to the picture that emerges from the simple dwellings where there is a break between Stratum IX and Stratum VIII?

It appears that the city that began in Stratum IX was unfortified; likewise that attributed to Stratum VIII. On the basis of the pottery attributed to Stratum IX, it appears that it should be attributed to LB I, while Stratum VIII seems to belong to the early phase of LB II.

Thus, the most significant change in the building plans at Megiddo took place between Stratum X and IX, when new construction in an unwallled city appeared. The pottery assemblage attributed to Megiddo IX differs from that characteristic of Stratum X, which resembles and continues those of the earlier phases (Megiddo XII–XI in Bonfil 2003: 318–323).

In comparison to the history of settlement at several sites in the Jezreel Valley and Tel Mevorakh (Bonfil 2003: 319–323; see Table, below) we have traced similar development that enables us to identify several characteristics:

1. *During MB IIB* – New construction of fortified settlements following similar plans (Megiddo XII, Yoqne'am XXIIb, Qashish IXC, Mevorakh XIII). The pottery attributed to those settlements has characteristics reflecting continuity from the earlier phases (MB IIA). It appears that the construction of these settlements took place during the transition between MB IIA and MB IIB.

2. *The end of MB IIB* – Minor changes in architecture, mainly in the form of expansion of settlements into the areas along the fortifications of the previous phase (Megiddo X, Yoqne'am XXI, Qashish VIII (?) and Tel Mevorakh XII). The pottery found in this phase at all sites is similar to that found in the previous strata (although it includes several types that belong only to this phase, among these, egg-shell bowls with trumpet base, high-necked pithoi [Bonfil 1992: 26, 30–33; Bonfil 2003: 277–318] and others).

3. *The beginning of LB I* – New construction of unwallled settlements and the appearance of a ceramic culture distinct from that of MB IIB. Numerous characteristic MB II pottery forms disappear (for example, the pithoi [Bonfil 1992: 26–34], globular cooking pots and others [Bonfil 2003: 277–318]).

Period	Megiddo		Yogne 'am	Tel Qashish	Tel Mevorakh
	Upper City	Lower City			
MB IIB	XII		XXIIIB	XC	XIII
	XI		XXIIIA XXII	IXB IXA	
Architectonic Change					
End of MB IIB	X	F-11	XXI	VIII	XII
Architectonic and Ceramic Change					
LB I	IX	F-10	XXB XXA	VIIIB VIIA	XI

*Historical Implication*

Nowadays the accepted attribution of the destruction of Stratum IX at Megiddo to Thutmose III's campaign must be revised. According to the stratigraphic analysis it is evident that the structures of Stratum IX are completely new structures that were built according to new town planning. Thus is in contrast to the continuity observed with respect to the town planning in Strata XII-X. The change of the town planning, in Stratum IX, corresponds to the changes in the character of the pottery. This change is attested in the assemblages found in nearby sites (Yoqne'am and Qashish), that are part of same cultural horizon. At this stage of the research we should rely on the assemblages found in those sites, as it is difficult to reconstruct the pottery assemblages found on most of the Megiddo floors (for the characteristic features which make it possible to distinguish between the of MB II ceramic assemblages and those related to the LB I period see Bonfil 2003: 277-318).

A change in the political status of the Jezreel Valley region, (in which Megiddo is located), is ascribed to the reign of Thutmose III. During his reign a different form of Egyptian rule was established. This change is distinct from the one that characterizes the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The change introduced by Thutmose III was manifested in the division of Canaan into several administrative centers with quite minimal military supervision. The goal was to maintain the loyalty of the local inhabitants to Canaanite rulers. The latter fulfilled the obligations of taxation in their respective regions and were responsible for working extensive landholdings, which belonged to the Egyptians and were intended to supply products to Egypt (Ahituv 1978: 105; Na'aman 1981: 177-180; 1999: 34, 36; Weinstein 1981: 12).

Did this change in the political status of this region in Canaan leave its mark on the material culture? In view of the information presented above, it appears that in the Jezreel Valley there was a marked change in the material culture between the periods referred to as MB IIB and LB I. This change finds expression in both the nature of the settlements (both large and small) as well as in the pottery assemblages (Bonfil 2003: 323-326). Is it possible to attribute that transition phase to the results of Thutmose III's campaign (Ben-Tor and Bonfil 2003: 327)? If so, then the destruction of Megiddo X (not IX), Yoqne'am XXII and Taanach may be attributed to that campaign. The crisis affecting the small settlements, such as Qashish VIII or Mevorakh XII, could have resulted from that episode, and perhaps also represent the processes affecting all of the settlements during that period, stemming from inner tensions between the Canaanite city states themselves, which made the establishment of Egyptian rule in Canaan possible.

It should be noted here that at Hazor, unlike the cities of the Jezreel Valley, there was architectural continuity between the city attributed to MB II and that attributed to LB (apparent in the continuity in the Area H temple and in the gates of the city in Areas K and P [Yadin 1972: 51-65; Mazar 1997: 353-369, 382], as well as in the buildings in Area A [Bonfil 1997: 162-164]).

May we regard this as an expression of Hazor's different political position that benefited from some kind of independence from direct Egyptian rule during Thutmose's reign?

If we fix the chronological peg of Thutmose III's campaign to the end of Megiddo X, Yoqne'am XXI, Taanach, Qashish VIII, and Mevorakh XII, to what shall we attribute the other lesser change, prior to this period (between Megiddo XI and X)? This change affected settlements toward the end of MB IIB (at Megiddo between XI and X, at Yoqne'am between XXII and XXI, at Qashish between IXC and VIII and at Mevorakh between XIII and XII). There was a certain change in the plan of settlements (and the fortifications may have gone out of use). On the other hand, there is continuity in the character of the structures and in the pottery assemblages. Is it possible to attribute this transition phase to the campaigns of the first kings of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, for example, to the results of Ahmose's campaign, aimed at the north (Weinstein 1981: 10), or perhaps to other events, caused either by internal tension in Canaan or the result of pressure from northern groups (Na'aman 1994: 176–181, 184)? Perhaps these led to the weakening of the Canaanite city-states and made Thutmose III's conquest possible (Na'aman 1994: 182–184).

Such a correlation between material culture and historical events leads to the conclusion that in northern Canaan there is no correlation between the beginnings of the LB I material culture, and the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Egyptian Dynasty. Despite this, it may be suggested that a correlation exists between the beginning of the material culture characteristic of LB I, and the conquest by Thutmose III. If so, Thutmose destroyed a city with characteristics of settlements attributed to MB II that may, in fact, have been fortified!

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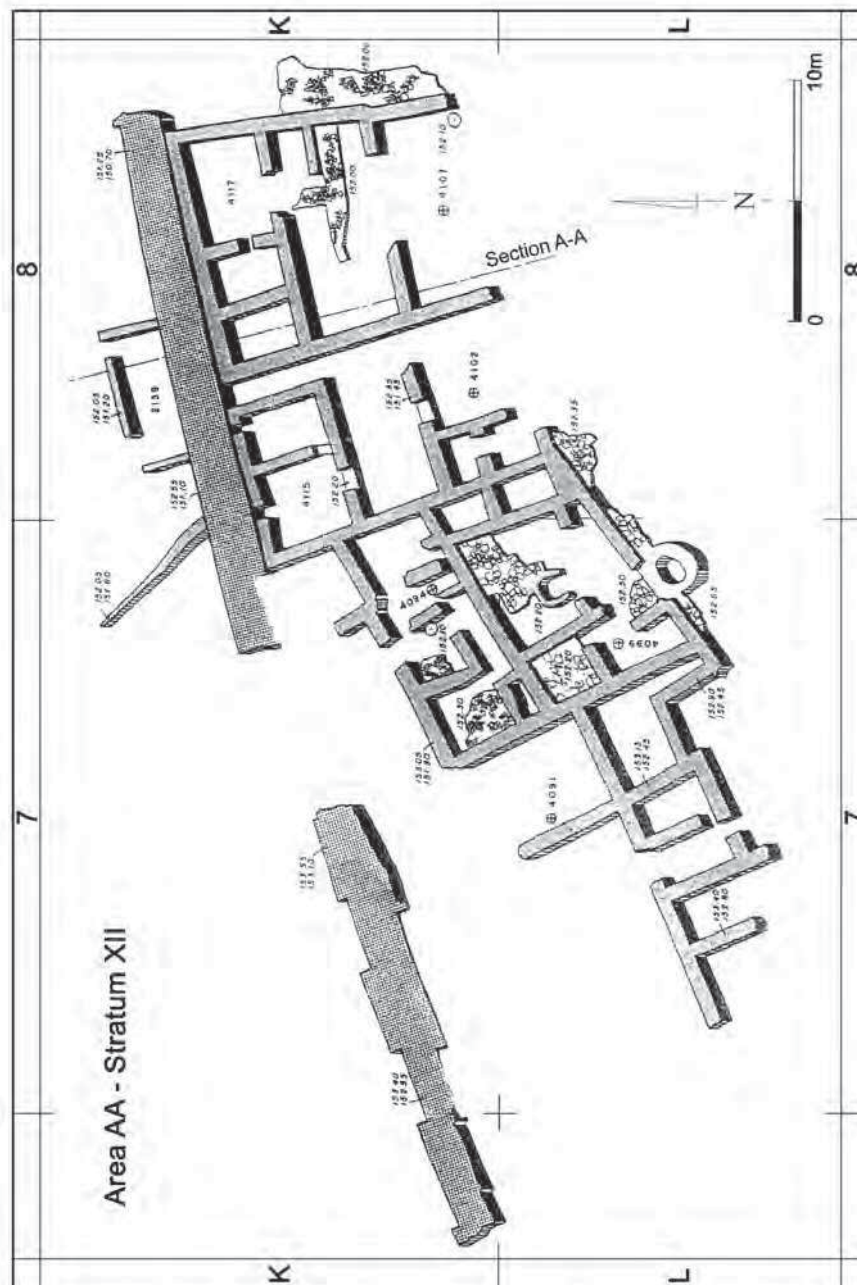


Fig. 1: Stratum XII in area AA

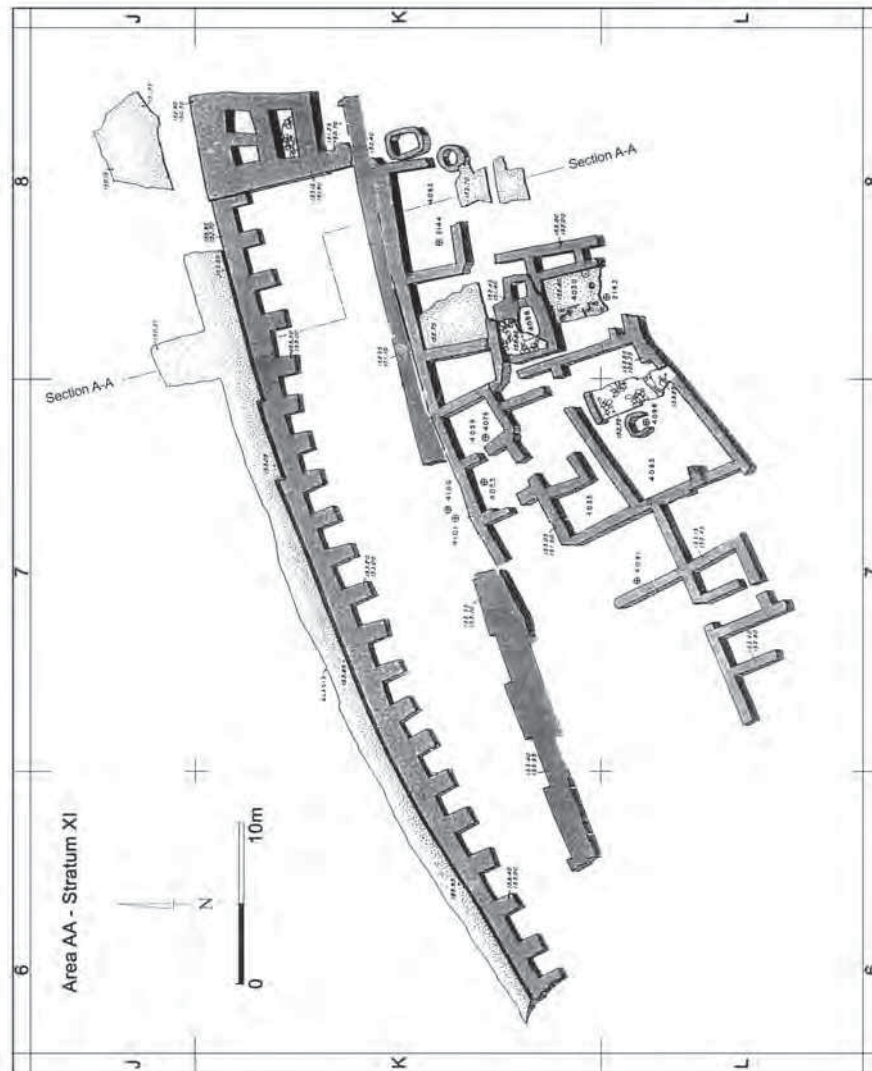


Fig. 2: Stratum XI in area AA



Fig. 3: Stratum XII in area BB



Fig. 4: Stratum XI in area BB



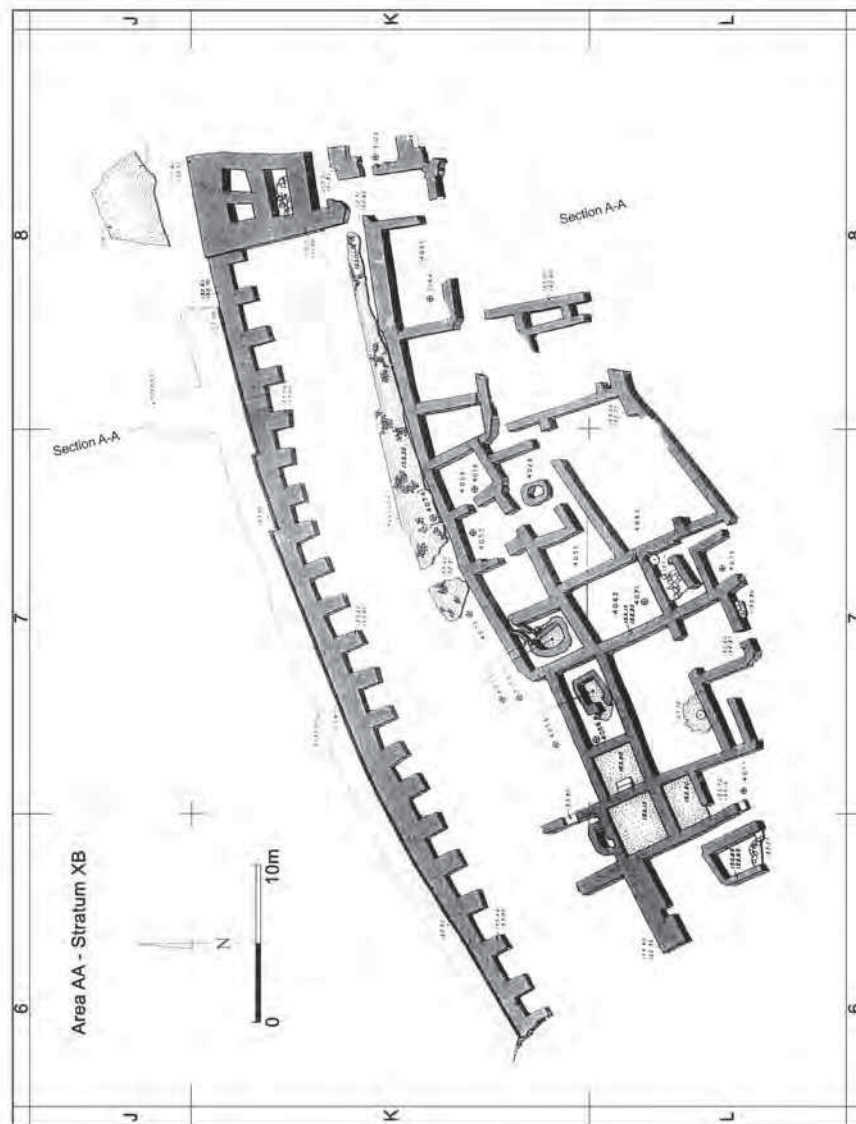


Fig. 5: Stratum XB in area AA

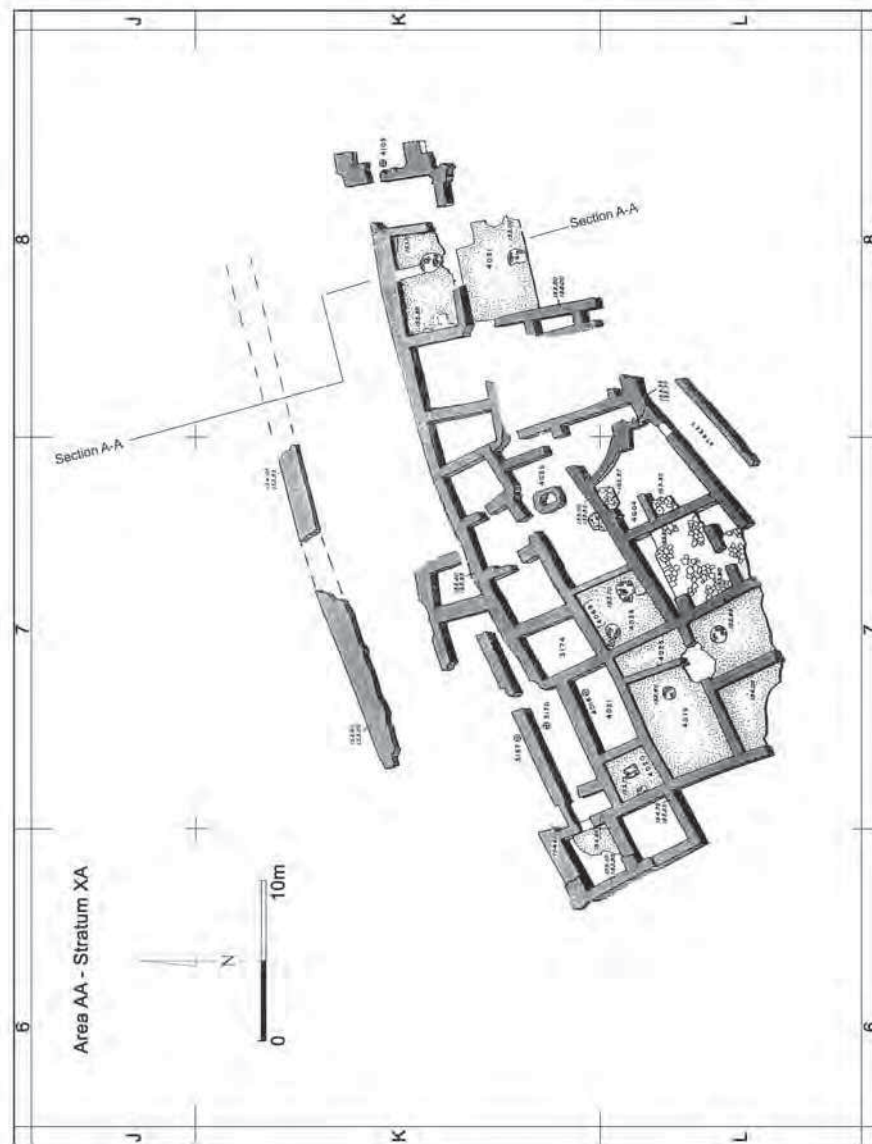


Fig. 6: Stratum XA in area AA



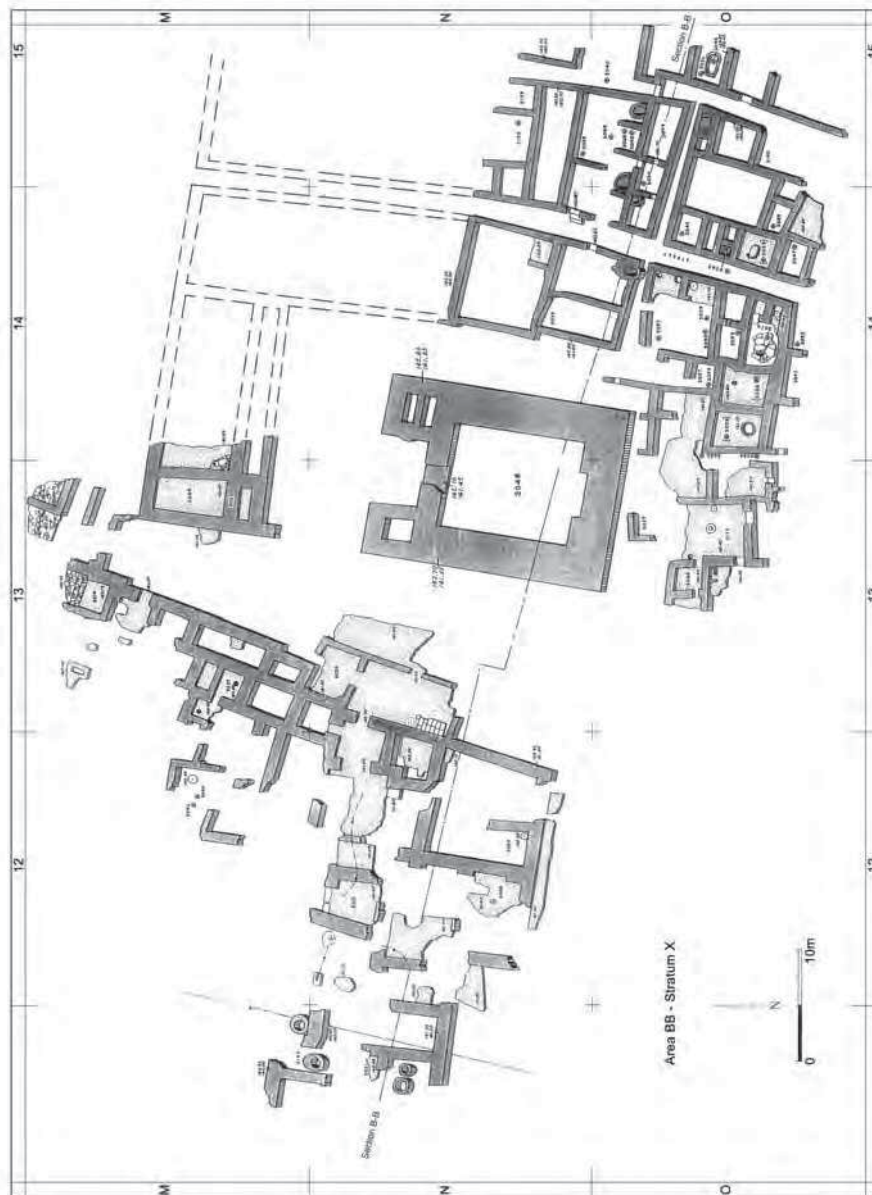


Fig. 7: Stratum X in area BB

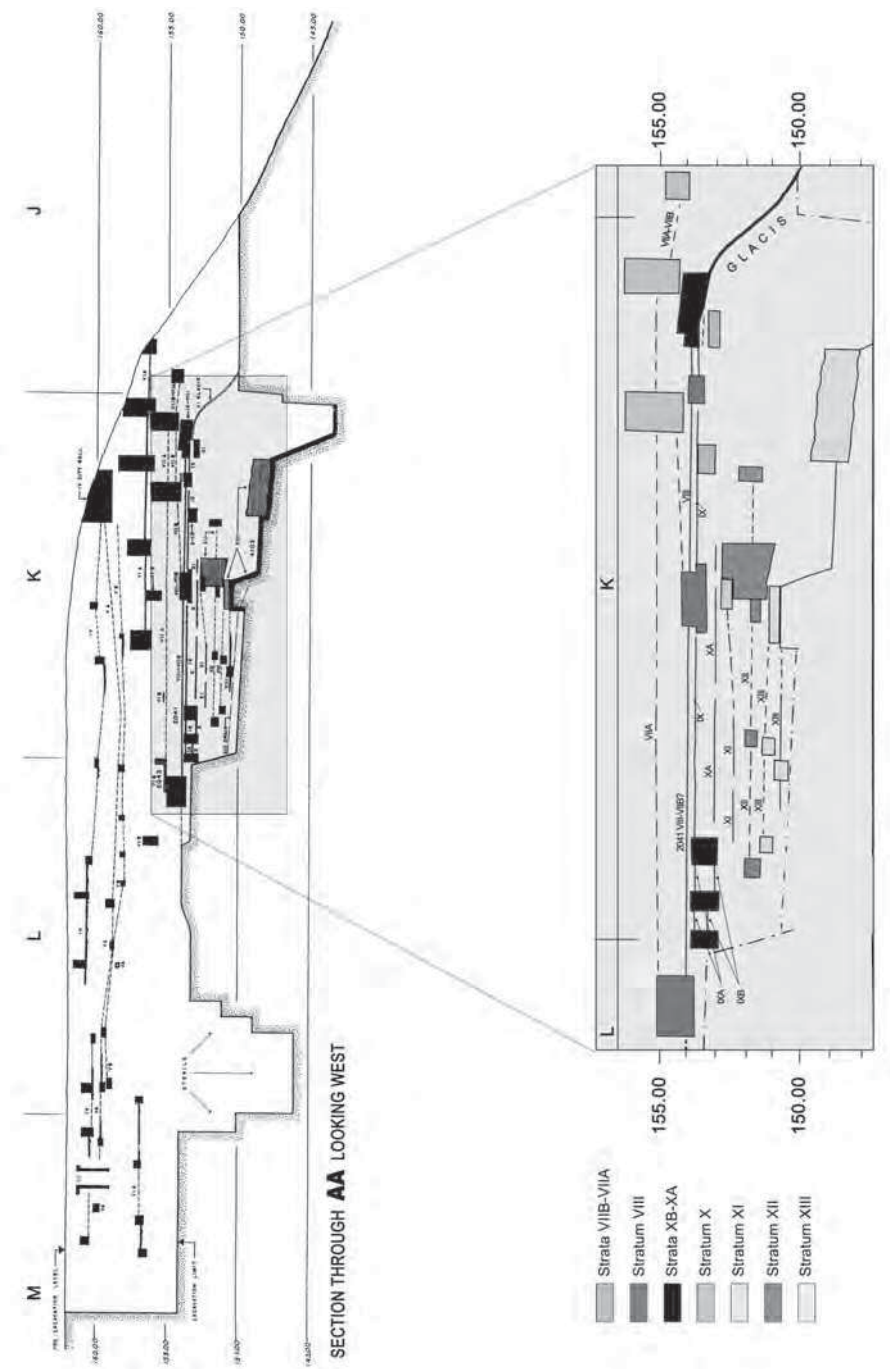


Fig. 8: Section AA

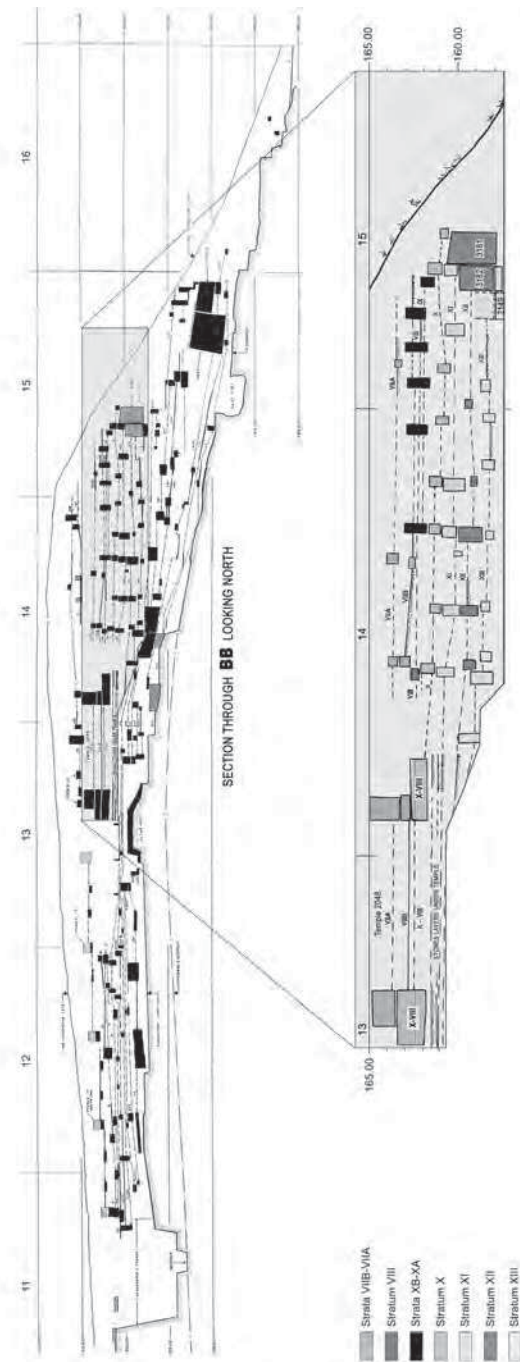


Fig. 9: Section BB



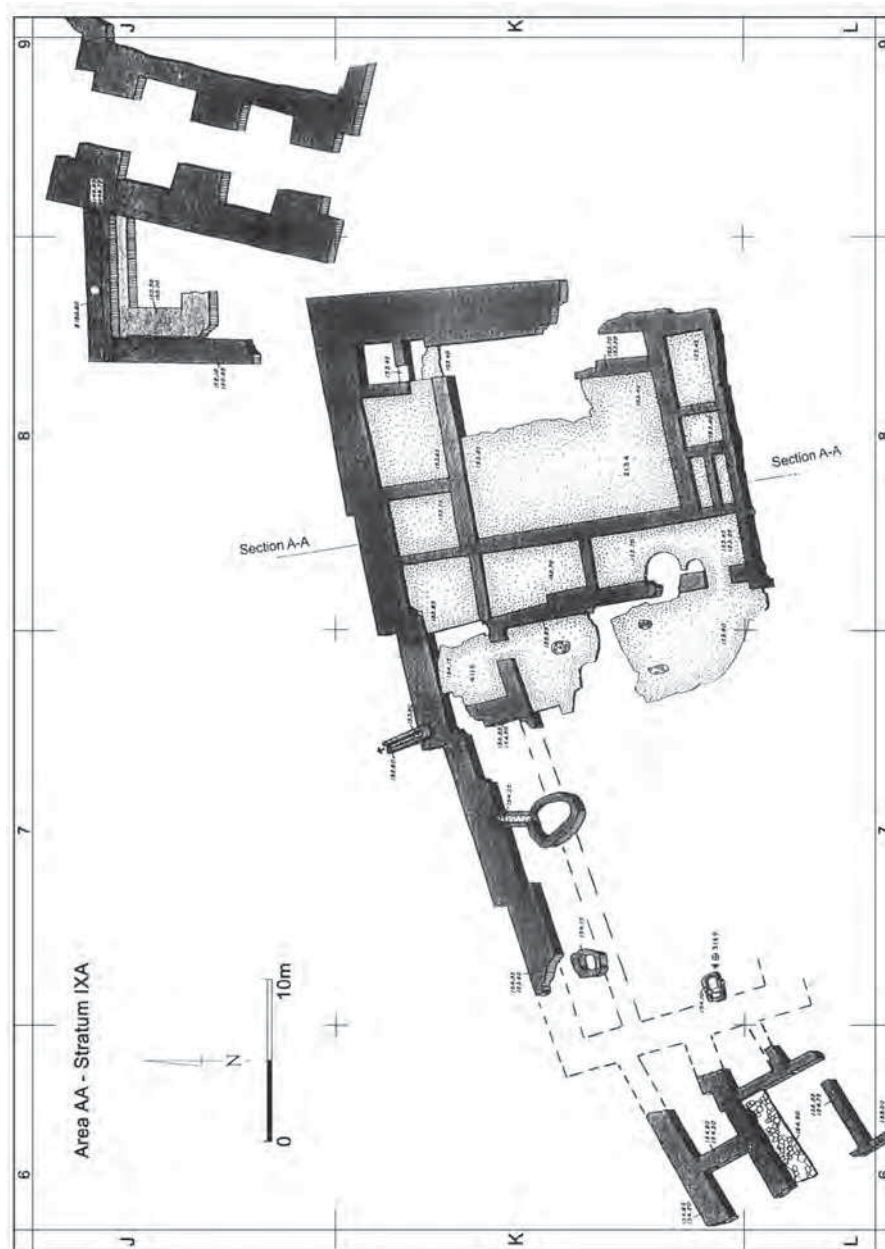


Fig. 11: Stratum IXA in area AA

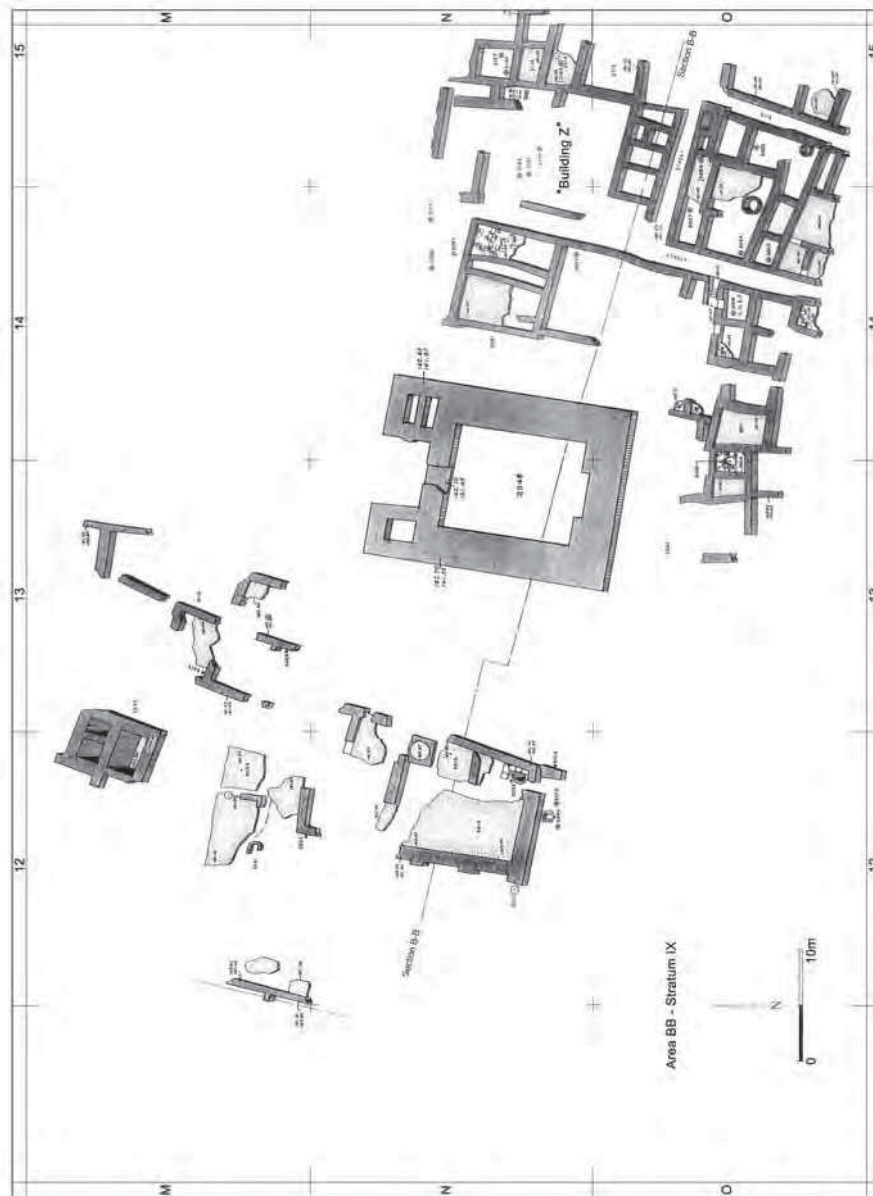


Fig. 12: Stratum IX in area BB



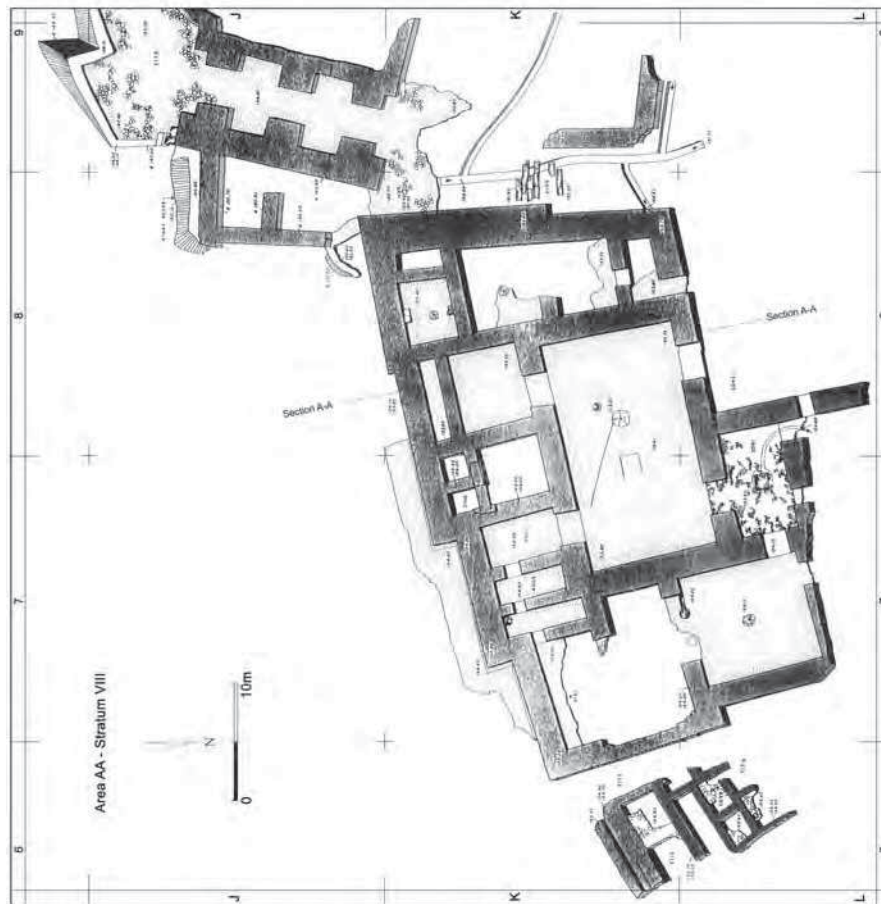


Fig. 13: Stratum VIII in area AA





## A Matter of Strategy, Taste or Choice? Glazed Clay Versus Siliceous Faïence

Annie Caubet

At the end of the Late Bronze Age, a number of “faïence” workshops active in the Levant, Mesopotamia and South West Iran succeeded in applying glaze on clay artefacts. Wheel-made clay vessels were produced over a large area extending from Cyprus, littoral Syria and the Middle Euphrates. Glazed clay architectural ornaments such as tiles and knobs appeared in Mesopotamia and Elam. That the addition of glaze to clay was a major technological advance can only be understood by comparing it with other earlier techniques working with vitreous materials.<sup>1</sup>

Faïence, in the archaeological sense of the term, consists of a siliceous body covered by a glaze (a transparent siliceous slip). The body is made of silica, ash and lime, resulting in a non-plastic paste, difficult to put into shape. Most artefacts were obtained by pressing the siliceous composition into a mold. It was sometimes necessary to mold and fire an object several times when polychrome glaze was applied. All these operations were time-consuming operations, which required many ingredients and highly-skilled preparations. On the contrary, clay was commonly procurable, and craftsmen had long been experts at throwing clay on a fast wheel to produce large quantities of low cost vessels. Thus, the addition of glaze to clay pots and artefacts combined the advantages of cheap material, mass production and speed, with colour, brilliance, and a waterproof surface.

The technique was difficult to master, however, because clay and glaze have different levels of retraction when cooling. Consequently, the glaze does not readily adhere to the surface of the clay, and it may produce cracks in the clay. In the course of the Late Bronze Age, craftsmen fully mastered the mechanical characteristics of vitreous materials and surmounted those difficulties. In the beginning, only one single glaze was applied, usually a light blue or green obtained from copper oxides. In the course of the first millennium, the range of colours was enlarged, spectacular wall decorations were created, such as those of Babylon, and glazed clay pottery became the preferred medium for fine table wares, at least in a number of regions.

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<sup>1</sup> See Tite 1987, Moorey 1994 for a general overview of these techniques. The subject has been addressed by the author, Caubet, Pierrat-Bonnefois 2005 (hereafter cat. 2005) and Bouquillon et alii 2007 (hereafter cat. 2007).

Considering the obvious advantages of the technique, one wonders why it was not more widely adopted, why it was sometimes completely ignored. Pharaonic Egypt, for instance, never tried glazing on clay. A survey of the practices in Egypt and the Near East between the Late Bronze Age and the Hellenistic period is quite revealing in terms of differences in attitude.

*The case of architectural ornaments*

New Kingdom Egypt never used glazed clay, excelling instead in siliceous faience. Small inlay plaques were produced in the shape of lotus, papyrus, and rosettes. Tiles with depictions of birds with broken wings, symbols of subdued enemies, expressed the political meaning behind the decoration. During the Ramessid period, polychrome tiles depicting vanquished foreigners were put on footstools and daises for Pharaoh to trample. In the first millennium, the use of faience for the decoration of monuments of architecture seems to have been abandoned.

Elam was a significant experimental laboratory for architectural decoration in vitreous materials. For the capital of the Shutrukid dynasty, Dur Untash (Tchoga Zanbil), large clay knobs used as finial for the beams were made of glazed clay and faience while glass tubes were applied on doors.<sup>2</sup> Craftsmen at Susa were responsible for the invention of large wall panels displaying repetitive designs assembled from bricks. A new type of brick was invented: Made of siliceous paste, each brick was molded into the required shape and covered with one glaze, yellow or greenish blue.<sup>3</sup> A chapel erected by the Middle Elamite ruler Shilhak Inshushinak at Susa in honour of the patron god of his city depicted large human figures assembled from such bricks (Fig. 1). An inscription printed in the mold across their waist identified them as members of the royal family. Later Neo-Elamite rulers continued the practice, still using glazed bricks made of siliceous material. The technique served also for tiles and knobs to decorate Elamite public buildings.<sup>4</sup> Polychromy was introduced, with white, black to brown, yellow and greenish glazes. The Persian period at Susa was the triumph of monumental compositions with large figures assembled from siliceous bricks<sup>5</sup>. Processions of the king's archer, lions, and mythological creatures were lined by floral and geometric motifs. Although very colorful in appearance, those famous friezes had a color range not larger than the monuments of the preceding Neo-Elamite period, but skilled mix of the same oxides allowed for a choice of pastel shades (Fig. 2). Several firings were necessary to produce each individual brick and the completion of the whole must have mobilized immense manpower. Inspiration for such an undertaking may have come from Baby-

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<sup>2</sup> Amiet 1966.

<sup>3</sup> Amiet 1967; Caubet 2003.

<sup>4</sup> Amiet 1966; Heim 1992; chemical analysis in cat. 2007.

<sup>5</sup> Cat. 2005; Daucé, in press.

lon. Indeed, the foundation texts of Darius and his successors mention that Babylonian masons and brick makers had been harnessed into the service of the Persian king. The materials used, however, were completely different at Babylon and at Susa.

In Mesopotamia, glazed architectural ornaments appeared during the medio-Assyrian and Kassite period.<sup>6</sup> Knobs, tiles, and door bolts, were produced in both siliceous faience and glazed clay. They endured well into the Neo-Assyrian period, when wall panels appeared, possibly under inspiration from Elam. Unlike those from Susa, however, Assyrian glazed bricks were made of clay and not of siliceous paste. Polychrome designs used the same color range as in Elam with yellow, white, black and greenish blue.<sup>7</sup>

Under the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, Babylon experimented with several types of wall decoration, all of them using clay bricks.<sup>8</sup> The Sacred Way and the Ishtar Gate were rebuilt several times, to cope with the rise of the water table. Unglazed clay bricks decorated with reliefs were used for the earliest phase. The second phase was built with glazed clay bricks, the designs being rendered in colour and not in relief. The last phase was built of clay bricks featuring glazed reliefs depicting mythological animals and monsters lined with floral motifs (Fig. 3). The range of colours at Babylon was the same as in Assyria and Elam: white, black, yellow and greenish blue. The introduction of cobalt oxide, probably imported from Anatolia, produced a deep blue effect.<sup>9</sup> After the conquest of Babylon by the Achaemenids, Persian style wall decorations were imitated.<sup>10</sup> Glazed wall decorations were later abandoned with the introduction of molded plaster relief during the Parthian and Sassanian periods.

Very little, if anything at all, is known of the use of vitreous materials in the architecture of the Levant. During the Bronze Age, the wall paintings in Minoan tradition at palaces such as Alalakh, Qatna or Tel Kabri may have sufficiently answered the demand for colorful decoration. At Ugarit, no artefact from the large repertoire of vitreous material seems to indicate a specific use for decorating buildings.<sup>11</sup> The situation appears to have been the same during the Iron Age in the Levant.

Thus, when considering the use of vitreous materials in architecture, it appears that Egypt, Elam and Mesopotamia probably shared a great deal of knowhow for the production of faience and glazes. The rulers of the first millennium displayed their might by building monumental architecture decorated with colored panels. Vitreous materials were used at the same time as

<sup>6</sup> Moorey 1994, 178 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Reade 1962 (Nimrud); cat. 2007 n° 18-21 (Khorsabad).

<sup>8</sup> Matson 1986.

<sup>9</sup> Cat. 2007 n° 30 for analysis of the Babylon oxides.

<sup>10</sup> André-Salvini 2008, 42 & n° 195-197. No analysis of the material is available to determine whether the bricks are made of clay or siliceous material.

<sup>11</sup> Matoian 2007 with prior bibliography.

stone reliefs or when stone was not as easily procurable (as in the case of Susa versus Persepolis). Styles and motifs were different, answering to different royal ideologies. Materials were different, glazed clay in Mesopotamia, siliceous faience in Elam and Egypt. The differences remained in each region with the course of time, even during the Achaemenid period, despite the fact that craftsmen, masons and artists from all the countries of the empire were made to work for the King of Kings. Local requirements and practices seem to have been stronger than the unifying influence of the Empire.

#### *The case of the tableware*

The techniques used to produce tableware seem to have been as varied as those of wall decoration. The first glazed clay vessels appeared at the end of the Late Bronze Age, and they became increasingly frequent in the course of the first millennium. Unlike the wall panels, their production continued well into the Sassanian period. Like the wall panels, their distribution varied in time and space.

The first appearance of glazed clay vessels was observed in Cyprus and the Levant, with a repertoire restricted to ovoid bottles covered with blue glaze (Fig. 4). They were found in elite contexts.<sup>12</sup> The production was small in number and short lived, never to be revived after the end of the Late Bronze Age. In those regions, Iron Age fine tableware was made of painted pottery or metal. Faience was reserved for figurines, amulets and instruments, imported or imitated from Egypt.<sup>13</sup>

The distribution of the Late Bronze Age glazed clay vessels extended as far as the middle Euphrates, but they seem to have been otherwise unknown in Mesopotamia. However, the situation changed during the Assyrian period. Glazed pottery, produced in the same shapes as the fine unglazed wares, appeared in the regions east of the Euphrates, in Mesopotamia and Elam. At Susa, both glazed clay and siliceous vessels occur with roughly the same frequency in Neo-Elamite and Neo-Babylonian tombs<sup>14</sup> (Fig. 5). The number of glazed clay vessels gradually increased during the Persian period, and during the Parthian and Sassanian periods, they supplanted ordinary pottery in Mesopotamia and in Elam.<sup>15</sup>

West of the Euphrates, the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean, including the Levant, maritime Anatolia, Cyprus and Egypt, glazed clay vessels were virtually unknown until the appearance of late Hellenistic lead glazes.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Peltenburg 1969, 1972, 1974, 1985, 1986 and 1987; Caubet 1985; Bouquillon, Matoïan 1999.

<sup>13</sup> Fontan, Le Meaux 2007, 198-203.

<sup>14</sup> Miroschedji 1981.

<sup>15</sup> Miroschedji et alii 1987; Boucharlat 2005 for the evolution of shapes and glaze colors.

<sup>16</sup> For those so called Al-Minah or Tarsus wares, see Peltenburg 1969; Hatcher (H.), Kaczmarczyk (A.), et alii 1994; Jeammet in cat. 2005.

From the Persian period onward, tableware kept to the traditions born in the Greek world. Brilliance and waterproof surface was provided by the highly polished “verniss”<sup>17</sup> in black or red, which served as a good substitute for metal wares. The limits between “eastern” glazed clay and Greek style “verniss” were situated along the Euphrates. Even the Greek establishments in the Persian Gulf adhered to the local practices. They imported Greek wines, shipped in Greek amphora, largely from Rhodes, but they did not import Mediterranean tableware to drink their wine, using eastern glazed clay bowls instead.<sup>18</sup>

Through the observation of general trends in the use of vitreous materials, it appears that the choice between glazed clay and siliceous faïence was not ruled only by technological knowhow. In the same place, at a given time, any technology might be put into use for one or the other category of artefacts. Neo-Elamite Susa, for instance, used both faïence bricks to built wall panels and glazed clay for tableware. Technologies travelled well but local practices prevailed. In the Levant of the Iron Age Egyptianising faïence figurines and amulets were widely adopted, fine tableware was made in the Greek tradition, and monumental buildings avoided the use of vitreous materials.

Most of the metallic oxides employed to colour the glazes (lead, antimony, and cobalt) had to be imported from afar, as only copper and iron oxides could be locally obtained from recycled metallic artefacts. Clay was everywhere easier to procure than the ingredients necessary to make siliceous paste. Thus, easy access to raw materials, or labour saving devices did not seem to be determinant, at least not in the case of such elite productions. No simple economic strategy seems able to explain the reason behind the choice of one technique rather than the other. As often happens to the student of the ancient Near East, one is left to wonder if the force of local tradition, habit and taste did not rule the history of its arts and crafts.

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<sup>17</sup> The English term “glaze” is a misnomer: the finish is obtained purely from clay and does not contain any vitreous component.

<sup>18</sup> For instance at Failaka (Kuwait), Salles 1993; Callot et alii 200; cat. 2007 n° 106-128.

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Fig. 1: Detail of medio-Elamite chapel, Susa. Glazed siliceous bricks.



Fig. 2: Detail of Persian archer, Susa. Polychrome siliceous brick.



Fig. 3: Detail of lion, Babylon. Polychrome clay brick.



Fig. 4: Bottle, Ugarit. Glazed wheel made clay.

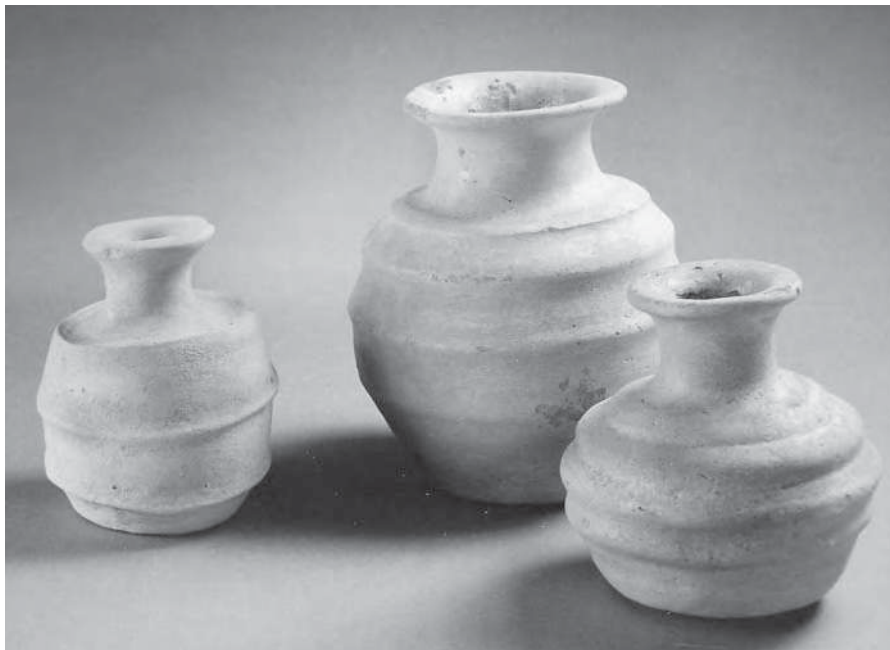


Fig. 5: Neo-Elamite pots, Susa. Glazed wheel made clay (two on the right) and moulded siliceous faience (left).

## Zoomorphic Protomes in the Middle Bronze Age: An Innovation of the Period?

Lilly Gershuny<sup>1</sup>

A complete shift in ceramic shapes and techniques is one of the most notable features of the Middle Bronze Age. Within this spectrum, there is a small group of five vessels with a zoomorphic protome, which were recovered from different excavations in Israel. The vases will be presented hereafter, from north to south, and discussed within the wider scope of the period in the southern Levant and the east Mediterranean littoral.

### *Description of Vessels*

The most northern vase in this group comes from Kabri. Excavations at the tell and lower city of Kabri in the western Galilee have revealed a thriving town from the Middle Bronze Age (Kempinski 2002). One of the many burials excavated was Tomb 498, a stone-built sepulcher that contained a multiple burial and yielded a juglet with a zoomorphic protome (Kempinski, Gershuny, Sheftelowitz 2002: 113, Fig. 5.12). The juglet was found close to the floor of the tomb and belongs to the first burial phase, which is dated to Middle Bronze I (Kempinski 1989: 32).<sup>2</sup> The juglet has a piriform shape, it is gray slipped and burnished and its main neck ends in an animal's head with a perforated snout (Fig. 1). A two-strand handle extends from the back of the head, or rather the nape, to the shoulder and behind its base, another neck was inserted, to serve as a filling spout, whereas the perforated animal's head was the pouring-out aperture. The animal's head appears bald and the two triangular-shaped ears are located at the sides. The very few features of the animal's head do not contribute much to its identification. However, its overall shape and pointed snout recall a bird-shaped vessel that was found in Room 73 of the 'palace storerooms' in Jericho (Garstang 1934: 127, Pl. XVI:8).

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<sup>1</sup> It is with great pleasure that I contribute to this volume dedicated to Eliezer Oren – a long-time colleague and a distinguished scholar – on the occasion of his elevation to Professor Emeritus.

<sup>2</sup> The terminology in this article uses MB I for MB IIA, MB II for MB IIB and MB III for MB IIC.

The second vase comes from a large burial cave, excavated in the 1970s at Tur'an in the Lower Galilee (Eisenberg 1975; Gershuny and Eisenberg 2005). The cave contained a multiple burial, whereby the different offerings were spread along the walls and among them was a Tell el-Yahudiyeh juglet with an animal protome (Fig. 2). The ovoid-shaped juglet has a small flat and very thick disc base, a cylindrical tall neck that ends in an animal's protome with a perforated snout and a second sideways and shorter, pouring-in neck. A two-strand handle extends from the back of the animal's head to the base of the pouring-in neck and the two horns of the animal extend in a circular loop, ending at the top of the handle. Above the maximum diameter of the body, a clay pipe was inserted through the body, most likely intended for a wooden bar that would allow the juglet to pivot forward, discharge its contents and return to its upright position due to the weight of its thick base. The decoration of the juglet is composed of horizontal sections, the lowest one close to the base contains standing triangles and a wide band above them, the main central section contains triangles in a butterfly pattern and the upper section on the shoulder contains a narrow band and a row of standing triangles above it. The assemblage in the cave was dated to the transition MB I–MB II period.

The third vase is a horned animal protome, attached to the side of a broken jug from Tomb 2107 in Megiddo (Loud 1948: Pls. 51: 11, 133: 23). The animal has a perforated snout and its horns extend along the rim of the jug (Fig. 3). Its two eyes are circular pellets and a double-lined triangle, whose pointed angle could be marking the animal's nose, is delineated between them. This vase is the sole find in Tomb 2107, which was attributed by the excavators to Stratum IX (Loud 1948: 164). However, the absolute elevations may point to earlier Stratum X or perhaps even earlier than that.

The fourth fragmentary vase was recovered from the MB glacis in Shiloh (Fig. 4). It consists of a cylindrical neck fragment ending in an animal's protome (Stratum VIII, Locus 1428; Brandl 1993: Fig. 9.1). The animal's snout is perforated; the horns and ears are broken and the eyes are ovoid shallow pellets incised with lines that mark the eyeball and the upper and lower eye lashes. A double-lined triangle is marked above the center of the eyes and the horns had apparently a series of recesses at their top. The context of this jug is dated to MB III (Brandl 1993: 224)

The last and fifth vase is a jug with a spout that terminates in an animal's protome (Fig. 5), which was found in Tomb 31 at Jericho (Garstang 1933: 8, Fig. 4).<sup>3</sup> The jug has a four-strand shoulder handle, which is complemented on the other side by the spout. The ovoid-shaped body has a small ring base, a rather short neck and an everted rim. The animal's horns gracefully curve toward the neck of the jug, ending below its rim. The eyes are round pellets and the ears are leaf-shaped clay applications. Although only a selection

<sup>3</sup> Erroneously said by Brandl (1993: 224) to have come from one of the storerooms.



of pottery vessels represents Tomb 31, which contained a total number of 128 artifacts, certain types, such as triple loop-legged bowl with a high neck (Garstang 1933: Fig. 4:9) or the wide, sharply carinated bowls (Garstang 1933: Fig. 4:19, 21), indicate a date in MB II or even the beginning of MB III.

Another jug with a spout terminating in an animal's protome was published from a private collection (Ziffer 1990: 88\*, Fig. 44\*). Hence, it is mentioned here, but does not partake in the discussion.

Whereas the two juglets from Kabri and Tur'an follow the same idea, namely two narrow and high necks, of which one serves as a spout and terminates in an animal's protome, the jug from Jericho and the reconstructed jug from Shiloh<sup>4</sup> follow a different setting. The pouring-in neck is the regular central neck of the jug and the rather short and wide pouring-out spout is located on the shoulder of the jug. The jug fragment from Megiddo is similar to the setting of the Jericho jug, although its animal protome is directly attached to the side of the jug, without a neck. The difference between the jugs and juglets with animal protomes is also technical. Whereas the spout with the animal protome was attached to the jugs after they were made and while drying, the animal protome spout of the juglets is the main neck, which is part of the wheel-thrown vase and the bending of the head is done after the vase is removed from the wheel. The pouring-in neck, which in the juglets is the subsidiary neck, is inserted separately when the vase is leather-hard or slightly before.

### *Discussion*

The vessels with animal protomes are associated with and related to pottery vessels fashioned as complete animals or as animals' heads, which make their first appearance in Canaan during the Middle Bronze Age. None of these classes is abundant and each may have been used in a different capacity.

The complete zoomorphic vessels represent bulls and birds, with single appearances of a duck (Megiddo; Loud 1948: Pl. 247:1) and a fish (Tel Poleg; Gophna 1969: Pl. IX), which are part of the Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware.

Complete bull-shaped vessels were found in a Stratum VII architectural context in Shiloh, dating to MB III (Brandl 1993: Figs. 9.2, 9.3), a burial cave in Jerusalem, Nahal Refa'im, dating to early MB II (Weksler-Bdolah and Gershuny 2004), a tomb in Amman, dating to MB III (Harding 1953: 18, Fig. 9:10) and a public building in Tel Nagila, dating to late MB II (Amiran

<sup>4</sup> At the time when Brandl wrote the chapter on special finds in Shiloh, the juglets from Tur'an and Kabri were not yet published. Hence, Brandl used the Jericho jug, which was the only known example then and reconstructed the small fragment from Shiloh accordingly. The spout neck fragment is fairly narrow and high, similar to those of Tur'an and Kabri. Hence, it is not at all certain that the Shiloh vase belonged to a jug and its reconstruction is perhaps somewhat presumptuous.



and Eitan 1965: Fig. 9). It was suggested by Amiran (1965: 121) that the bull-shaped vessel from Tel Nagila was fashioned in a manner recalling the Anatolian animal-shaped vessels, which are abundant in the Assyrian trade colony of Kültepe-Kanesh. Brandl (1993: 227) suggested that certain features of the bull-shaped vessel from Shiloh point to a northern origin, probably in Anatolia. The bull-shaped vessel from Jerusalem is distinct in having a colander at the base of its pouring-in neck, which indicates that the liquid poured into the vessel needed to be strained to attain maximum purity.

Two bird-shaped vessels are known from Jericho, one coming from Tomb B3 (Kenyon 1960: 402, Fig. 162) and the other from Room 73 of the 'palace storerooms' (Garstang 1934: 127, Pl. XXVI:8), which Kenyon (1993: 678) had rightfully shown to be private dwellings. Another bird-shaped vessel is reported to have been found in the MB settlement of Nahal Refa'im in Jerusalem (Eisenberg 1993) and recently, a bird-shaped vessel was discovered in the favissa of a MB temple at Hazor.<sup>5</sup>

The antelope-shaped vessel found in Room 40 of the 'palace storerooms' in Jericho (Garstang 1934: Pl. XXII:21) is not a genuine zoomorphic vessel, as it lacks the shape of an animal. It portrays the antelope's head, fashioned as a juglet body whose one end is stretched forward to create the pointed snout. It is provided with a flaring trumpet base and the same fixture is used as its neck. The antelope horns beautifully curve up to end at the rim of the neck.

Vessels in the shape of animals' heads are even scarcer. They were thoroughly discussed by Zevulun (1986–7), who maintains they were initially produced in Anatolia and spread to Syria and Canaan throughout the Middle Bronze age (Zevulun 1986–7: 128). Zevulun (1986–7: 116–118) convincingly shows that the animal's head vessel participated in drinking ceremonies and functioned as a drinking cup that was probably used for libations as well.

Unlike the animals' head cups, both the complete zoomorphic vessels and the vessels with an animal's protome fulfill the function of a rhyton, namely the liquid is poured in via a simple aperture, whereas the pouring out is always done via the perforated animal's snout. As such, these vessels were used as containers of some liquid that under certain circumstances was poured out slowly and accurately. It is reasonable to assume that the occasion of using these vessels was during ceremonies of libations and other varied rituals. Four of the vessels with animal protomes were recovered from tombs and it can be presumed that they participated in the mortuary ceremony and thereafter, remained with the interred. The exception from Shiloh may have been part of a destroyed burial that could not be traced. Three of the tombs are multiple burials, although possibly of a single extended family or clan. The presence of a jug or juglet with animal protome may imply that the head

<sup>5</sup> I wish to thank A. Ben-Tor and S. Zuckerman for this information.

of the family or perhaps several of its members were associated with a priesthood sect that was responsible for conducting mortuary ceremonies.

Four of the animal protomes portray an antelope head, whereby the horns artistically extend in ways that underline their length and magnitude. It is particularly noticed in the jug from Jericho where the horns extend majestically toward the neck of the jug, which highly resemble the antelope-head vase from Room 40 (above), as well as a jug from Kültepe whose bull-head protome has atypical long horns that extend to below the rim of the jug (Özgüç 1986: Pl. 104:4). The horns of the jug from Megiddo extend along the top rim as an element of decoration, while in Tur'an, the horns curve up in a circular loop that forms a sort of basket handle.

The antelope takes us to the Old Assyrian trade colony of Kültepe-Kanesh in Anatolia of the early second millennium BCE, where a multitude of zoomorphic vessels and vessels with animals' protomes were found (Özgüç 1953: 218–225). Antelopes are among the most popular animals represented in clay, but usually as a complete animal standing on four legs (Özgüç 1991: Fig. 2; 1986: Fig. 2). As protomes attached to different vessels, they are rare, although animal protomes are very common and mostly portray bull heads (Özgüç 1983: Pls. 85, 86). A bull-head protome appears on a vase, which resembles an inkwell, whose horns curve in a way typical of antelopes to the sides, flanking the neck (Özgüç 1986: Pl. 104:3). An outstanding presentation of antelope horns appears on a jug from Tomb 33 in the cemetery of Yanarlar (Emre 1991: Pl. 7); the horns flank the sides of the neck and extend in a beautiful curve down to the side shoulder of the jug.

Zoomorphic vessels in Kültepe-Kanesh and those with animals' protomes were not put in tombs as funerary offerings (Özgüç 1994: 223; 1996: 63) but were rather kept in residential dwellings, usually in rooms where tablets were stored (Özgüç 1991: 320) and also in living rooms (Özgüç 1994: 221). Özgüç (1994: 223) claims that some of the vessels with animals' protomes may have been used in daily life. However, vessels associated with animals are considered to be part of drinking ceremonies and even the zoomorphic rhyta standing on four legs are somehow called drinking cups (Özgüç 1994: 222).

The idea of using animals for drinking vases has developed in the early phase of the Assyrian trade colony in Kültepe-Kanesh (Level II; Özgüç 1991: 319). However, the use of certain animals seems to derive from third millennium central Anatolia (Leinwand 1992: 162), where antelopes, represented as stags, appear on several ritual standards from Alaça-Hüyük (Akurgal 1962: Color Pls. I, III, IV). The use of animals as complete or partial clay containers reached a high status in Kültepe-Kanesh and subsided after the trade colonies came to an end.

The act of drinking from a complete zoomorphic vessel or from the spout terminating in an animal's protome is most inconvenient and cumbersome. Hence, we propose that only the animal-head vases were used as drinking cups, whereas the complete zoomorphic vases and the jugs/juglets with ani-

mal protomes functioned as rhyta in libation ceremonies, whereby liquids were poured out from one container to another via the rhyton.

We further venture to suggest that there may have been a status rank to zoomorphic vases and jugs/juglets with animal protomes. One would consider complete zoomorphic vases to be of a higher stature than animal protomes on jugs or juglets.

It is rather evident that animal vases were introduced into Canaan at the beginning of the second millennium BCE, spreading out from central Anatolia south to Syria and down to Canaan. However, it is our conviction that such an introduction could not have been done solely by trade, but must have involved groups of people who brought with them the knowledge, ideas, symbols and capabilities to create ceramic vessels that assimilated the foreign elements within the native products. This is clearly visible in the vessels with an animal's protome. The jugs and juglets to which the animal protome is attached are local varieties of ordinary domestic pottery, which in itself benefited from the introduction of new techniques and means that greatly improved the quality of the pots. It is evident in the complete bull-shaped rhyta that could only have been made by craftsmen who were familiar with the theme and at home with the technical issues that involved making such vases. It is the newcomers to the land of Canaan at the outset of the second millennium BCE whose significant contribution to the pottery and repertoire of the Middle Bronze Age had a lasting impact on future ceramic production.

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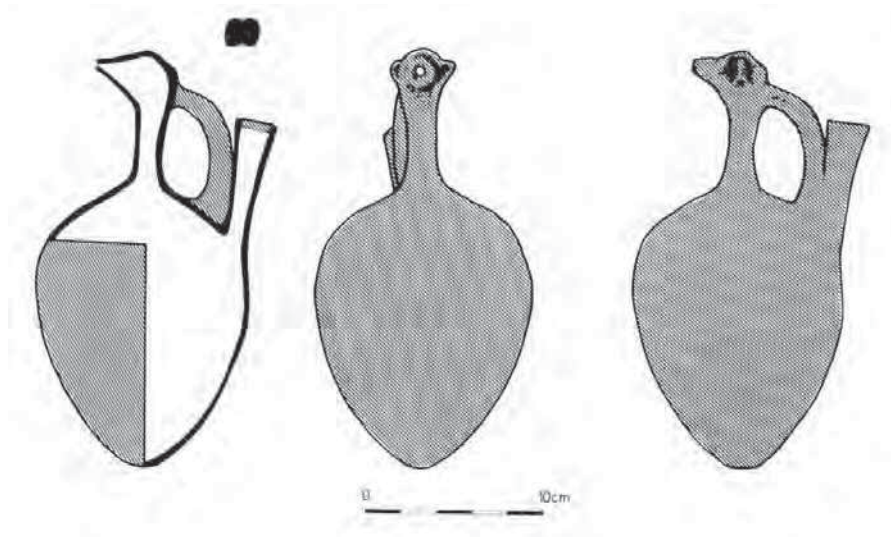


Fig. 1: Juglet with animal protome from Kabri (after Kempinski, A. Gershuny, L. and Scheftelowitz, N. 2002: Fig. 5.40:12)

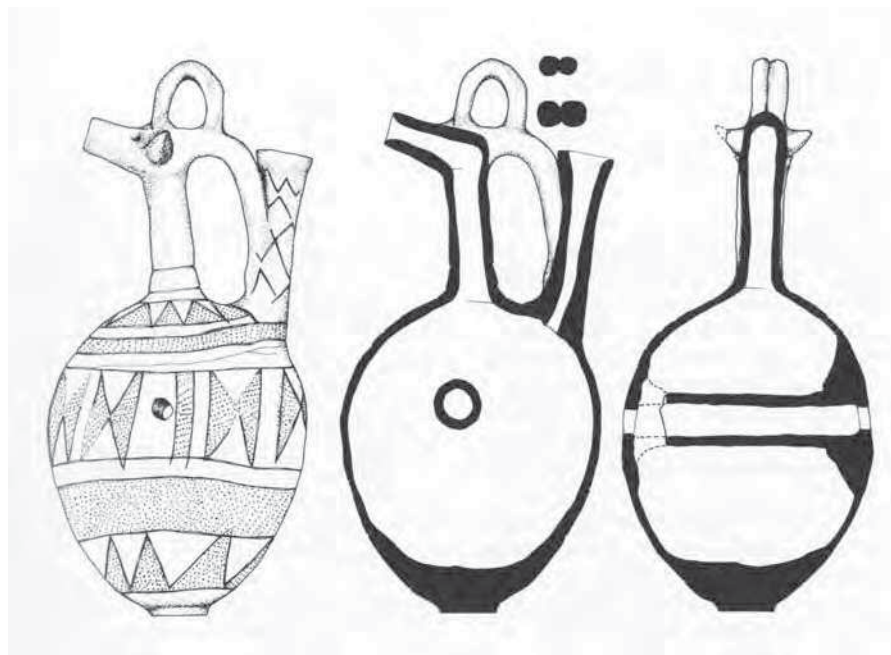


Fig. 2: Tell el-Yahydiyeh juglet with animal protome from Tur'an (after Gershuny and Eisenberg 2005: Fig. 11)

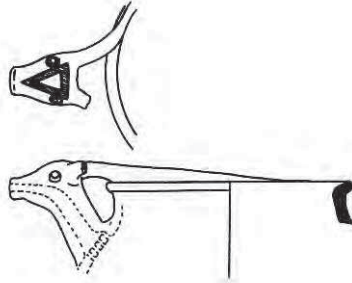


Fig. 3: Animal-head protome on a jug from Megiddo (after Loud 1948: Pl. 51:11)

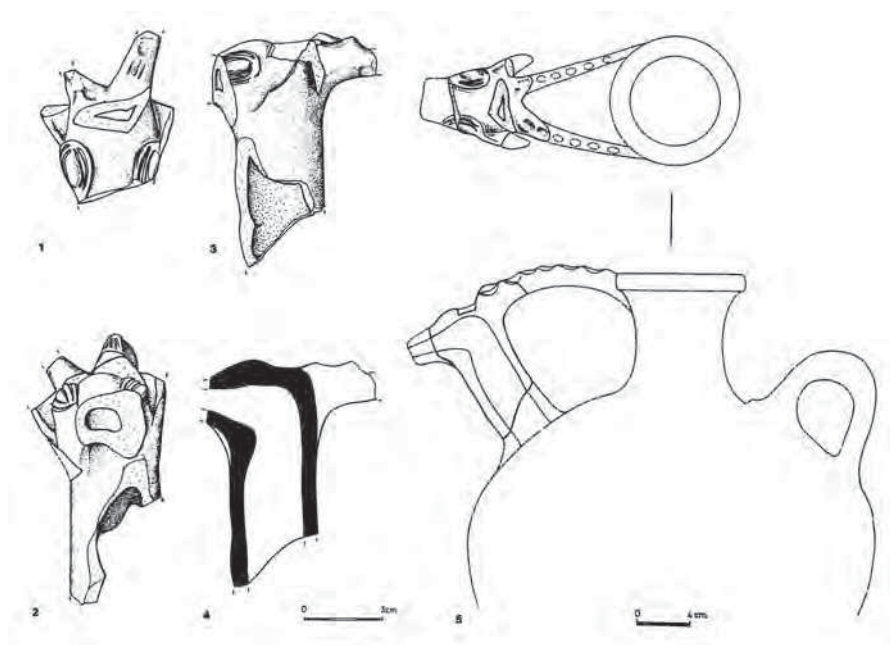


Fig. 4: Broken animal protome on a reconstructed jug from Shiloh (after Brandl 1993: Fig. 9.1)



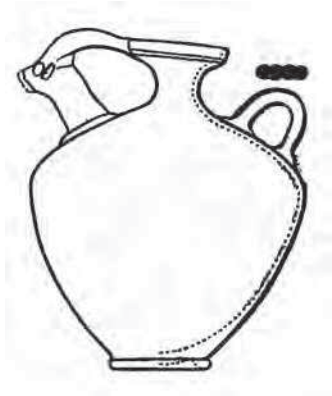


Fig. 5: Jug with a spout ending in animal protome from Jericho (after Garstang 1933: Fig. 4:5)



## The Return of the Ark (1 Samuel 6) and Impetrated Ox Omens (STT 73: 100-140)

Victor Avigdor Hurowitz

Eliezer Oren, an eminent archaeologist of great culture and learning is certainly no Philistine, yet his scholarly interests in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages have led him to study, among other things, the people with a little known script<sup>1</sup> who are reported to have dwelled as Israel's neighbors to the southwest from the time of the Patriarchs. Although the Philistines have left us very few written records and apparently none in their own script describing their religion,<sup>2</sup> the Bible contains not a little information pertinent to precisely this topic. Peter Machinist, in an article for a volume edited by the honoree, has illuminated the information the Bible offers concerning the Philistines, including a rather long account of their religion.<sup>3</sup> In this present contribution it is our purpose to look into one incident relating to Philistine religious practices as described in the Bible and offer an overlooked but significant bit of comparative evidence which can serve to better contextualize the incident among religious practices known from the ancient Near East.

<sup>1</sup> For scripts found in the Philistine cities see F. M. Cross, L. E. Stager, "Cypro-Minoan Inscriptions Found in Ashkelon," *IEJ* 56 (2006) 129-159. Examination of the epigraphic remains indicates that the Philistines used a Cypro-Minoan syllabic script which they brought with them from Cyprus and replaced it in the tenth century with a borrowed Israelite Hebrew script.

<sup>2</sup> The Ekron Inscription, discovered in 1996, is undoubtedly of great importance for Philistine cult of the first half of the first millennium BCE but it is written in a script borrowed perhaps from Judah and a language with both Hebrew and Phoenician elements. For this inscription and other smaller ones of cultic or religious content see S. Gitin, T. Dothan, J. Naveh, "A Royal Dedicatory Inscription from Ekron," *IEJ* 47 (1997) 1-16

<sup>3</sup> P. Machinist, "Biblical Traditions: The Philistines and Israelite History" in *The Sea Peoples and their World: A Reassessment*, ed. Eliezer Oren, University Museum Monograph, 108; University Museum Symposium Series, 11 (Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 2000), 53-83, esp. 59-63. This study does not attempt to understand the actual religion of the Philistines and does not assume that this is reflected in the Bible. Instead it is aimed at understanding how the biblical authors conceived of their neighbors. For Philistine religion in the archaeological record see S. Gitin, "Israelite and Philistine Cult and the Archaeological Record in Iron Age II: The 'Smoking Gun' Phenomenon," in *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past. Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina. Proceeding of the Albright/ASOR Centennial Symposium, Jerusalem May 29-31, 2000*, ed. W. G. Dever, S. Gitin (Winona Lake, ID: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 279-295.

Chapter six in the First Book of Samuel completes the story of the wanderings of the Ark of YHWH in Philistine territory after its falling into captivity at the battle of Ebenezer.<sup>4</sup> No sooner had the victorious Philistines placed their war trophy, actually the vehicle of the defeated God of Israel and locus of His Majestic presence, in the temple of their own deity Dagon, than the supposed divine prisoner of war started taking vengeance on the triumphant god and his people. Dagon was cast down into obeisance in his own house and eventually dismembered, while his people fell victim to plague and panic. Moving the Ark from Ashdod to Gath and then banishing it<sup>5</sup> to Ekron did nothing to alleviate the plague, and in panic and following public demand the Philistine leaders (סרנים) finally decided that seven months of suffering were quite enough and it should be returned.

The public demand and the leaders' decision to return the Ark to its proper home could not be carried out by them alone because a God was involved. It would be necessary then to consult first with the priests and the diviners to determine: 1) whether the Ark is definitely the cause of the troubles and; 2) how it must be returned or disposed of in order to guarantee that YHWH will no longer afflict the Philistines. There is no sense, after all, in disposing of a valuable and prestigious piece of booty if there is no need to do so or if its return will not end the problems it is causing. The diviners (קסמים) would be responsible for answering the first question which was of an informative nature, while the priests (כהנים) were to solve the second, practical question.

The priests' advice is conditional on the findings of the diviners, but solicited and given first. Assuming the capture of the Ark is indeed the cause of the plague – a matter to be decided by the diviners – then the Philistines are to pay an אשם, which is often explained as “guilt offering” but which in fact is a reparation offering rendered to YHWH for having misappropriated divine property (מעל). In the Priestly legislation of the Pentateuch, this usually involves an animal sacrifice but first the divine property taken has to be compensated for monetarily along with a fine (Lev. 5; Num. 5:5-10). It is precisely the offense of misappropriating Divine property of which the Philistines are guilty. There is, after all, no cultic item so intimately connected with YHWH and clearly His own property than the Ark, and displaying it in the Dagon Temple as a sign of Dagon's supposed supremacy was clearly a

<sup>4</sup> For 1 Sam. 6 see the traditional and critical commentaries to the Book of Samuel, most recently D. T. Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel*, The New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids, Michigan; Cambridge, U.K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2007), esp. 211-229, as well as P. D. Miller, Jr., J. J. M. Roberts, *The Hand of the Lord: A Reassessment of the “Ark Narrative” of 1 Samuel*, Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies (Baltimore and London: the Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 52-59, 102-105; P. Machinist, “Biblical Traditions,” 62-63. For recent trends in study of the so-called “Ark Narrative” see K. Bodner, “Ark-Eology: Shifting Emphases in ‘Ark Narrative’ Scholarship,” *Currents in Biblical Research* 4 (2006) 169-197.

<sup>5</sup> Sending the Ark to Gath was done after consultations among the five סרנים while it is driven out of Gath (1 Sam. 5:10) without prior consultation or warning.

theft of YHWH's honor. Although the technical term is not used, the Philistines are guilty of מעל of the highest order. Consequently they must return the stolen property, confess their offense and pay a fine. The Ark is the property returned and the gold buboes and rats<sup>6</sup> are the fine. The confession is alluded to in the words: ונתתם לאלהי ישראל כבוד, "You shall give honor to the God of Israel" (vs. 5) which is strongly reminiscent of Jos. 7:19 where Joshua demands of Achan who has taken for himself proscribed sancta from Jericho<sup>7</sup>: בני שים נא כבוד לה' אלהי ישראל ותן לו תודה והגד נא לי מה עשית אל תכחד ממני, "My son, give honor to the Lord God of Israel and confess<sup>8</sup> to him and tell me what you have done. Hold nothing back from me."

There is also sympathetic magic involved, in that the fine paid to assuage the plague and cure the people is identical in physical form and number to the symptoms of the plague which is being assuaged.<sup>9</sup> Banishing the Ark from Philistine territory (שלח D); vs. 2, 3)<sup>10</sup> resembles purging the Israelite camp of sin by the scapegoat (Lev. 16:10, 21, 22, 26) or of impurity of the per-

<sup>6</sup> For the relationship between the tumors/hemorrhoids/buboes and the mice or rats see J. B. Geyer, "Mice and Rites in 1 Samuel V-VI," VT 31 (1981) 293-304. The problem of the association between the mice/rats and the plague is complicated by a lengthy addition in the Septuagint to 1 Sam. 5:6: "He brought mice upon them, and they swarmed in their ships. Then mice went up into their land, and there was a mortal panic in the city" (trans. P. Kyle McCarter, *1 Samuel*, AB 8, Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co. 1980). For the textual problems and the precedence of LXX see McCarter, *1 Samuel*, ad loc.) For a new suggestion regarding the nature of the plague which afflicted the Philistines see A. Meir, "A New Interpretation of the Term 'opalim' (עפלים) in the Light of Recent Archaeological Finds from Philistia", JSOTS 32 (2007). 23-40 with references to previous literature. Meir suggests on the basis of recent finds in Philistine sites of phallic-shaped *situlae* that the עפלים are not hemorrhoids or bubonic plague as previously suggested but "a euphemistic reference to the Philistine male sexual organ that was afflicted in some manner by the 'Philistine Plague', causing much discomfort – and ridicule – for the Philistines".

<sup>7</sup> The similarity is noted but not explained by Y. Kiel, *Sepher Shmuel*, I (Jerusalem: Mosad Ha-Rav Kook, 1981), 53, n. 14 (Hebrew). Most contemporary commentators miss this connection altogether. W. Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel*, Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1990), 41 regards it as corrective of the loss of God's כבוד in 1 Sam. 4:21-22 but this is at most a secondary implication of the term. The word כבוד is then played upon in the wish that follows immediately: אולי יקל את ידו מעליכם, "perhaps he will lighten his hand from upon us"; and again in v. 6 ולמה תכבדו את לבבכם כאשר כבדו מצרים ופרעה את לבם, "why shall you make your hearts heavy as Egypt and Pharaoh made their hearts heavy?" (see S. Bar-Ephrat, *1 Samuel – Introduction and Commentary*, Mikra Leyisrael, Tel Aviv: Am Oved Publishers Ltd.; Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1996), 107 ad v. 6).

<sup>8</sup> For תן תודה meaning "confess" see Ezra 10:11, also in a context of מעל.

<sup>9</sup> We can compare the bronze serpent Nehushtan fabricated in the shape of the snakes whose bite it was to cure (Num. 21:4-9). See V. A. Hurowitz, "Healing and Hissing Snakes – Listening to Numbers 21:4-9," in *Scriptura* 87 (2004) [*Yehoshua Gitay Festschrift*, ed. Hendrik Bosman], 278-287; reprinted with slight revisions in *Le Journal des Médecines Cunéiformes* 8 (2006) 13-23.

<sup>10</sup> For the significance of expulsion in the "Ark Narrative" see H. J. L. Jensen, "An 'Oedipus Pattern' in the Old Testament?" *Religion* 37 (2007) 39-52.

son or building afflicted with צרעת by the birds (Lev. 14: 7, 53).<sup>11</sup> The cows which drew the wagon were eventually slaughtered and offered up as burnt offerings, perhaps on the wood of the cart which had borne the Ark (1 Sam 6: 15)<sup>12</sup> and this would have served as the sacrificial component in the ritual (cf. Lev. 5:7 for burnt offerings as part of the אשם ritual).

It would seem, therefore, that the advice and actions of the Philistine priests as described in the Book of Samuel can be explained on the basis of Israelite cultic practices, especially the concept of אשם (reparation offerings) and the narrator may well have been informed by them in creating his account. Added "Priestly" touches may be the report which follows that the Levites took charge of the Ark upon its arrival (v. 15)<sup>13</sup> and the bit of book-keeping in the summary enumeration of the golden buboes (vv. 17-18).

The diviners, for their part, had to determine whether it was indeed the Ark which was the source of their affliction. Their advice is given second (vv. 7-9) even though carrying out the recommendations of the priests will be contingent on a positive answer to the diviners' queries. The inquiry of YHWH is to be done ritually by instrument of two cows.<sup>14</sup> The cows are to be inexperienced in working in that they have never borne a yoke (v. 7).<sup>15</sup> Moreover, they are to be nursing cows whose calves have been sent away,

<sup>11</sup> P. Kyle McCarter, *1 Samuel*, The Anchor Bible 8 (United States of America: Doubleday & Co., 1980), 138 refers to a Hittite ritual against plague (cf. Goetze, ANET<sup>3</sup>, 347):

If people are dying in the country and if some enemy god has caused that...  
They drive up one ram. They twine together blue wool, red wool, yellow wool, black wool and white wool, make it into a crown and crown the ram with it. They drive the ram on to the road leading to the enemy and while doing so they speak as follows: "Whatever god of the enemy land has caused this plague – see! We have now driven up this crowned ram to pacify thee, O god! Just as the herd is strong, but keeps peace with the ram, do thou, the god who has caused this plague, keep peace with the Hatti land!: They drive that one crowned ram toward the enemy.

This parallel is not quite exact, because the ram in the Hittite text, although sent to placate the enemy god, does not carry with it any sins of object causing the enemy god to be angry.

<sup>12</sup> Compare עצי העגלה with Gen. 22:3: עצי עלה.

<sup>13</sup> Note however that this is a Levitical prerogative in D as well (Dt. 10: 8; 31:9, 25). Cf. I. Wilson, "Merely a Container? The Ark in Deuteronomy," in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel*, ed. John Day, Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies, 422 (London, New York: T&T Clark International, 2005), 212-249.

<sup>14</sup> A. F. Campbell, *1 Samuel*, The Forms of the Old Testament Literature, VII (Grand Rapids, Michigan; Cambridge, U. K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), 82-83 refers to this aptly as "the divination journey".

<sup>15</sup> This stipulation is identical to that for the Red Heifer (Num. 19: 2) and the calf for expiating blood guilt (Dt. 21: 3) as well the Mesopotamian ritual for covering the drum of the lamentation-priest with the hide of an animal which has not been smitten with a whip (*ina ḥatti mahiṣ ina qinizzi lapit ana parši u pildudê ul illiqqi*, "[a bull which] has been hit by a staff or stuck with a whip will not be taken for the ritual and rite" (*Rituels accadiens* 10: 5-6). However, these cows have given birth which means they are probably not ritually perfect, and the fact of their not having been yoked may be related to the function at hand. Cf. Rashi on vs. 6: "all this is for a test, for they (the nursing cows) are unfit for pulling

the assumption being that their natural motherly tendency would be to go after their calves to nurse them. The diviners are by this stacking the deck against any accident, and forcing the cows to act against their own instincts only if driven by a divine hand.<sup>16</sup> All this is to assure a definite divine answer.

After the cows are hitched to the wagon and the wagon is packed with its cargo and sent off, their movements are to be monitored, and it is to be noted which of two suggested courses they follow.

וְרֵאִיתֶם,  
אִם-דָּרָה גְּבוּלוֹ יַעֲלֶה בֵּית שֵׁמֶשׁ—הוּא עָשָׂה לָנוּ, אֶת-הָרָעָה  
הַגְּדוֹלָה הַזֹּאת;  
וְאִם-לֹא, וַיֵּדְעֻנוּ כִּי לֹא יָדוּ נִגְעָה בָּנוּ--מִקֶּרֶה הוּא, הִיָּה לָנוּ.

And you shall see:

If it [the Ark] ascends to Beth-Shemesh, He (YHWH) has done this great evil to us;

And if not – we shall know that His hand has not afflicted us, it is a coincidence which happened to us.

These two binary opposed sentences are the essence of divinatory questioning. There are two sentences, each with a protasis beginning with the word “if” describing a possible occurrence; followed by an apodosis stating the outcome of the occurrence or the cause of the occurrence.

The priests’ instructions are carried out to order and the result is:

וַיֵּשְׁרֹנָה הַפָּרוֹת בְּדֶרֶךְ, עַל-דָּרָה בֵּית שֵׁמֶשׁ,  
בְּמַסְלָה אֶחָת הֹלְכוֹ הֵלֶךְ וְגָעוּ, וְלֹא-סָרוּ יָמִין וּשְׂמָאוֹל;  
וְסָרְנֵי פְלִשְׁתִּים הַלְכִים אַחֲרֵיהֶם, עַד-גְּבוּל בֵּית שֵׁמֶשׁ

The cows went straight along the way, on the way to Beth-Shemesh; in a single path they went, going and lowing, and did not turn aside right or left.

And the Philistine governors were going after them until the Beth-Shemesh border.

Having fulfilled the requirements of the test in the most direct manner, the result was unequivocal and the governors, satisfied with the answer, could leave.

and they low after their offspring, and if the Ark has the power of drawing them (the cows) from them (the calves) we will know that it (the Ark) has done us (this harm).

<sup>16</sup> This interpretation follows Rashi. Note, however that Radaq interprets the ritual actions as deriving from the sanctity of the Ark. According to Bruegemann, *First and Second Samuel*, 40-41 there is an element of cunning in the Philistine arrangement, suspecting YHWH’s superiority, stacking the decks against Him and hoping to see Him exposed as a powerless God.

This ritual has been compared with no little amount of legitimacy to the plague prayers of the Hittite king Mursilis. In the longest and best preserved of these prayers, the king, through agency of a priest prays and confesses a long series of sins which are possible causes of the plagues afflicting his land and the means by which he has attempted to placate the gods, but to no avail. Finally, apparently very frustrated from his unsuccessful attempts and quite desperate he says:<sup>17</sup>

I am now continuing to plead to the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord. Save my life! [And if] perhaps people have been dying for this reason, then during the time that I set it right, let there be no more deaths among those makers of offering bread and libation pourers to the gods who are still left.

[Or] if people have been dying because of some other reason, then let me either see it in a dream, or let it be established through an oracle, or let a man of god declare it, or according to what I instructed all the priests, they shall regularly sleep holy (i.e. see in incubated dreams). O Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, save my life, and may the plague be removed from Hatti.

Mursilis can certainly be compared with the Philistine governors who have been afflicted by a plague, have tried to stop it by moving the Ark from one city to another, and are not sure why it continues. They all go to their respective diviners for advice and ask questions which look binary.

This parallel is certainly significant, but it does not illuminate the precise method of divination employed, namely interpretation of the movements of the cows. A possible parallel to such a divinatory method is provided, however by a text from Sultantepe published by Oliver Gurney and Jacob Finkelstein<sup>18</sup> exactly half a century ago and edited shortly thereafter along with extensive comments by Erica Reiner.<sup>19</sup> The text itself, *STT 73* is a collection of rituals for impetrated omens, i.e. ominous events obtained or produced not by casual observation of naturally occurring events but by entreaty and performance of certain specific acts which will be interpreted as ominous. Although a limitless number of naturally-occurring events can be taken as omens, impetrated omens are rather rare and include divination by oil, divination by smoke or dream incubation. The text is made up of eight sections, each containing a prayer and ritual instructions for producing such omens. The eighth and final section relates to a type of impetrated omen unknown

<sup>17</sup> Translation according to I. Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, Writings From the Ancient World, Society of Biblical Literature, 11 (Atlanta, Georgia: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 60 §§ 10-11. See also J. J. M. Miller, P. D. Roberts, *The Hand of the Lord*, 53-54.

<sup>18</sup> O. Gurney, J. J. Finkelstein, *The Sultantepe Tablets I*, Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 3 (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 1957).

<sup>19</sup> E. Reiner, "Fortune Telling in Mesopotamia": *JNES* 19 (1960) 23-35.



form anywhere else. Here, too, there is an incantation asking for a revelation followed by ritual instructions for achieving the requested revelation, and finally the omens themselves:

Incantation – I have called upon you, Oh divine judges in the bright heavens!

By supplication and prostration I constantly bless you.

Bright torch of the midst of heaven, by your light everything is desired. To your judgment men pay attention, to your decisions the weak submit.

Divine judges whose word is not overturned,

In the midnight watch I shall pour pure water of underground springs on the forehead of an ox;

May I see your true judgment and decision of your great divinity, and may I make a pronouncement.

If so and so son of so and so is to achieve his desire, may the ox give the sign.

Its ritual – You shall wait (?) for a favorable day, a *lahannu*-vessel... you shall take.

A young man who has not known a woman shall draw water from the river.

You shall set out before the gods of the night an incense burner with juniper and flour. You shall libate wine.

You shall hold up that water and recite its incantation three times. You shall pour it on the forehead of a recumbent ox and you will see a sign.

If the ox lows and gets up – he [the man in question] will achieve his desire

If the ox lows and does not get up – he will not achieve his desire

If the ox gets up and turns his cheek to the right – he will not achieve his desire

If the ox gets up and turns his cheek to the left – he will achieve his desire

If the ox grinds his teeth and gets up – he will achieve his desire

If the ox grinds his teeth and does not get up – he will not achieve his desire

If the ox gets up and walks forward – he will achieve his desire

If the ox gets up and walks to the rear – he will not achieve his desire

If the ox gets up and walks to his right – he will not achieve his desire

If the ox gets up and walks to his left – he will achieve his desire

If the ox gets up and goes backwards – he will achieve his desire

If the ox gets up and raises his pelvis – he will achieve his desire

If the ox gets up and lowers his pelvis and groans (?) – he will achieve his desire

If the ox gets up and sprinkles dust on top of himself – he will not achieve his desire

If the ox gets up and sprinkles dust with his right horn – he shall achieve his desire



If the ox gets up and sprinkles dust with his left horn – he will not achieve his desire  
 If the ox gets up and sprinkles dust behind him with his fore hooves he will not achieve his desire.

This ritual is obviously vastly different from that performed by the Philistine diviners, the most important difference being that whereas the Akkadian ritual is meant to predict the future, the Philistine ritual is aimed at deriving information about the past. Also, the Philistine ritual is more complex, involving not only two cows rather than one, but a wagon, the Ark, and the golden objects. In fact, the Philistine ritual combines the elements of divination with the magical steps for disposing of the source of trouble if found necessary.

Nonetheless, there are certain features which are comparable. First of all, they both employ bovines as instruments for impetrated divination. The omens are discerned not in the physical characteristics of the animal but in its behavior, and in particular its perambulations. The binary formulation describing the ominous behavior is common to both. There are also similarities in the features observed. The ritual speaks about the ox lowing which is also done by the Philistine cows (וגעו = *issusma*). Both texts also speak about going (הלכו הלך = DU = *alāku*). The direction of movement is also important. The Philistine cows go straight (וישרנה) and does not turn away to the right or left (ולא סרו ימין ושמאל) while the ox gets up and turns his cheek to the right or the left, or gets up and goes forward, backward, to the right or to the left.<sup>20</sup>

But how are the two rituals related, if at all? The similarities pointed out above may well be just coincidental, but it is not to be ruled out that both texts are variants of a common divinatory practice or, as suggested above that the Philistines (or the Biblical author describing them) have integrated the magic into the act of divination. But before answering this question one other factor should be considered. The ox omen ritual from Sultantepe is the only known example of such a practice. There are, to be sure, numerous examples of non-impetrated animal omens as there are omens learned from all sorts of animals,<sup>21</sup> but this is the only case of an impetrated ox omen. Erica Reiner

<sup>20</sup> The Akkadian ritual is participated in by a virgin young man, and the water poured on the head of the bull is A.MEŠ IDIM KÙ.MEŠ, pure water from underground springs. The employment of an unblemished functionary and cultically pure materials is reminiscent of the use of a new wagon and the cows which have not pulled a yoke as interpreted by Radaq.

<sup>21</sup> For omens derived from the physical features of an ox see I. Starr, *The Rituals of the Diviner*, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 12 (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1983). For omens related to the behavior of an ox see CAD A/1, 365 col. b s.v. *alpu 1a passim*. K. C. Way, "Balaam's Hobby Horse: The Animal Motif in the Balaam Tradition," *Ugarit Forschungen* 37 (2005) 679-693 points out the propensity for animals and animal motifs in the Balaam stories both in Numbers 22-24 and the Deir 'Alla plaster inscription and ascribes it to Balaam's "presumed expertise in the interpretation of omens – especially omens concerning unusual animal behavior". For additional examples of ominous animal behavior

has pointed out that the larger text of which this omen ritual is the last part contains parallels in a tablet from Assur (LKA 138), and should not, therefore be considered unique. This suggestion follows her overall attempt to show that the Sultantepe library contained no new texts and when examined carefully provided very few surprises. However, the part of the text prescribing the ox omens is not attested at Assur or elsewhere. Not only this, but Assur has also given us the only known example of a psephomancy ritual, and as I tried to show in previous studies, this type of divination is akin to the Biblical Urim and Thummim.<sup>22</sup> The fact that both impetrated ox omens and psephomancy have their closest parallels in the Bible but nothing similar in Mesopotamia may indicate that certain scribes of Sultantepe or Assur were, for some reason, privy to western divinatory traditions or popular practices not fully identical to those of the Mesopotamian heartland.

We have examined here the acts ascribed to the Philistine priests on the one hand and to the diviners on the other. The priestly machinations have found their background in customs reflected in Israelite cult as described in biblical law and narrative, while the divinatory devices find their closest relatives in the divinatory writings of Israel's neighbors. Whether they can be traced back to the Philistines cannot be determined without more textual evidence. For this we await eagerly the future contributions of our archaeological honoree and his many colleagues and disciples.

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in ancient near eastern texts see the sources listed by Way, "Balaam's Hobby Horse," 687, n. 33.

<sup>22</sup> W. Horowitz, V. A. Hurowitz, "Urim and Thummim in Light of a Psephomancy Ritual from Assur (LKA 137)," *JANES* 21 (1992) 95-115; V. A. Hurowitz, "True Light on the Urim and Thummim. Review Article of C. van Dam, *The Urim and Thummim – A Means of Revelation in Ancient Israel* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1997)," *JQR* 58 (1998), 263-274.



## “Roy of the Rovers”: An Egyptian Warrior in 2<sup>nd</sup>-Millennium Phoenicia?

Kenneth A. Kitchen

In recent times, by kind courtesy of Dr. Robert Deutsch through the good offices of my colleague and friend Professor A. R. Millard, I was shown two photographs of a bronze weapon bearing on its blade a column of Egyptian hieroglyphs above a motif. More recently, through the kindness of Gil and Lisa Chaya, I have had access to two full-colour photos and a monochrome paper print, of this remarkable piece. I thank them for their generosity. For the text (Fig. 1).

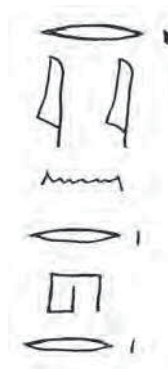


Fig. 1

This item is a socketed spearhead, with a blade just over twice as long as the socket-portion. Recent consultation with Dr. Graham Phillip (a recognized authority on ancient Near Eastern bronze weapons) confirmed my earlier belief that this piece dates from the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE. I had set a minimum date of the later 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (*i.e.*, Late Bronze IB/IIA), because of the possible historico-social setting that its inscription might imply. However, Dr. Phillip was able to suggest that the piece might rather date to the Middle Bronze Age, when such things are attested in burials more than later on. However, a Late-Bronze date is still possible.

Let us look at the two options: Late Bronze and Middle Bronze. But, first, let us look again at the text and the motif above it. With absolute clarity, the text reads vertically from top to bottom as R Y N R H R. As is common,

each “R” is accompanied by a short, vertical determinative stroke. Aside from these four strokes, the remarkable thing about this short inscription is that it uses no determinatives at all. This inscription is essentially alphabetic, just as the Canaanite script was ultimately to be. Investigation shows that the collocation of the letters RYNRHR (as a unit) does not form any recognizable personal or place name, in either Egyptian or any other ancient Near-Eastern language. Even if we take only the first element, R Y, there are very few West Semitic analogues. In fact, we can point to a) just \*RW(I)Y (printed as RWIJ and RWJ) in Gelb’s monumental compilation and analysis of “Amorite” names, particularly from Mari and the early 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE;<sup>1</sup> and b) the root *rwy* in biblical Hebrew.<sup>2</sup> Names based on *rwy* are rare, and they leave the *n-r-h-r* without rational explanation.

The solution to this six-sign group lies elsewhere, and it is fundamentally very simple. Being inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphs, one may read it as mainly Egyptian: “Roy of (*n*) Ro-Har”, without any difficulty at all. *Ry* is a very common personal name in New-Kingdom Egypt (not usually earlier),<sup>3</sup> and here the genitive connecting particle (*n*) may well relate it to a place-name as sometimes occurs in New Kingdom Egypt.<sup>4</sup> However, the place-name appears to contain a Semitic element within an Egyptian format. The word *r* meaning “mouth” is used in Egyptian not only to refer to the anatomical mouths of people and animals but also to signify a door (at the entrance to a building), or an opening into a land, a valley, or the mouth of a river (as in English), etc.<sup>5</sup> In this capacity, it enters into the formation of place-names, such as “Valley-mouth,” “Canal-mouth” (*Ro-inet*, *Ro-inty*, *Ro-hent*), and even “(water’s) edge,” etc.<sup>6</sup> So, here, Ro-Har would likewise be “Mouth of Har.” The latter could designate a place-name or a geographical feature. The West Semitic word, *har*, “hill, mountain”, comes readily to mind. Ro-Har would then be a hybrid compound analogous to “Montagne-mouth” (substituting here, French+English, for Egyptian+Semitic). Of hills and mountains, the Levant has no lack, but the great range of the Lebanon and northwards are the Levant’s mountain(s) *par excellence*. Thus, the geographical feature intended was most likely the Lebanon range. If so, then the “mouth” of these mountains is also not far to seek: namely, the most important valley and pass through them, that of the present-day Nahr el-Kebir, the ancient Eleutherus, which provides a clear route from the Mediterranean coast and its ports (e.g., Tripoli, Simyra, Tartessus) inland to the valleys of the Biqua’ and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gelb et al. 1980, 175, 343, in the names Iarwium and Iarwi-il.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brown, Driver, Briggs 1907: 924; but in Hebrew, this otherwise active root was not productive of proper names.

<sup>3</sup> References in Ranke n.d.: 216:24.

<sup>4</sup> Examples are: the Viceroy of Nubia, Iuny “of Heracleopolis” [Kitchen 2000: 48 top]; and the lady, Merytre “of Memphis,” mother of the vizier Paser (Kitchen 2000: 11, middle).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Erman, Grapow, eds. 1925: 390-391, 392:10.

<sup>6</sup> Examples of these are cited by Gardiner 1947: 299 (index); and in R. O. Faulkner 1952: 83 (*r-n-* names).

Orontes. Thus, our “Mouth of the Mountain” may well be that pass. And our text would read “Roy of ‘Mouth-of-the-Mountain’”, i.e. as hailing from the Eleutherus district. The lack of any proper determinative for *har*, “mountain” (the small triangular land-sign) would be consistent with the similar lack also of any determinative (e.g., seated man) for the name Roy. It appears as if the writer intended to be concise, if not imitating the purely consonantal usage of contemporary linear Canaanite (= alphabetic letters; no determinatives). For *har*, “mountain(s)” in the Lebanon area, one might cite also the topographical list of Tuthmosis III (and copies of it), which mention a place-name Har near Ruhizzi.<sup>7</sup>

Given this location of an Egyptian affiliated to the Eleutherus district, we now go a step further, and we suggest a more specific role, location and maybe date for Roy and his splendid spear-head. Such a weapon should belong to a soldier, and of a rank (and education?) that would account for his taking care to inscribe his treasured weapon. In this overall region, as we know from the Amarna letters under Akhenaten (c. 1353-1337 BCE), Egypt maintained small garrisons at a limited number of centers, Gaza being the best known. At the mouth of the Eleutherus, Sumur (Simyra) was just such a center, where an Egyptian commissioner was based.<sup>8</sup> He would not be found alone there, but he would have had a modest posse of troops to maintain his survival and authority. Our spear-point may very well have belonged to the commander of such a cohort, and it may eventually have been buried with him in the town’s Late Bronze cemetery at his demise, until found there in modern times.

Once Aziru of Amurru had taken over control of Sumur, it would no longer have had an Egyptian garrison (or a commander writing in hieroglyphs!), especially when Aziru and all he held passed into the domain of the rival Hittite Empire. No Pharaoh saw Sumur again, probably, until Ramesses II in the time of his mid-13<sup>th</sup> century treaty with the Hittites. Given the possible earlier (Middle Bronze?) origin of such a piece, it would seem wiser to adopt a date much earlier than Ramesses II, where the New Kingdom is concerned, no later than the Amarna period (when Sumur was lost to Egypt). The name Roy is typical of the New Kingdom onomasticon. Hence, one might place him earlier in the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, quite possibly much earlier than Akhenaten. Our Roy probably died peacefully, and he was buried with his

<sup>7</sup> So, S. Ahituv: 1984: 106.

<sup>8</sup> Note especially the dramatic letter EA 62 (translated by W. L. Moran 1992: 133-134), in which we see Abdi-ashirta race to the rescue of Sumur; and letter 60 concerning his commissioner and the grain-harvest of Sumur. EA 68 locates Abdi-ashirta’s commissioner in Sumur while EA 67 had Egyptians residing there. EA 766 even calls it an Egyptian garrison town, then fallen into the hands of Aziru of Amurru; cf. also EA 131-134, 138, 140, 149, 159-161. Sumur itself may have been located at the present-day Tell al-Kazel; for archaeological work there, cf. outline and bibliography given by A. Bounni, in: E. M. Myers (ed.) 1997: 275-276.

beloved spear-point long before the political chaos in Canaan that marked the Amarna period.

What about the motif above the inscription? This is quite clearly an animal head and neck (facing from right-to-left), with multi-horned antlers projecting from either side, and swept-back ears, that is, a stag. Its presence here suggests that Roy adopted it as his “logo” because he hunted stags in his off-duty hours. He was not the first or only Egyptian to do so, either. Animals of this kind (with gazelles) were hunted east and south of the Eleutherus passage (south from Qadesh) by Amenophis II in the woods of Labwe, where gazelles have persisted down to modern times.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps, Roy was able to hunt them either there or in local woods nearer his possible home base at Sumur, hence the motif engraved on this weapon.

But, if he was an Egyptian, why did Roy link himself with the Eleutherus district rather than with some home town in Egypt? We know nothing of the social circumstances under which such commanders and garrison troops lived. Rather, like Roman legionaries along Hadrian’s Wall in northern Britain (and elsewhere), the local Egyptians on duty may have taken local Canaanite womenfolk, so that a long-settled garrison’s children would have known no other home than their parents’ garrison-town. These Egypto-Canaanite lads would grow up locally, then follow their fathers into the same kind of local military service. If Roy had such origins, then it is scarcely a wonder that he should link himself with Ro-Har, the Eleutherus valley-mouth district, where his home and career and hunting-hobby alike were all based.

So much for a New Kingdom scenario. What happens if we move our man and his spear back into the Middle Bronze Age (phase II, say within broadly c. 2000/1900 to 1540/1500 BCE)? Egyptian hieroglyphs were certainly in use at that time in Canaan and Phoenicia. We may compare the use of hieroglyphic inscriptions by the rulers of Byblos on monuments and on lesser objects as well as scarab-seals.<sup>10</sup> The Canaanite linear alphabet was also most likely invented and just coming into use in about the 18<sup>th</sup> century BCE onwards.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the use of hieroglyphs on a socketed spear-head within (say) c. 1800-1500 BCE is perfectly possible. A date of (say) c. 1540 BCE would be barely 120 years or so before Amenophis II’s activities in our area, c. 1420 BCE.

As for an Egyptian physical presence in Canaan and Phoenicia in the 20<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, one may cite both the annals-blocks of Amenemhat

<sup>9</sup> For Amenophis II and *m3s*-animals (red in colour and horned!) see text in R. A. Caminos 1956: 32; hunted, text in W. Helck 1956: 1304; translated into English by B. Cumming 1982: 30 end. For gazelles in Labwe in modern times, see A. Kuschke 1979: 29, cf. 22 and 15 n. 44.

<sup>10</sup> See list of these rulers and texts, Kitchen 1967: 53-54.

<sup>11</sup> Recent survey of the subject, B. Sass 1998. Cf. also É. Puech 1986: 161-213; and now O. Goldwasser 2006/7: 121-171. For possibly 17<sup>th</sup>-century graffiti in Wadi Hol near Thebes in Upper Egypt, found by J. Darnell, see the publication by J. C. Darnell *et al.* 2005: 63-124.



II (c. 1900 BCE), showing Egyptian traders and armies there at that time.<sup>12</sup> An Egyptian presence in Canaan and Phoenicia is also reflected a generation or two earlier (c. 1940 BCE) in the account of the adventures of Sinuhe in Canaan. This invaluable document is *not* just a “story.” Its literary format (as well as specific reflections of historical and social conditions) places this work in the category of genuine tomb-biography,<sup>13</sup> which was used in literary contexts for political ends.<sup>14</sup> It tells about an Egyptian who makes his abode in Canaan, and carves out a partially military career there, albeit for the local ruler, not the Pharaoh. However, he also entertains Egyptian envoys passing through. He marries a local woman, and he fathers Egypto-Canaanite sons, who stay on once he is gone. They are, as it were, the local Roy-boys of their time, one might say. Sinuhe, too, is very interested in hunting (desert gazelles?), and he enriches his table with the results.<sup>15</sup> So, a Middle Bronze milieu would have its possibilities for our Roy too.

But at the end of the day, when should we date our Roy? Certainly (I think), within the period c. 1550-1400 BCE – late Middle Bronze into Late Bronze I – to combine all of our data. The type of spear point is characteristically Middle Bronze. However, it is the kind of spear point that could still be used later (Graham Phillip). The name Roy is specifically of the New Kingdom (and very common then). An “alphabetic” use of hieroglyphs (like the local alphabet) would better suit the later rather than the earliest date. Thus, it may be wisest, still, to locate our hero in the palmy days of the Empire, but perhaps no later than the time of, say, Amenophis II, who also enjoyed a spot of hunting close to Roy’s haunts, at about 1450/1400 BCE in round figures, for our man.

This piece (assuming that it as well as its text is genuine!) – is of very great interest. It sheds light on life in an Egyptian-dominated Canaan, early or late. And it is a fine piece of bronzework, uniquely adorned.

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<sup>12</sup> Published fully by H. Altenmüller and A. M. Moussa 1991: 1-48 and plate.

<sup>13</sup> See Kitchen 1996: 55-63, for a clear presentation of the facts. On its grasp of Canaanite *realia*, cf. long since, A. F. Rainey 1972: 369-408.

<sup>14</sup> The classic study is still enduringly that by G. Posener 1956; most subsequent modern waffle on Sinuhe is of little or no value by comparison.

<sup>15</sup> See (e.g.) translations, such as M. Lichtheim 1973: 226-227 (marrying, hunting).

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## A Group of Animal-Headed Faience Vessels from Tiryns

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Among the luxury goods whose appearance in Mycenaean Greece strikingly demonstrates the effects of contacts with Near Eastern societies, faience vessels hold a very special position. Already intensively discussed in the literature has been a group of frit or faience vessels from Mycenae and Tiryns consisting of goblets, rhyta and an amphora, which in form and decoration find its closest comparisons on Cyprus and in Ugarit (Foster 1979: 126-130; Peltenburg 1991: 163-166; Tournavitou 1995: 237-244; Rahmstorf 2001: 298-302; 2008: 230-232; Panagiotaki et al. 2004: 158-160). In the following, results of recent fieldwork will be presented providing evidence for the existence of another, even more extraordinary group of faience vessels of Near Eastern derivation in the Argolid during the Mycenaean Palatial Period and raising new questions concerning the repercussions of intercultural contacts in the Late Bronze Age East Mediterranean.<sup>2</sup>

### *The Contexts of the Finds*

Between 2000 and 2003 excavations at the northern tip of the Lower Citadel of Tiryns were conducted with the aim to resume and conclude fieldwork carried out by Klaus Kilian in 1982 and 1983 (Kilian 1984: 55-57; 1988: 108-111). In the course of the new excavations not only Building XI and parts of Building XV both dating to LH IIIB Final,<sup>3</sup> but also the passageway

<sup>1</sup> To Eliezer, scholar and friend, who taught us to see Aegean-Near Eastern relations with new eyes.

<sup>2</sup> We are indebted to the conservator Georgia Papadimitriou, who expertly cleaned and consolidated the finds and managed to find joins between fragments, which in the beginning seemed to be an impossible task. It is a pleasure to record our gratitude to Sharon Zuckerman (Jerusalem) and Edgar Peltenburg (Edinburgh) for sharing their knowledge and for discussing with us various topics related to the subject of the article. We would like to thank Stefan M. Maul (Heidelberg) for his valuable comments on the 'Humbaba' demon in the Near East, Peter Miglus (Heidelberg) for discussing with us Near Eastern comparisons for head-shaped vessels and depictions of monkeys, and Sveta Matskevich (Boston) and Ursula Meinhardt (Bonn) for helpful information. All drawings, graphics and photographs are by Maria Kostoula. Research for this article was carried out within the Heidelberg Cluster of Excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context".

<sup>3</sup> Kilian had already partially uncovered parts of the outer face of the west wall of Building XV (Kilian 1988: 108; Fig. 7:b).

separating the two buildings and leading to the North Gate were investigated (Maran 2004a: 13-14; 2008: 50-60). Of this passageway Kilian had uncovered only the northernmost part in a sounding in front of the North Gate (Kilian 1988: 108; Fig. 7:a-b), while in his partial excavation of Building XI the existence of three rooms was ascertained (Rooms 78a, 78b and 78c; Kilian 1984; 1988: 111). The continuation of fieldwork in this area showed that Building XI consisted of five rooms, without any indications for the former existence of an upper storey. Besides the three rooms already known from Kilian's excavation, two additional rooms came to light (Rooms 1/02 and 4/02). While Rooms 78b and 78c had been already completely uncovered by Kilian, of Room 78a only the western part was touched by the earlier excavation. In this part of the room Kilian found a fireplace in and around which a find assemblage belonging to the destruction at the very end of LH IIIB Final came to light. This destruction was probably caused by an earthquake (Fig. 1) (Kilian 1984: 56; Rahmstorf 2001: 313-315; 2008: 240). Among the finds were one small fragment of thin gold foil (Rahmstorf 2001: No. 1739; 2008: 241 [No. 1739]), a knob-shaped terracotta object with a tiny piece of gold foil adhering to its surface (Kilian 1984: Fig. 3:9; Rahmstorf 2001: No. 1786; 2008: 83; Pls. 35: 1786; 90: 9), one small fragment of sheet bronze/copper (Rahmstorf 2001: No. 362; 2008: 240-241 [No. 362]), one unshapely glass spherule<sup>4</sup>, and three tiny lumps of bronze/copper (Rahmstorf 2001: Nos. 1770, 1774-1775; 2008: 240 [Nos. 1770, 1774-1775]). In addition, the neighboring Room 78b yielded two pieces of thin gold foil (Rahmstorf 2001: Nos. 1738, 1741 2008: 241 [Nos. 1738, 1741]) and a small fragment of a bronze/copper rod with a square section (Rahmstorf 2001, No. 357; 2008: 241 [No. 357]).

The new excavation led to the discovery of additional concentrations of objects in deposits attributable to the same destruction at the end of LH IIIB Final on surfaces within Buildings XI and XV, as well as in the passageway to the North Gate (Fig. 1) (Maran 2008: 51-59). In 2002 in a find deposit on top of the latest walking surface of the passageway fragments of a faience vessel were encountered (Locus 1; *1a-c*). Other finds from the same deposit included a wall bracket, a Canaanite jar with Cypro-Minoan signs on both handles, parts of which had already been discovered by Kilian (1988: 108; Olivier 1988: 255-258, 266-267; Fig. 2:13; Maran 2008: 56 with footnote 18; Fig. 35), and a "Levanto-Helladic" chalice (Maran 2004a: 13-17; Figs. 5-9; 2008: 56; Fig. 35). Due to their morphological characteristics the faience vessel fragments from the area of the passageway were soon recognized as representing the parts of at least one vessel in the shape of an animal's head similar to objects from the Near East (cf. Maran 2004a: 13 with footnote 6). However, only in 2007 was it possible to fit together the pieces, thereby creating the basis for a closer assessment of the form and function of the vessel.

<sup>4</sup> Rahmstorf 2001: No. 1916; 2008: Pl. 87: 1916. The glass object has a length of 1.2 cm and is not a bead because it is imperforated.

In addition, in 2002 and 2003 five fragments of the same or a similar vessel were encountered in Room 78a (Locus 2; 2-5, 7). Next to these faience objects fragments of at least two wall brackets, a grinding stone, fragments of a bronze/copper awl with a square section, a fragment of a bronze/copper chisel, a small lump of lead and the 3.7 cm. long fragment of a cylindrical ivory staff showing one row of cuneiform signs were found (Fig. 1; Maran 2008: 52; Fig. 29; Cohen, Maran, and Vetters 2010).

In light of the new finds of head-shaped faience vessels it became clear that the identification of some faience objects from the earlier excavation of Kilian in Room 78b (Locus 3; 8-9) and inside Chamber 14 of the western fortification wall (Locus 4; 10) needed to be reassessed.<sup>5</sup> While these objects had been correctly identified as fragments of faience vessels, they were interpreted as representing parts of open vessels with normal lugs (Cline 1994: 220 No. 778; Rahmstorf 2001: Nos. 1835, 1839; Pl. 87:1835, 1839; 2008: 231; Pl. 87: 1835, 1839). In contrast to this, it is here argued that these fragments were also part of head-shaped vessels and that the “lugs” should be identified as ears of animals.

In the following all fragments of head-shaped faience vessels will be described, but the crucial question of the attribution to a specific animal will only be addressed after the discussion of comparable finds from the Near East.

### *Catalogue*

Locus 1: Passageway to the North Gate; Excavation 2002 (1a-c [Figs. 2-3, 6-7])

- 1 Faience Rhyton in the shape of an animal's head, preserved in three non-joining pieces (1a-c): Each piece has been mended from several fragments (the exact provenance of each fragment is listed below). All fragments were found in three adjacent squares (LXIII35/34.44-45) at 13.44-13.52 m.,<sup>6</sup> yet they spread over a rather limited area of less than 0.5-1 m.<sup>2</sup> surface, just north of the trench's southern profile (Fig. 1).
  - a) Upper Front part of an animal head (Figs. 2-3, 6). Forehead, orbital cavities, temple up to upper cheek area featuring ribbed relief decoration and one perforation. Mended from five fragments spread over the 3 adjacent squares LXIII 35/34 IVG, LXIII35/44 IVH 13.51 m, and LXIII35/45 IVH 13.52 m. Measurements: max. length: 8.6 cm., max. height: 4.5 cm., max. original<sup>7</sup> thickness: 1.6 cm., max. preserved thickness: 1.9 cm., min. original thickness: 0.2 cm.

<sup>5</sup> For the excavation of Chamber 14 see Kilian 1988: 111-117.

<sup>6</sup> All topographical heights are given in meters above sea level.

<sup>7</sup> The expression “original thickness” refers to those parts of a vessel fragment where the exterior and interior surface are still preserved, thus allowing a measurement of the actual thickness of the vessel's wall.

The preserved shape of the vessel recalls an ovoid funnel, flaring towards the cheek area. Wall thickness varies significantly. Between the eye cavities, at the by now largely chipped area where the nasal bone would have been modelled, thickness would have exceeded the preserved 1.9 cm. Towards the sides, the walls are much thinner, with the original thickness varying between 0.2-1.6 cm. There seems to be a certain disproportion regarding wall thickness, as well as a slight asymmetry in the construction of the vessel.

The core color ranges from white (10YR 8/1-2) to pink (7.5YR 8/2). The chipping pattern of the faience matrix reveals at least two coats of roughly equal thickness but of slightly different consistency, with the first coat (i.e. the one closer to the outer surface) being somehow spongier than the following, compact coat which forms also the interior surface of the vessel.

The original exterior surface is partly preserved, especially in the temple area, as well as parts of the orbital cavities. Preservation state of the left half is much better than the condition of the right half (Figs. 2:1a [upper part], 6:1a) where surface wear and chipping were more intensive.<sup>8</sup> Temple areas bear molded relief decoration enhanced by supplementary incision between the thick folds and dull, very gritty paint, ranging from very dark grey to very dark greyish brown (10YR 3/1-2). Up to eight folds, curving around the left eye cavity are preserved. Their width ranges between 0.2-0.5 cm.; the eyelid folds, a tiny part of which is preserved only at the left cavity, were much wider and probably flatter. The fold arrangement is not absolutely symmetrical. On the left temple, all preserved folds run parallel to each other, and are somehow thicker than the ones in the right temple, which also appear to run in a slightly more complex scheme than the ones at the opposite side. The occasional incised grooves between the folds are quite irregular.

The surfaces of the forehead, the brows, as well as most of the lid folds surrounding the orbits are not preserved. Given the position and the course of certain fissures and flaws at the forehead area, it is safe to assume that this area as well was fully ribbed, and that the size and course of the folds roughly corresponded to that of the currently preserved decoration.

A small U-shaped perforation (diameter ca. 0.3-0.4 cm.; length ca. 0.7-0.75 cm.) intersects at a slightly oblique angle the faience core at the upper left temple area, fairly close to the thinnest part of the vessel (Fig. 2 [lower part]). The hole was most likely drilled following the primary firing of the vessel.

<sup>8</sup> These fragments were mistakenly included in the pottery lot and were identified following the standard sherd washing procedure, including treatment with hydrochloric acid.



The eye sockets were left unpainted. They feature a quite glossy and solid, almost white surface (10YR-2.5Y 8/1), as well as incised grooves for fixing the eyeball inlays. The set of grooves consisted of a central horizontal channel, running roughly throughout the full length of the eye cavity, and two intersecting vertical ones, equally covering most of the orbit's height (Figs. 2-3, 6). The better preserved left eye cavity suggests that both edges of the central groove were forked, or at least curved upward near the junction with the eyelid (Fig. 3). The edges of the grooves seem to bear faint traces of dark paint. A distinct dot of dark grey paint (diameter: ca. 0.25 cm.) is preserved in the upper left cove of the left cavity.

The interior surface of the vessel had been carefully smoothed, and it features a foamy semi-glossy glaze, ranging from light greenish grey (5GY 8/1-10GY 8/1, 5 BG 8/1) to pale green (5G 8/2). At the worst preserved part of the vessel, the glaze has turned brownish yellow to yellow (10YR 6/6-8/6), probably due to oxidation of the glaze pigments following washing.

- b) Nasal tip with nostrils, part of the upper lip and the left cheek (Figs. 3, 7): mended from 6 fragments, all found within LXIII 35/44, in two groups at 13.52 m. near the northern border of the area excavated in 2002 in the passageway and at ca. 13.44 m. near the NE corner of the square (Fig. 1). Measurements: max. width: 5.9 cm., preserved height: 4.0 cm., max. preserved thickness: 1.5 cm.

The exterior surface is very well preserved, and it is heavily molded with ribbed relief, grooved, as well as painted decoration. The left cheek is rendered with a set of chubby folds, running roughly parallel to each other at an oblique angle (ca. 55°) from the upper edge of the lip up to the nose. At least 4-5 folds are preserved at a width of less than 1.8 cm. The left nostril is fully preserved (width: 1.55 cm, height: 1.24 cm), it is almond shaped and marked with a thin rib border. The nostrils intersect at an almost right angle to form a slightly flat nasal tip. The nose ridge forms an angle of ca. 40° to the upper lip mean horizontal line. From the ridge of the nose alternating, curvilinear shallow grooves branch towards the cheeks to render nasal wrinkles. Most of the exterior surface is covered with a thick layer of dull, gritty paint, very dark grey to very dark greyish brown (10YR 3/1 to /3/2). Under the horizontal ridge of the upper lip, the paint coating stops parallel to the ridge. The remaining lower part of the upper lip is preserved, featuring a glossy off-white (10YR 8/2-8/3, very pale brown to pale yellow), solidly glazed surface, of texture similar to the interior of the eye cavities (cf. *1a*).

Under the middle ridge of the upper lip and roughly centered along with the nose tip, there is a likely oblique perforation (ca. diameter:



0.15 cm., preserved length: 0.75 cm.) running downwards towards the vessel core.

The core is of faience with quite fine texture, ranging from white, to very pale brown and pale yellow (10YR 8/1-2, 2.5Y 8/2). A substantial part of the core as well as the entire inner surface are chipped off. Fissures and cracks mark at least two preserved layers at the faience matrix, suggesting that the vessel was gradually built inside the mold.

- c) Part of lower lip, mouth interior with circular rhyton opening and a narrow perpendicular perforation (Figs. 3, 7). It has been pieced together from nine, mostly tiny fragments, all found together in LXIII 35/45 IVH, at 13.52 m. Measurements: preserved height: 3.2 cm., preserved width: 2.8 cm., max. preserved thickness: 1.1 cm. The exterior surface is mostly quite well preserved, otherwise worn or even chipped off. *Ic* gives the impression of a quite flat surface in contrast to the rather curved modelling of the upper lip in *Ib*. The original positioning and inclination of *Ic* in relation to *Ia-b* is thus difficult to determine.

Approximately one-third of the outer surface is modelled with raised, bold relief, at least two irregular ribs separated by a ca. 0.35 cm. wide groove. The remaining part is flat, featuring minute striations on the surface, running roughly parallel to the raised ribs, and it preserves a solid coat of glossy white glaze. The relief decoration, as well as a small patch at the flat area feature the same dark and gritty painted surface (10YR 3/1-2, very dark grey to very dark greyish brown) as *Ia-b*.

The central feature of *Ic* is a circular opening (ca. diameter: 1.2-1.3 cm., preserved length: 0.9 cm.: ca. 35-40 percent preserved), followed by a channel flaring towards the interior of the vessel to form the opening. The interior surface of the spout is coated with solid, glossy glaze, light greenish grey (5GY 8/1-7/1, 10GY 8/1). The glaze at the exterior of the round opening is evenly worn in a width of 0.3-0.4 cm., with some of the worn edges featuring dark grey stains. We cannot exclude the possibility that there was either a relief application coated with paint, or even another kind of framing of the round opening.

The channel of the narrow perpendicular perforation (diameter: 0.3 cm., preserved length: 0.75-1.2 cm.) intersects the faience body directly at the intermediate groove between the folds. The course of the channel is not straight, but it is slightly curved. It cannot be excluded that the channel was drilled before the firing of the vessel. With the exception of the interior of the spout, the inner surface is quite worn or even chipped off. The original thickness of the piece

cannot be determined. Horizontal faults suggesting a successive building of the vessels body are visible on the biggest fragments.

Despite the lack of actual joins between *Ic* and *Ib*, the identification of *Ic* as part of the lower lip and of the interior of a “gaping mouth” is based upon morphological aspects and shared specific features, namely the identical quality of the respective white glazed areas and the use of dark paint to enhance bolder relief applications like the lips.

Locus 2: Building XI, Room 78a; Excavations 2002 and 2003 (2-7 [Figs. 4, 8])

- 2 Ear, found in LXIII 34/91 VI 12.83 m. (Figs. 4, 8). Measurements: max. length: 3.4 cm.; max. thickness: 1.7 cm., min. thickness.: 0.35 cm.; max. height: 1.9 cm.  
Semi-circular ledge shaped plastic application, mended from three fragments. Outer surface well preserved, with dull and gritty texture, very dark greyish brown to dark greyish brown (10YR 3/2-4/2). Core white, slightly grainy. The application was modelled by hand. One of the edges of the ledge-shaped faience mass was coiled counterclockwise and flapped under the one side. Traces of the coil remain visible under the break.
- 3 Small fragment, found in LXIII 34/91 VI 12.83 m. (Figs. 4, 8). Measurements: max. length: ca. 2.0 cm., max. height: ca. 2.0 cm., max. thickness: 0.8 cm.  
Exterior surface very worn and coarse, inner surface -where partly preserved, smooth and powdery white (10YR 8/2). Core light pale brown (10YR 8/2).
- 4 Small rim fragment found in LXIII 34/91 VI 12.81 m (Figs. 4, 8). Measurements: max. length: 2.7 cm., max. height: 1.4 cm.  
Exterior surface quite worn and porous, without traces of glaze; inner surface and rim better preserved, powdery white featuring faint traces of green (10Y 8/1; 10GY 8/1, light greenish gray) probably stains of chipped off color glaze. Lip edge cut flat; the form of the lip recalls closely the lip of 8. Core pale yellow (2.5Y 8/2) up to white (10YR 10/2), finely gritty; at least two layers in the core profile visible, the one close to the interior surface appearing somewhat more compact.
- 5 Rim fragment found in LXIII 34/91 VIB 12.77 m. (Figs. 4, 8). Measurements: max. length: 2.7 cm., max. height: 2.0 cm., max. thickness: 0.9 cm.  
Exterior surface well preserved, 10YR 4/2 (dark greyish brown) up to 5Y 4/1 (dark gray). Rim surface rather worn, glaze mostly flaked off, revealing whitish core. Under the rim at least two oblique, shallow and wide grooves (max. W. 0.4 cm.). Part of the lip surface is chipped and worn. It is likely, however, that the lip was not straight, but wavy. In that case, it was enhanced by the grooved decoration. Rim diameter cannot be estimated.

- 6 Small fragment with intersecting perforation found in LXIII 34/81 VIb 12.86 m. (Figs. 4, 8). Measurements: max. length: 2.4 cm., max. height: 2.1 cm., max. thickness: 0.85 cm., min. thickness: 0.3 cm.  
Position and orientation of the fragment unclear. Wall thickness sharply decreases (from ca. 0.8 cm. to 0.3 cm.) along the edges of the horizontal section. The exterior surface is well preserved (10YR-2.5Y 3/1; very dark grey); core and interior surface white and powdery, the latter preserving matt traces of color, 5G-10G 8/1 (light greenish grey) to 5G 8/2 (pale green). On one side part of a hole running perpendicular to the body is preserved (max. length: 0.65 cm., diameter [interior]: 0.4 cm., diameter [exterior]: 0.5 cm.). Thus the drill channel flares slightly towards the fragment's surfaces. The hole was probably drilled following firing.
- 7 Small fragment with relief decoration found in LXIII 34/81 VIb 12.87 m. (Figs. 4, 8). Measurements: max. length: 2.3 cm., max. height: 1.6 cm., preserved thickness: 0.7 cm.  
The inclination of the fragment is uncertain due to its poor state of preservation. The exterior is molded with fine ribs, four fully and two partly preserved. All the ribs run quite close and parallel to each other at a curved course. The fragment's surface is quite worn, with paint preserved mostly within the furrows between the ribs, 10YR-2.5Y 3/1 (very dark grey); core white and quite grainy, interior surface flaked off.

Locus 3: Building XI, Room 78b, Excavation 1982 (8-9 [Figs. 5, 9])

- 8 Rim fragment of an animal-headed faience vessel with semi-circular ledge-shaped plastic application (ear) and ribbed decoration found in LXII 35/10 IVB (Figs. 5, 9). Measurements: max. length: 6.2 cm., max. height: 4.8 cm., max. thickness: 2.5 cm., min. thickness: 0.4-0.5 cm.  
The body of the vessel was ovoid or rather irregular. Thus the rim diameter cannot be determined with certainty; a diameter of ca. 12 cm. can be estimated at the lowest preserved part of the vessel. Incurving swung profile, with flattened lip (cf. also 4).  
The exterior surface is very well preserved: up to the ridge of the lip, outer surface coated with a solid layer of dull, gritty paint, fired very dark grey, to very dark greyish brown and dark grey (10YR 3/1-2, 4/1-2). Ledge-shaped application (max. length: 3.8 cm., max. height: 1.5 cm., min. height: 0.5 cm., max. width: 1.6 cm.) situated ca. 1.0 cm. below the lip. It was formed by hand (cf. also 2), as one of the edges of the faience mass was folded counter clockwise and flapped under the one side, and it was applied to the vessel wall. The core is white to very pale brown (10YR 8/2-3). Parallel faults to the profile suggest that the body of the vessel was built in successive layers, the undermost layer (i.e. the layer immediate to the exterior) applied in the mold featuring somehow coarser texture than the following ones.

The interior surface is quite well preserved albeit worn, coated with semi-glossy to glossy glaze, color ranging from pale yellow (2.5Y 8/2, 7/3-8/3) to white (5Y 8/1), as well as occasional color stains (light greenish grey, 5GY 7-8/1, 10GY 7-8/1).

Bibliography: Cline 1994: 220 No. 778; Rahmstorf 2001: No. 1839; 2008: 231; Pl. 87:1839.

- 9 Rim fragment of a faience vessel found in LXII 35/10 IVB (Figs. 5, 9). Measurements: length: 3.7 cm., height: 2.8 cm., thickness: 0.3-0.5 cm. Core white to very pale brown (10YR 8/3). Straight profile, walls vaguely flaring; fragment somehow very flat, and diameter non-estimable, suggesting that the shape of the vessel was probably irregular. Exterior surface fairly well preserved, coated with coarse and gritty paint, fired dark greyish brown (10YR 4/2). Interior surface well smoothed, bearing faint traces of glaze, white to very pale brown (10YR 7/3). Bibliography: Cline 1994: 220 No. 778; Rahmstorf 2001: No. 1840; 2008: 231; Pl. 87:1840.

Locus 4: Western Fortification wall, Chamber 14, excavation 1983 (10 [Figs. 5, 9])

- 10 Rim fragment of an animal-headed faience vessel with plastic application (ear) found in LXI 35/65 XIV KW14 (Figs. 5, 9). Measurements: max. length 2.9cm., max. height: 3.0 cm., max. thickness 0.8-1.3 cm., min. thickness: 0.4 cm.  
Rim edge fairly worn, thus diameter and inclination of the sherd uncertain. Exterior surface well preserved, featuring a plastic application in the shape of a schematized ear: a pointed applied band running roughly parallel to the rim coils clockwise to form a volute. Exterior up to lip ridge featuring dark greyish brown paint (10YR 4/2) with somehow gritty and dull texture. Faience core powdery fine and white. Interior surface white to very pale brown (10YR 8/2). Most of the coating has flaked off, with only few patches of thick, light greenish grey (10GY 7-8/1) glaze remaining.  
Bibliography: Cline 1994: 220 No. 778; Rahmstorf 2001: No. 1835; 2008: 231; Pl. 87:1835.

#### *General remarks on the manufacture*

Due to their distinctive whitish core, most faience vessel fragments were identified as such already *in situ* and their individual find spots were recorded. Thus we may easily follow the distribution pattern of the fragments.<sup>9</sup> The preservation of the faience pieces ranges between fairly good, up to quite average and in some cases rather poor. The poor state of preser-

<sup>9</sup> The finds of the excavations 2002-2003 (I-7) were cleaned by the conservators by mechanical means under low power microscope. Following the cleaning and prior to the

vation applies particularly to small pieces especially to those from Locus 2 (i.e. 3.-6, LXIII 34/81-91), but also to most of the small crumbles comprising *1c* (LXIII 35/45). It must be stressed however, that the poor condition of the pieces is not related to their treatment following the excavation.<sup>10</sup> As the state of preservation varies even among joining fragments, it becomes clear that the present state of the finds was determined primarily by their individual depositional environment.

The core material appears to be quite homogeneous with respect to all the pieces discussed in the present study. Core color is mostly white, occasionally ranging up to very light pink, light pale brown, or pale yellow. The texture is mostly soft, with fine pores and air bubbles, up to quite gritty with occasional tiny quartz crystals visible under a low power microscope, indicative of a rather low firing temperature (Brill 1963: 123).

The best preserved pieces provide valuable information regarding the manufacture of these peculiar faience objects. Faience vessels were produced in a variety of ways ranging from casting or throwing on a wheel to free modelling of the faience mass (Foster 1979: 2). The predominant technique for more complicated shapes was molding (Noble 1969: 436-437). Certainly the pieces with bold ribbed surface, like *1a-c*, as well as 7-8 were pressed in a mold.

Several visible crack lines in the faience core parallel to the profile suggest that the raw faience mass was pressed inside the mold not at a single step, but at least in two courses. The thickness of the individual layers varies. As far as the consistence of the faience matrix is concerned, the low power microscopic examination of the pieces does suggest some differences amongst the layers, with the lowest layer, i.e. the one adjacent to the surface of the mould, appearing slightly coarser and more porous than the following ones. Either a coarser core material was indeed deliberately used for the first mold-coat, providing also a more appropriate surface to which the finishing glaze can adhere,<sup>11</sup> or the following layers were applied only after the first mold-coat had dried. Thus it had to be firmly smoothed, in order to adhere properly. Furthermore, it is likely that firing or even static could have benefited from a spongier consistency of the relief-decorated exterior surfaces.

Following the withdrawal from the mold, bolder plastic elements like the ears were modelled separately and attached to the vessel. In other cases, further details were added by incising and grooving an even surface (cf. the grooves in the nose of *1b*, as well as the furrows of 5). Further finishing

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mending of joining fragments, all surfaces were stabilised using a Paraloid-acetone solution. Joining fragments were set together using epoxy glue.

<sup>10</sup> The only exceptions are the 2 fragments of *1a*, which were included in the pottery lot (LXIII 35/34 IVG) and were subdued to acid cleaning and washing.

<sup>11</sup> This would be especially important in the case of coating the surface with fluid glaze slurry, cf. P. Vandiver in: Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983, A26-A46; fig. 23 on a summary about Egyptian faience glazing techniques.

surface treatments, namely the application of various sorts of glaze most likely required multiple firing sessions for the vessel.<sup>12</sup> As a whole, the current state of the glazed surfaces is rather poor. Most of the interior surfaces of the glazed vessels are by now largely, if not entirely worn.<sup>13</sup> Occasionally, minute patches of pale colored glaze have been preserved. Given the extent of surface wear and also the likely degeneration of pigments under the impact of time and/or deposition-related conditions, it cannot be ruled out that the original colors were far more saturated, or even had a quite different hue than the current one. Only in the case of *1a-1c*, surfaces featuring a true glossy lustre are preserved, probably the result of self-glazing (Foster 1979: 1). On the other hand, the coating of the exterior surface of most vessels with *paint*,<sup>14</sup> resulting in a dark, dull and gritty surface is common in almost all fragments. The presence of distinct border lines and reserved areas suggests that this *coating* was *painted* as slurry probably after the primary firing of the vessel. Dark glaze color is mostly due to reduced firing of glazes containing iron and magnesium oxides (Noble 1969: 437; Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983: 297). As a more precise determination of the coloring pigments can only be achieved through specific analysis, at this stage we can only speculate whether this also applies in the case of the Tiryns faience fragments. Regardless of the question of color hue and saturation reliability, the preserved shade value – that is, how light or dark a color is – seem to be a more stable factor corresponding to the original state of the vessel, inasmuch as the distinction between light and dark areas remains very clear. Glaze texture can also be utilized as a diagnostic feature. Despite restrictions through weathering and surface damage, the rough surface of the dark coating was probably not only due to the different composition of the glaze compared to the white lustrous surface, but also to a lower firing temperature. The latter factor prevented the complete vitrification of the glaze crystals and consequently the production of a solid glossy coating.<sup>15</sup>

The rhyton *1a-c* demonstrates clearly the deliberate use and the impact of color and texture contrast on the final surface. Most of the ribbed relief decoration is solidly *painted*, resulting in a dark, dull and gritty surface. The function as a rhyton was accentuated by setting off the opening in the mouth

<sup>12</sup> According to Noble 1969, 437, the process of applying various glaze types or colors could also be achieved with a single firing.

<sup>13</sup> According to Brill 1963, 123, sometimes a layer of powdered material lies between the glaze and the body; thus, a powdery surface, as in the case of *4*, might indicate that the original glaze has flaked off.

<sup>14</sup> The use of the term “paint” in this context is rather arbitrary; for the dark rough coating is most likely another form of glaze (cf. also the discussion about the various *termini* used, in P. Vandiver, in: Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983, A-13); nevertheless we think that the term is valid, inasmuch as our main goal is to emphasize the difference between the white lustrous self-glaze and the deliberately applied, rough, dull and dark-fired coating.

<sup>15</sup> On the effects of firing temperature on slurry glaze see P. Vandiver in: Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983, A-29.



from the surrounding lips with bold relief, dark color and a dull, rough surface, from the off-white lustrously glazed mouth's interior.

But the definite highlight of the vessel would certainly have been the inlaid eyes, enhancing the expressive potential and the even dramatic impression of the finished product. Despite the lack of any hints about the composition of the inlays, the use of either colored stone –like dark-colored jasper and rock crystal - or polychrome paste should be considered as likely.

The function of the perpendicular perforations of *1a*, *1b*, *1c* and *6* remains unclear (Figs. 2 [lower part], 3-4, 6-8). Their rather irregular channels and the lack of glaze inside the channels could imply that they were drilled following the firing of the vessel. On the other hand, the bent course of the channel of the perforation of *1c* (Figs. 3, 7) might suggest that the channel was drilled before firing, while the core was still malleable<sup>16</sup> The perforation lies very close to the rhyton pouring tip, which makes its function as an air-channel for firing seem rather redundant. Either the perforations were meant to host mending clamps, or, given the fragile texture of the faience core, they were supposed to hold and support trimmings of another material, such as metal.

#### *Number of Vessels Represented and Distribution of Oriental Faience Vessels in the Lower Citadel*

Crucial to the interpretation is the question to how many vessels the fragments described above have originally belonged. Undoubtedly, 10 constitutes a separate vessel not only because Locus 4 is spatially set apart from the other loci but also because the piece exhibits a modelling of the rim and the ear different from the other fragments. Among the fragments found in the passageway to the North Gate *1c* does not join with *1a* and *1b*, but it was found in close proximity to the other fragments. Moreover, *1c* exhibits morphological features consistent with an assignment to the mouth of an animal and an attribution to the same head-shaped vessel as *1a-b*. As for the fragments from Loci 2 and 3 within Building XI, with the exception of *6* and *9* all of them could be part of one and the same vessel, although the pieces were spread over two different, albeit adjacent, rooms of Building XI. The modelling of the ledge-shaped plastic addition interpreted as an ear of *2* from Room 78a corresponds exactly to *8* from Room 78b. Both ears may originally have been attached to the opposite sides of the same vessel. Due to its morphological features, *9* differs from all other fragments. Thus, it must be assigned to a vessel of its own. Whether *9* was also part of a head-shaped vessel is uncertain. The same applies to *6*, whose original position within the vessel is unclear.

<sup>16</sup> Lack of glaze, or wear signs might also have been induced during the deposition of the fragments and cannot thus be used as a main criterion to decide whether the perforation was made before or after firing.



Difficult to assess is the relationship between the groups of faience vessel fragments from Loci 2 and 3 on the one hand and Locus 1 on the other hand. Conspicuously, the fragments from the passageway all derive from the face of an animal, while in Building XI most fragments, for which the original position can be ascertained, seem to derive from vessel parts close to the rim. Furthermore, the ribbed decoration on 7-8 is similar to the one on the fragments from the assemblage in the passageway.

All of this suggests, that the fragments encountered in the passageway and Building XI derive from one or more vessels of similar shape and decoration. However, for the following reasons we regard it as highly unlikely that we are dealing with one and the same vessel: In assuming that the fragments belong to only one vessel, it would have to be argued that after the breakage of the vessels, their fragments were dispersed through secondary or even tertiary processes to the floors of Rooms 78a and 78b and the passageway to the North Gate, although these loci are separated by Room 4/02, where no such fragments of faience vessels have been found (Fig. 1). Moreover, among the hitherto checked pottery and other finds no joins between the find concentrations in the passageway, in Building XI and in Building XV have been noted. For this reason we conclude that the faience fragments from Locus 1 belong to a vessel distinct from at least one very similar one in Loci 2 and 3.<sup>17</sup>

Before turning to the further implications of the appearance of head-shaped faience vessels in the Mycenaean late Palatial Argolid, we would like to address the distribution of faience vessels in the Lower Citadel in general. The head-shaped faience vessels do not only differ morphologically from the faience goblets known from Kilian's excavation, but they also show a different distribution. This difference in distribution is remarkable in light of the fact that both groups of vessels date from the last decades of the Palatial Period. Consequently, they must have been in use at the same time. Rahmstorf (2001: 299-300; 2008: 231) has discussed the chronological position and spatial distribution of faience goblets in the Lower Citadel, and he concluded that the well-dated fragments stemming from one or two vessels derive from LH IIIB Developed and Final contexts and were mostly discovered in the area of Buildings I and III. On the other hand, the fragments of head-shaped vessels discussed in this study date to LH IIIB Final, and they are concentrated on Building XI and its immediate vicinity. Only the fragment from Chamber 14 appeared slightly more to the southwest and thus closer to the main focus of distribution of the faience goblets.

<sup>17</sup> The origin of the find concentration in the passageway remains uncertain. After further analysis of the results of the old and new excavation, earlier assessments that the finds may derive from a collapsed upper story of Building XV (Kilian 1988: 108) or Building XI or XV (Maran 2004: 13) cannot be upheld, since neither building has yielded convincing evidence for the existence of an upper story. No building debris, such as stones or mud bricks, which could be attributed to a collapsed wall, was intermingled with the finds, and at least in Building XI there were no signs of a staircase. Of Building XV only a small part was excavated.

*Reconstruction of the Tirynthian Faience head-shaped vessels and Relation to Similar Vessels from the Near East*

The objects under discussion are the first examples in a Mycenaean context of a rare group of head-shaped faience vessels dating to the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE. They constitute characteristic products of a Western Asiatic tradition of the manufacture of Late Bronze Age faience vessels (Peltenburg 1972: 135-136; 1991: 165). Until now members of this group had been recovered only from sites on Cyprus and the Levant as well as from the shipwreck of Ulu Burun. Thus, they were conspicuously concentrated in areas close to or on the East Mediterranean littoral of the Near East.<sup>18</sup> By contrast, in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Hittite Central Anatolia we know of no evidence for head-shaped faience vessels, although animal-headed vessels of other materials are well represented especially in Hittite culture and its chronological predecessors. In fact, they were exchanged as royal gifts between courts of allied rulers in Anatolia (Peltenburg 1991: 168; Liverani 1979: 25; Cochavi-Rainey 1999: 201 KUB 3 70). In turning to the Aegean, it has to be mentioned that a surprisingly early occurrence of head-shaped faience vessels is attested in Neo-palatial Crete. We refer to the discovery of two vessels in the shape of a bull's head (Platon 1971: 147, 149; Foster 1979: 66-68; Pl. 5; Koehl 2006: 127-128 [Nos. 353-354]; Pl. 29:353) and a third one evidently depicting a wild cat or a lion (Platon 1971: 147; Foster 1979: 68-69; Fig. 9; Pl. 6; Phillips 2008: 64, 312 No. 107 [Vol. 2]) from the Treasury of the Shrine in the palace of Zakros. The Zakros vessels dating to LM IB and the new finds from Tiryns are separated by a chronological gap of at least 250 years, during which we do not know of any comparable finds in the Aegean. This, together with the stylistic affinities of the Tirynthian vessels to counterparts in the Near East (see below) make it highly unlikely that the objects presented in this study should be regarded as the last examples of an indigenous Aegean tradition of the production of head-shaped faience vessels.

As Uza Zevulun (1987: 94-95) has shown, Near Eastern animal-headed faience vessels can be morphologically differentiated into two groups. The first group comprises all human-headed examples, which have the face on the side of the vessel and are provided with a base. The second group consists of animal-headed vessels which do not have a base, because the face and snout of the animal are always arranged on the side opposite the rim of the vessel. Accordingly, it was possible to put vessels of the first group filled with their fluid content in a vertical position, while the members of the second group had to be emptied, before they could be deposited on their side or on their rim.

<sup>18</sup> For overviews on the distribution and significance of faience head-shaped vessels see Zevulun 1987; Yon 1997: 54; Zuckerman 2008. We would like to thank Sharon Zuckerman for sharing a pre-print version of her important article with us.

By extending the focus to the general group of head-shaped vessels produced in various materials during the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE in the Aegean and Near East, it is important to separate two basic categories, which reflect different functions. In the Near East as of the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE the tradition emerged to produce such vessels in the shape of cups which could be used for drinking (Özgüç 2001). This does not, however, mean a purely profane function, since such vessels are likely to have been used in ceremonial banquets (Zevulun 1987: 100-101, Maeir 2006: 340; Zuckerman 2008: 121-122). In order to employ such vessels for libations (Dothan 1982: 229; Mazar 2000: 225; Maeir 2006: 340; Zuckerman 2008: 121), one had to tilt them to pour out liquid. In contrast to this, on Crete starting with the Old Palatial Period, we can trace a tradition of modeling head-shaped vessels as rhyta with an opening in the mouth or snout of the animal, a tradition later transmitted to Mycenaean Greece. It is assumed that such rhyta were used on ritual occasions for libations or to filter liquids while filling other vessels (Koehl 2006: 267-268, 272, 364-368).

When we compare the vessels from Tiryns presented here with oriental faience head-shaped vessels, certain similarities and differences can be noted. Morphologically, the Tirynthian vessels firmly belong to Zevulun's second group since the animal's snout was situated opposite to the rim of the vessel. Another point in common with some of the eastern head-shaped faience cups consists in the careful plastic rendering of facial details (Zevulun 1987: 93). This feature is never encountered in Aegean head-shaped rhyta of LH IIIA or IIIB date. In this regard, the most similar object is a faience ram-headed cup from Enkomi, which exhibits comparable concentrically arranged deep skin folds around the eyes and finely modeled nasal wrinkles (Courtois, Lagarce, and Lagarce 1986: 155; Pl. 27:10; Yon 1997: Pl. XI:c; Aruz, Benzel, and Evans 2008: 343 No. 209)

These similarities can be contrasted by three remarkable differences from Cypro-Levantine faience head-shaped vessels. The first and most important difference consists in the fact that the vessel *1a-c* had an opening in the animal's mouth and can thus be clearly identified as a rhyton. The only faience head-vessels which also have served as rhyta are the mentioned much earlier examples from the palace of Zakros cited above. By contrast, although members of Zevulun's Group 2 of Near Eastern faience vessels at first sight resemble Minoan and Mycenaean head-shaped rhyta, they differ from the latter inasmuch as, except for the rim of the vessel, they are never furnished with an opening for letting out fluid. For this reason, they are rightly designated as cups and not rhyta (Zevulun 1987; Yon 1997: 54; Mazar 2000: 225). Moreover, the comparison to Near Eastern head-shaped cups suggests that also 8 and 10 belonged to rhyta, since the ears are situated close to the rim. This shows that the vessel could not have had a high neck. This feature corresponds with Aegean head-shaped rhyta while the neck and head of Near Eastern head-cups are usually of roughly equal height. The latter

feature probably reflects the fact that the latter vessels were used for drinking (Zevulun 1987: 94; Koehl 2006: Fig. 13:350.355-356.359-361).<sup>19</sup>

The second difference is exemplified by the eye cavities of the animal head (*1a*) which were left open for inserting separately made eyeballs. Since neither the inlays were found nor any traces of them were visible in the cavities, we cannot determine the material of which they were made (see above). Among the preserved Near Eastern head vessels there do not seem to be examples with inlaid eyes, although Egyptian texts mention animal-headed vessels of precious materials with eyes of a different substance exchanged as gifts between Egyptian and Hittite rulers.<sup>20</sup> Inlaid eyes are also found in Egyptian faience figures, among which there is also at least one showing a squatting monkey with eyes of rock crystal (Bianchi 1998: 26; Fig. 8). Yet, in this regard again the objects which correspond most closely to the Tirynthian vessel derive from Neo-palatial Crete, as exemplified by head vessels made of stone with inlaid eyes (Koehl 2006: 118 [No. 307], 122 [No. 329]; Pls. 24:307, 26:329) and the lion or wild cat head-vessel from Zakros, whose polychrome rendering of the eyes prompted Karen P. Foster (1979: 68-69) to assume an imitation of inlays.<sup>21</sup>

The third difference consists in the kind of depicted creature. The rather short nose and the close distance between the eyes pointing to a narrow base of the nose of *1a* neither match the faience heads of rams, lions or horses nor resemble any other animal, the heads of which were modeled since the Karum Period in clay or stone (cf. Özgüç 2003: 195-229; Figs. 203-209, 226-228). Indeed, the position of the eyes and the shape of the nose are rather reminiscent of human-headed cups, from which *1b* however differs due to its markedly widening lower part of the nose, the big nostrils, and above all, the heavy folded skin of the fore-head and cheeks as well as the shallow wrinkles on the nose. The grotesquely folded face and the wide, gaping mouth resemble a chronologically slightly later terracotta mask from Kition which belongs to a group of masks from the Late Cypriote III period that has been identified by Vassos Karageorghis (in Karageorghis and Demas 1985: 261; Pls. 149:553, 214:553; Karageorghis 1993: 33-35; Pl. 20:7) as depictions of the Near Eastern demon Humbaba (or Huwawa) or rather of a local Cypriote adaptation of the image of such a demon (see also Webb 1999: 219-222).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> For Aegean head-shaped rhyta with ears arranged close to the rim see Koehl 2006: Pl. 27:338, 29:353.355.356.359-360.

<sup>20</sup> Cochavi-Rainey 1999, 201 (KUB 3 70). We are indebted to Sharon Zuckerman for drawing our attention to this reference.

<sup>21</sup> This is corroborated by a miniature faience bull's head from Knossos which has inlaid eyes: Foster 1979: 78-79; Fig. 12.

<sup>22</sup> For the demon Humbaba in the Near East see Wilcke 1972-75: 530-535. In some of the Near Eastern depictions the demon is shown with facial folds resembling intestinal coils which is due to his close linkage to omen reading: Wilcke 1972-1975, 534; Fig. 1. The facial folds of the rhyton from Tiryns are much closer to the way the face is rendered on the Kition mask than to the coil-like folds on such Near Eastern images.

Although there are no iconographic parallels in the Aegean Bronze Age for this, we think it is possible that the rhyton was supposed to show the head of such a demon of Cypriote or Near Eastern derivation. Alternatively, it is proposed that the combination of the mentioned facial details could point to an identification as a rhyton in the shape of a monkey's head.

Since the facial part of the other fragments of animal-headed faience vessels from Tiryns is missing, an unequivocal reconstruction is not possible. Nevertheless, we regard it as likely that they should also be reconstructed as rhyta in the shape of a head of either a monkey or a demon. Additional clues concerning the identification of the creature derive from the way of modeling the ears, of which there are two types. The first type is represented by 10 and it is distinguished by a curved rib forming a volute attached close to the rim. The second type of ear represented by 2 and 8 also sits below the rim, but it consists of a semi-circular ledge modeled to resemble an ear. Unlike the first type, it protrudes from the head, and this explains why it was first misidentified as a normal lug (see above). Both types of modeling ears have parallels in Late Bronze Age depictions of monkeys from the Levant and Mesopotamia. The first type is similar to a Middle Assyrian monkey figure made of diorite from Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta (Eickhoff 1985: 59; Pl. 1:1; Hamoto 1995: 53, 105 [No. 126]; Fig. 102:a-b). The second, ledge-shaped type of ear corresponds to a Middle Syrian alabaster monkey figure found in a grave at Minet el-Beida (M. Caubet in Yon 1991: 223; Pls. V:1, X:14; Hamoto 1995: 56-57, 109 [No. 149]; Fig. 115), but it also occurs on the already mentioned terracotta mask of a demon of the 'Humbaba'-type from Kition (Karageorghis 1993: Pl. 20:7). The reconstruction for the whole vessel (Fig. 10:a) proposed here combines ears like 2 and 8 with the face of 1a-c, because we assume that the fragments formed parts of two similar rhyta.

#### *A religious significance of the monkey in the Mycenaean Palatial Period?*

In case the rhyton was meant to show a monkey, this would be for two reasons quite unexpected: First, in Egypt and the Near East there seem to be no parallels for a vessel in such a shape either in faience or in any other material. Second, because new questions about the significance of the monkey in the Mycenaean Palatial Period are raised. Regarding the first aspect, it has to be said that, in spite of the lack of comparable vessels, the depiction of a monkey iconographically as well as religiously would fit quite well into the world views of Late Bronze Age societies of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE Near East and Egypt. The linkage between this animal and deities is obvious in the case of New Kingdom Egypt, for which there is a rich corpus of depictions of monkeys, especially baboons (Brunner-Traut 1975; Kessler 2001; Cline 1991: 37-38; Phillips 2008: 168-174 [Vol. 1]). Images of monkeys during the Late Bronze Age in Mesopotamia and Syria were interpreted by Azad Hamoto as symbols of the goddess Ištar or of other female deities (Hamoto 1995: 58-59). He regarded the occurrence of the already cited alabaster mon-

key figure in a grave at Minet el-Beida as a possible indication for a role of the animal as a helper in the next world (Hamoto 1995: 59).

Indirect evidence for the existence of monkey-headed vessels also in the Near East may be provided by a frit amulet in the shape of a monkey's head from a Middle Babylonian grave from Babylon (Reuther 1968: 166; Pl. 47:13c; Hamoto 1995: 58, 103-104 [No. 121]; Fig. 98). Not only its shape, but also the hollowed neck are reminiscent of head-shaped vessels, and it may represent a miniature of such a vessel. Still, in the way of rendering the facial details this object as well as all other Egyptian and Near Eastern depictions of monkeys known to us differ considerably from the presented finds from Tiryns. Without any comparisons seem to be features like the gaping mouth and the pronounced folding of the facial skin of the monkey's head, which are probably meant to emphasize aggressive properties of the animal.

Unlike the situation in the Near East and Egypt, the appearance of the image of a monkey in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE Argolid would come as a surprise. Several centuries earlier this particular animal is very well attested in the frescoes of the Neo-palatial Period from Akrotiri and Knossos. Among these frescoes, as is well known, there are depictions of the monkey as a companion of a female deity (Marinatos 1984: 112-116; 1987: 124-130; 1993: 160-161; 199-200; Morgan 1990: 259; Vanschoonwinkel 1990: 332; Cline 1991: 40; Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996: 123-125; Phillips 2008: 177-179, 181-182 [Vol. 1]) and in other supernatural contexts (Rehak 1999). By contrast, until now there seemed little to suggest a special significance of monkeys in the Mycenaean Palatial Period. The small monkey frit figurines bearing the cartouche of Amenhotep II in Mycenae and Tiryns (Cline 1991: 30-38; Pls. 1-2; 1994: 132; 2007: 194; Rahmstorf 2001: 303-304; 2008: 233-234; Phillips 2008: 182 footnote 952 [Vol. 1]) were rightly not accepted as sufficient evidence for proving a special position of this animal in Mycenaean Greece. After all, those objects were imports. Moreover, the seeming lack of images of monkeys in Mycenaean Palatial fresco painting reinforced the impression of a negligible significance of the animal (Lang 1969: 104; Immerwahr 1990: 108, 162, 165; Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996: 123).

Interestingly enough, however, among the frescoes from Tiryns published by Gerhard Rodenwaldt (1912: 16-18; Pl. II:7) there is a fragment, that is likely to shed new light on this question (Fig. 10:b). The 8.2 cm. high badly burnt fragment shows on a blue ground a figure on two legs turned right, which has bent knees as well as a long thin tail. On the back and tail of the figure there are traces of added white color, while the original color of the body cannot be determined due to the effects of the fire. On the bottom in front of the figure a small part of a rectangular device with a subdivision of vertical and horizontal lines is visible. Behind the figure there is a large basket-like object. Above this object a succession of horizontal and vertical lines can be discerned. At the left edge of the fragment the feet of another figure are preserved. As Rodenwaldt (1912: 17) has noted, the whole scene



takes place on a red platform-like structure since the white stripe forming the border of the frieze only follows below the red stripe of the platform. The peculiarities of the composition and images led Rodenwaldt (1912: 17) to suggest an interpretation as a cult scene. He interpreted the figure as a mixture between human and animal and the device in front of the figure as an altar table. Later, other scholars have suggested identifying the figure as a human being wearing an animal fur (Vermeule 1974: 50; Kilian 1981: 50; Lurz 1994, 128-129; Weihartner 2007: 346). Strangely, to our knowledge, an interpretation as a monkey has never been proposed, which may be due to the fact that the color of the figure does not seem to conform with the convention to depict monkeys as blue.

When Rodenwaldt published the fragment, images of monkeys had not yet been recognized in Aegean fresco painting, since the “safron gatherer” in Knossos was still regarded as a human image. This explains why Rodenwaldt did not even consider identifying the figure as a monkey. Unknown at the time of the publication was of course also the fresco in Xeste 3 of Akrotiri. The latter fresco now opens up new perspectives for interpreting the fragment from Tiryns, and it bolsters Rodenwaldt’s assumption of a cultic context for the scene. We suggest an identification of the figure as that of a monkey and of the rectangular device in front of it as the lowest step of a throne platform on which a deity should be reconstructed. The monkey turns towards the deity and presents something, which was taken out of the container behind him (cf. Marinatos 1987: Figs. 3-4).

The chronological position of the fresco fragment is uncertain. It was found during early excavations on the Upper Citadel to the northeast of the former Byzantine church in an area where earth from Schliemann’s excavation had been dumped and where no plaster floors which could have contributed to a closer chronological assignment were preserved (Rodenwaldt 1912: 3). Accordingly, Rodenwaldt’s attribution of the fragment to the “earlier palace” was based solely on stylistic arguments, and it has to be regarded as uncertain. The fragment could just as well date to the Early as to the Late Palatial Period, i.e. LH IIIA or IIIB. In any case, the fresco is much later than the depictions of monkeys of the New Palatial period and this may account for a change of the convention to show monkeys in a blue color.

We hold that the aforementioned fresco fragment and possibly also the new evidence of the rhyton underline the need to reassess the religious significance of the monkey in the Mycenaean Palatial Period. It seems to us that, in contrast to the current consensus among researchers, the linkage of this animal to deities may have outlasted the Neo-palatial Period on Crete and survived into the time of the Mycenaean palaces. Possibly, depictions of monkeys belonged to the religiously connoted images which, like the taureador scenes, reached the Mycenaean Mainland from Crete only at the time of the construction of the first Megaron palaces in the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The latter phenomenon is interpreted as the result of a ritual transfer triggered by a



radical shift in the political relation between Knossos and Mainland palaces (Maran and Stavrianopoulou 2007: 291).

*Cultural and Political Context of the appearance of animal-headed faience cups in Tiryns*

Recently, Marian H. Feldman (2006) has dealt with groups of luxury goods dating to the period between 1400 and 1200 BCE. Common to these goods is the fact that they appear in different zones of the East Mediterranean, and they show a lack of specific cultural affiliation. For this reason it seems often impossible to decide where the objects originated. Feldman makes the convincing suggestion that the cultural ambiguity of the goods of the “international style” was intentionally chosen to make them suited as gifts in exchange networks linking rulers of different cultural background (Feldman 2006: 1-22, 59-68; also Liverani 1979; 1990: 205-282; Peltenburg 1991: 166-170; Cochavi-Rainey 1999). Although head-shaped faience vessels have not been included by Feldman in the range of objects discussed, Sharon Zuckerman (2008: 120) persuasively pleads for their attribution to the group of “international” luxury goods (see also Peltenburg 1991: 170).<sup>23</sup> Indeed, neither such head-shaped vessels cannot easily be ascribed morphologically or stylistically to a specific cultural area. This fact is the main reason for the uncertainty surrounding their place of manufacture. Zuckerman also proposes the hypothesis that faience head-shaped cups formed part of systems of royal gifts exchanged between lesser-ranked rulers of semi-independent Levantine kingdoms. The possibility that the elites of Mycenaean Greece participated in systems of gift relations linking rulers in different parts of the East Mediterranean is often excluded from consideration because of the distance separating Greece from the Near East and Egypt as well as the insufficient textual evidence for such relations. If, however, Ahhiyawa is to be identified as a Mycenaean kingdom, or rather a coalition of several such kingdoms, we would have to assume on the basis of Hittite texts that the king of Ahhiyawa participated in such political relations of gift-giving (Güterbock 1983: 135-136; Bryce 1989: 300, 304-305; Liverani 1990: 227). For this reason and also because of the strong archaeological indications suggesting the reality of such relations, we agree with those scholars who have argued that the Aegean in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE was firmly embedded in the political interactions between East Mediterranean rulers (Peltenburg 1991: 168-169; Feldman 2006: 8-9; Cline 2007: 199; Van De Mieroop 2007: 12-45).

The head-shaped faience vessels discussed here impressively exemplify how closely Palatial Late Bronze Age societies were interconnected and how these contacts led to mutual transformations. In order to understand this, we

<sup>23</sup> The comprehensive discussion of the find contexts of head-shaped faience vessels by Zuckerman (2008) clearly shows that they belonged to the realm of royal prestige goods.

have to come back to the above mentioned Aegean and Near Eastern habits of producing head-shaped vessels as cups or rhyta respectively, strands of tradition which at the time of the deposition of the Tirynthian vessels, around 1200 BCE, had already reached back more than half a millennium. In all likelihood, the two traditions of the production and usage of head-shaped vessels have arisen independently, based on the different needs of specific forms of ritual practices. However, in the course of the intensification of intercultural contacts between East and West these traditions became intertwined, and in the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE at the latest, head-shaped rhyta of the Aegean tradition were accepted and integrated by societies of the Northern Levant and on Cyprus (Koehl 2006: 345-349). The contexts of the occurrence of such vessels in the East underline a familiarity with the ritual usage of such vessels. While conical Aegean rhyta have demonstrably been emulated in the Near East and Egypt (Schaeffer 1966, 131-132; Figs. 8-11; E. J. Peltenburg in Karageorghis 1974: 116-126; Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: 123-125; Fig. 56; Pl. 41; Koehl 2000), it is disputed whether the same applies to head-shaped Mycenaean rhyta. Although it is argued by some that the vessels were specially produced in Mycenaean workshops for recipients in the Near East (Karageorghis 1965: 224-230), others regard their occurrences as oriental adaptations of Mycenaean forms (Dumas 1968: 386).<sup>24</sup> If this latter view were true, it would be very remarkable that the vessels were decorated seemingly without exception in a Mycenaean style. This would mean that, in spite of their local manufacture, they were intended to remain recognizable as inspired by an outside tradition.

On the other hand, so far as we know, there is no comparable evidence for an import or even emulation of Near Eastern head-shaped cups in the Aegean. At the time of their discovery, the fragments of faience head-shaped vessels from Tiryns were taken to represent the first examples of such Near Eastern cups in Greece. Only after restoration it became evident that the vessels had been modeled in the shape of rhyta. Thus, in spite of the undeniably close relationship of the newly discovered vessels to oriental parallels, the mere fact that they conform to an old Aegean tradition of ritual vessels clearly raises the question of their place of manufacture. The phenomenon of the production of Late Mycenaean Aegean vessel types in faience was already known since the discovery of the faience vessels from the "House of Shields" in Mycenae. As was demonstrated by Iphiyenia Tournavitou (1995: 243-244), this group of vessels has little in common with earlier examples of Aegean faience production. She agreed with Edgar Peltenburg (1991: 163-166), according to whom some of the vessels showed a close affinity to the "Kition Group" of faience vessels and were either imported from the East or made by foreign craftspeople in the Argolid. In weighing the likelihood of these two options, Peltenburg (1991: 169) concluded that the Mycenae ves-

<sup>24</sup> For an outline of the current state of the debate on that issue see Koehl 2006: 39-41, 345-349. Koehl does not decide which of the two views is correct.

sels had been manufactured by eastern specialists in Mycenaean workshops. Decisive for this assessment was the fact that the vessels are distinguished by peculiarities setting them apart from comparable vessels in the Near East and pointing to a familiarity with the tastes and customs of patrons in Mycenaean Greece. In light of the tight control exerted by palaces over luxury goods and those who manufactured them, Peltenburg spoke out against the notion of "freelance itinerant craftsmen." He assumed that the specialists had been sent to Greece in the framework of intra-state gift-giving relations (Peltenburg 1991: 169; but see Tournavitou 1995: 244).

Due to the close morphological and stylistic interrelations of the members of the group of head-shaped faience vessels from Tiryns, a production in the same workshop can almost be taken for granted. Regarding the place of manufacture we are confronted with the same two options already discussed by Peltenburg and Tournavitou. The first option is to interpret the vessels as a closed group produced on Cyprus or in the Levant and sent to the Argolid as a dynastic gift. In such a case we would have to assume that, in contrast to the usual Near Eastern practices, the vessels were shaped as rhyta, since the recipients of the gift were known to prefer this vessel form. The circumstances of discovery of the vessels in and around Building XI could be explained by referring to the possible function of this building situated at the northernmost tip of the Lower Citadel as a repository for valuable goods. The second option is to consider the vessels as products locally made in Tiryns by craftspeople familiar with the production of such demanding objects. This would be equivalent to assuming the presence of persons from Cyprus or the Levant, since the appearance of the Tirynthian vessels seems to be totally isolated in the context of what we know of Mycenaean skilled crafting of the late Palatial Period. According to this line of reasoning, in Building XI at least one of the steps in the production of faience vessels would have been carried out by foreign craftspeople.

Judging by the available evidence we conclude that the second option much more convincingly explains the particular combination of observations on the objects and the circumstances of their discovery. Two reasons in particular were decisive for linking the faience vessels with the presence of foreign specialists in the northern Lower Citadel. On the one hand, our analysis of the characteristics of the Tirynthian vessels led to results very similar to the ones reached by Peltenburg for the Mycenae group of faience vessels. As was shown, the head-shaped vessels from Tiryns form a fairly homogenous group of their own, which, despite its clear affinities to works of Cypro-Levantine faience production, is distinguished from the latter through certain traits of form and function.

On the other hand, the find context constitutes an important argument, inasmuch as the discussed fragments are conspicuously concentrated on Building XI and its surroundings, an architectural unit which is distinguished by both its character as a workshop and as a place of an extraordinary concentration of foreign objects. Unlike the "House of Shields," which, accord-

ing to Tournavitou, should be regarded as a multi-functional repository for luxury items (Tournavitou 1995: 288; Shelmerdine 1997: 394), it is certain that in Building XI different activities of skilled crafts were carried out. In Room 4/02 traces of the working of Lapis Lacedaemonius were observed (Maran 2008: 53) while in Room 78a clear indications of fine metallurgical activities came to light. Since neither kilns nor molds or raw materials needed for faience production were found,<sup>25</sup> there is nothing to suggest the primary production of the vessels in Building XI. In any case, the firing of faience objects can be assumed to have been carried out in the open air due to the fire hazard emanating from it.<sup>26</sup> Indisputable evidence for the working of vitreous materials in Tiryns has recently been brought forward by the identification of finished products and waste of a glass workshop among the old finds from the site stored in the National Museum in Athens (Burns 1999: 173-174; Panagiotaki et al. 2005). The exact location of this workshop is unknown, but probably it was situated somewhere on the Upper Citadel (Panagiotaki et al. 2005: 15).

While the steps involved in the primary production of faience vessels are unlikely to have been centered on Building XI, this may have been the place where such vessels received their “finish” after they had been fired. As Peltenburg has noted, in the Near East and in Egypt faience-workers and metallurgists often had to act in concert, since faience and glass vessels and other objects were sometimes trimmed by adding bronze or gold parts (Peltenburg 1987: 20). From this perspective, the association of fine gold foil and also small pieces of bronze/copper objects with a fireplace in Room 78a may gain a new meaning. Already Kilian (1984: 56) concluded that the gold foil must have been used to cover vessels, without specifying the material of which the vessels was made. We would go a step further in proposing that metal pieces were applied to the surface of faience vessels, and that these same vessels were furnished with inlays. The knob-shaped terracotta object with adhering gold foil and the mentioned bronze/copper implements found in Room 78a and 78b may have served as tools used in the context of embellishing faience vessels.<sup>27</sup> As far as we know, the Near Eastern head-shaped faience vessels do not show any inlays or applications of metal or of other materials. Robert W. Hamilton, however, has interpreted a stripe of yellow color decorating the rim of a human-headed faience cup

<sup>25</sup> For methods, tools and raw materials of faience making in Ancient Egypt see Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983: Appendix A; Nicholson 1998: 51-55.

<sup>26</sup> For the location of such kilns in Egypt see Nicholson 1998: 56-62. Because of the find of the imperforated glass spherule, Rahmstorf (2001: 314; 2008: 241) has posed the question as to whether or not the workshop in Room 78a may have produced glass, but there are no other indications for glass production in this room.

<sup>27</sup> Kilian 1984: 56 thought that the knob-shaped terracotta object served as a support for metal casting.

from Tel Abu Hawam as an emulation of applied gold foil,<sup>28</sup> and a similar yellow band adorns the rim of the ram-headed cup from Enkomi (J. L. Fitton in Aruz, Benzel, and Evans 2008: 341-344 No. 209). The view that the yellow stripes are meant to emulate gold embellishments is supported by actual gold foil trims on the lip and foot of Egyptian glass and faience vessels of the New Kingdom, which resemble the decoration on the vessel from Tell Abu Hawam (Lilyquist, Brill and Wypyski 1993: 9-10, 13-14; cover and Fig. 10; Friedman 1998: 118, 215 [No. 90]).<sup>29</sup> In addition, the practice of trimming faience vessels with gold foil is also attested in Proto-palatial Crete (Foster 1979: 60-61; Fig. 1; Pl. 1; Panagiotaki et al. 2004: 152; Fig. 8.2; Karetsou and Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2000: 99). Among the Tirynthian head-shaped faience vessels *Ia-c* provides indisputable evidence for such post-firing embellishments consisting of inlays to show the eyes. In this regard it has to be noted not only that the inlays of the vessel were missing, but also that neither the eye cavities nor the grooves incised to hold the inlays show with the naked eye any traces of an adhering material. Therefore, we think it is necessary to consider the possibility that the inlays have not fallen out, but had not yet been inserted at the time of the catastrophe. In such a case, the vessel would have to be regarded as an unfinished piece. Whether the imperforated and unshapely glass spherule found in Room 78a (see above) may even have served as such an inlay needs to be investigated.

Ultimately, what gives Building XI above all special relevance for the question of the presence of persons with ties to the Near East, are the concentrations of objects of Eastern derivation found in and around it, which even for a harbor site as Tiryns are unparalleled (Fig. 1). As already mentioned, among the finds from Room 78a were not only fragments of at least two wall brackets, but also the small fragment of a cylindrical ivory staff with one row of cuneiform signs. According to Chaim Cohen, that row of signs should be interpreted as a combination of numbers and one sign of the Ugaritic alphabet (Maran 2008: 52; Fig. 29; Cohen, Maran, and Vetters 2010). The object, which is interpreted as a tally stick, suggests the presence of persons in Building XI, who were able to read and understand the information recorded in cuneiform writing. It has to be emphasized that all these objects with Near Eastern affinities were found in the same one-meter square within Room 78a (Fig. 1)! In addition to Room 78a the find assemblage in the passageway represents a second striking case of a concentration of objects connected to Cyprus or the Levant in close proximity to Building XI.

On the basis of the extraordinary number of Cypro-Minoan signs on imported and local vessels from Tiryns, Nicole Hirschfeld (1996; 1999: 55-60; see also Cline 1994: 54) already inferred the presence of persons from

<sup>28</sup> Hamilton 1935: 65; Pl. 28. We are indebted to Sharon Zuckerman for drawing our attention to this passage.

<sup>29</sup> In Egypt there are also cases of figural gold foil embellishments applied to faience plaques: Verner 1984: 74.

Cyprus in the Lower Citadel. The inference is corroborated by the local production of wall brackets and their highly uneven distribution in late Palatial Tiryns, which, as Rahmstorf has demonstrated, is closely correlated with metallurgical installations. The correlation in question conforms to some of the find circumstances of comparable objects with likely religious significance on Cyprus (Rahmstorf 2001: 119-141; 2008: 110; Maran 2004a: 16). The findings of research results of Nava Panitz-Cohen (2006) point in the same direction. After scrutinizing the appearance of wall brackets in Israel, she concluded that they should be regarded as a purely Cypriote cultic object. She interprets the stylistic peculiarities of groups of wall brackets in Megiddo and Beth-Shean as signs of a local production reflecting the presence of members of the Cypriote “trading diaspora” or possibly Cypriote craftspeople (Panitz-Cohen 2006: 625-628).

If our interpretation is correct, Building XI was the seat of Cypriote or Levantine specialists in skilled crafting. These experts executed on behalf of the palace the last step in the production of luxurious faience vessels.<sup>30</sup> In following the cited opinion of Peltenburg we would like to propose the hypothesis that the foreign craftspeople had been sent to the Argolid as a royal gift in the context of relations with Cypriot or Levantine kings similar to the political networks described by Zuckerman (2008: 120-123). The exchange of specialists between Egyptian and Near Eastern kings is documented in a number of texts (Zaccagnini 1983: 250-252; Imparati 1999: 385-386). However, because of the highly incomplete nature of the textual sources we only get a selective glimpse in to the variety and frequency of such transactions. Recent investigations by Ann Brysbaert (2007a; 2007b; 2009: 147-195) provide archaeological and scientific support for the notion of a transfer of specialists for the execution of wall-paintings from the Aegean to the Near East. Joseph Maran (2004b), in turn, has explained the sudden appearance of corbelled vaults in 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE Argolid as a reflection of the presence of foreign engineers sent by the Hittite king to the king of Ahhiyawa (see also Wright 2006: 35-37).

### *Conclusions*

Our contribution is dedicated to a group of head-shaped faience vessels from Tiryns, which we regard as a particularly striking example of the close entanglement of societies in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE East Mediterranean. The vessels are distinguished by a curious blending of Aegean and Near Eastern traditions of the production and the usage of head-shaped ritual vessels. This merging of different strands of traditions is not only reflected in the way the vessels were used and in the material selected for their production, but

<sup>30</sup> As for the discussion of the possible presence of foreign craft specialists in Mycenaean Greece see Lambrou-Philippson 1990: 162-168; Tournavitou 1990: 414-418; Cline 1994: 50-53.



also extends to the astonishing fact that such ritual vessels were shaped in the image of the head of either a monkey or of a demon of Cypriote or Near Eastern type. In pursuing the possibility of an identification as a monkey's head we have used additional iconographic evidence from Tiryns to demonstrate that it would be too simple to restrict the religious significance of this animal to the context of the world views of the Near East and Egypt, while regarding the appearance of the animal in a late 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE context of the Mycenaean Argolid as a merely "exotic" phenomenon. On the contrary, it seems to us that the rhyta could have been given this shape because in the Mycenaean Palatial Period specific religious ideas were still associated with the monkey. In the Aegean, these ideas can be traced back to Crete, from where they were transferred in the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE to the Greek mainland as a result of an upheaval in the political relation between Mycenaean centers and Crete.

While for the monkey at least an iconographic tradition in the Late Bronze Aegean can be demonstrated, it would be even more extraordinary if the head-shaped faience vessels from Tiryns represent the face of a demon related to the Near Eastern "Humbaba" type, since images of such demons have hitherto not been found in Minoan or Mycenaean Greece. In light of the strong Cypriote and Near Eastern affinities of the find assemblage from Building XI the occurrence of such an example of oriental religious imagery remains a definite possibility. What it would signify that a rhyton, a ritual vessel of Aegean type, was manufactured in the image of a Near Eastern demon, we cannot say.

It is certain that the vessels discussed in the present article belong to a small group of exclusive products of a kind of skilled crafting closely associated with the palaces of Late Bronze Age kingdoms of the East Mediterranean. Regardless of where the vessels have been produced, they emphasize the likelihood that Mycenaean palaces belonged to systems of gift-giving, which connected them with the wider world of the East Mediterranean and especially with the kingdoms on Cyprus and in the Levant. Evidently, the strong ties to the East continued until the very end of the Mycenaean Palatial Period. This factor contradicts the often raised possibility of an interruption of the long-distance trade in the East Mediterranean already several decades before the end of LH IIIB2 (Maran 2009). At the very least, the vessels derive from a shipment of gifts stored in the northernmost part of the Lower Citadel. However, in our opinion it is more likely that the contents of the gift were not finished products but craftspeople, and that this group of persons worked in Building XI. If our interpretation is correct, one of the activities carried out by the artisans was to embellish faience vessels with inlays and applications. Perhaps these vessels were produced by the same group of specialists in another area of Tiryns. The foreign specialists manufactured the vessels in the image of a monkey or of a demon, creatures with which they probably associated religious connotations of their own, which differed from the views held by the members of the Mycenaean elite for whom the vessels



were manufactured. When catastrophe struck at the very end of the Palatial Period, the work of these artisans came to an abrupt end, and it was never taken up again.

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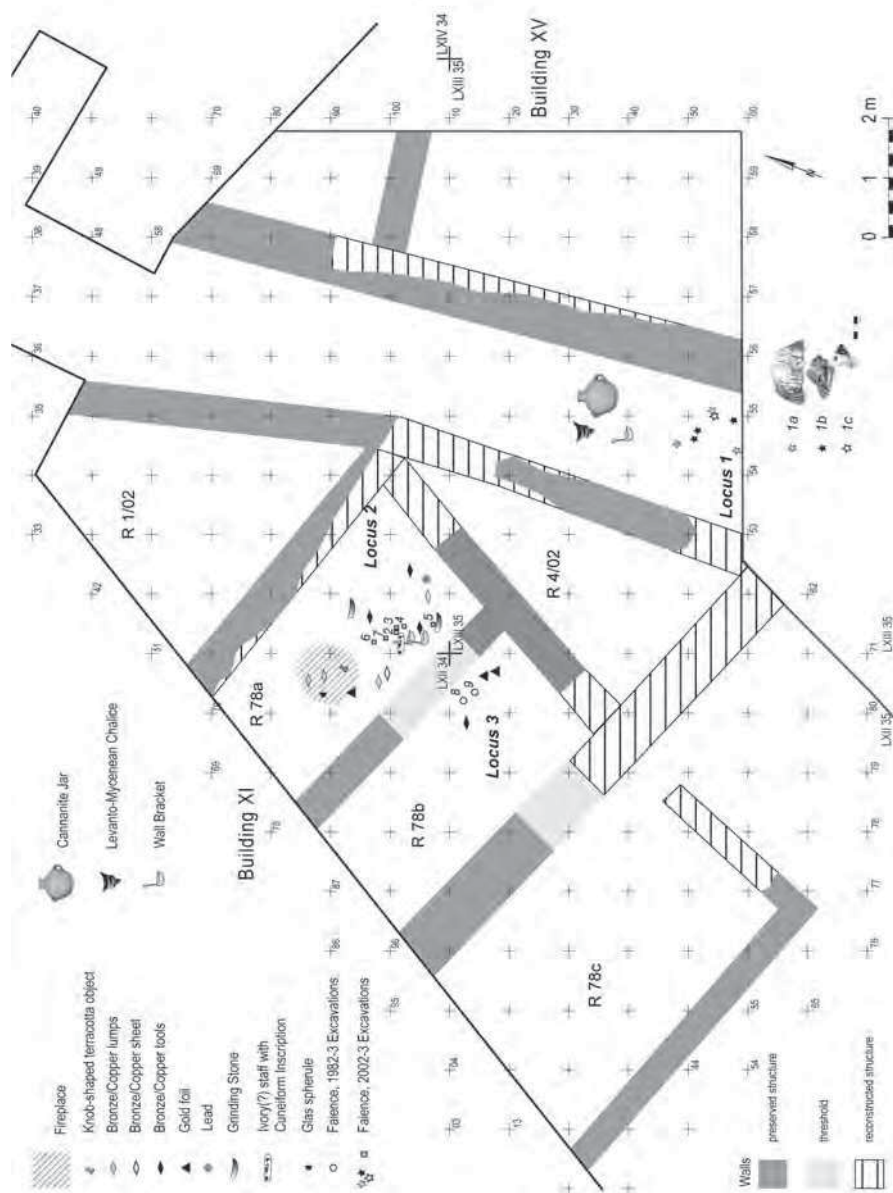


Fig. 1: Tiryns, Lower Citadel. Distribution of objects in Locus 1 in the passage-way to the North Gate and Loci 2-3 in Rooms 78a and 78b (LH IIIB Final). Scale: 1:125.



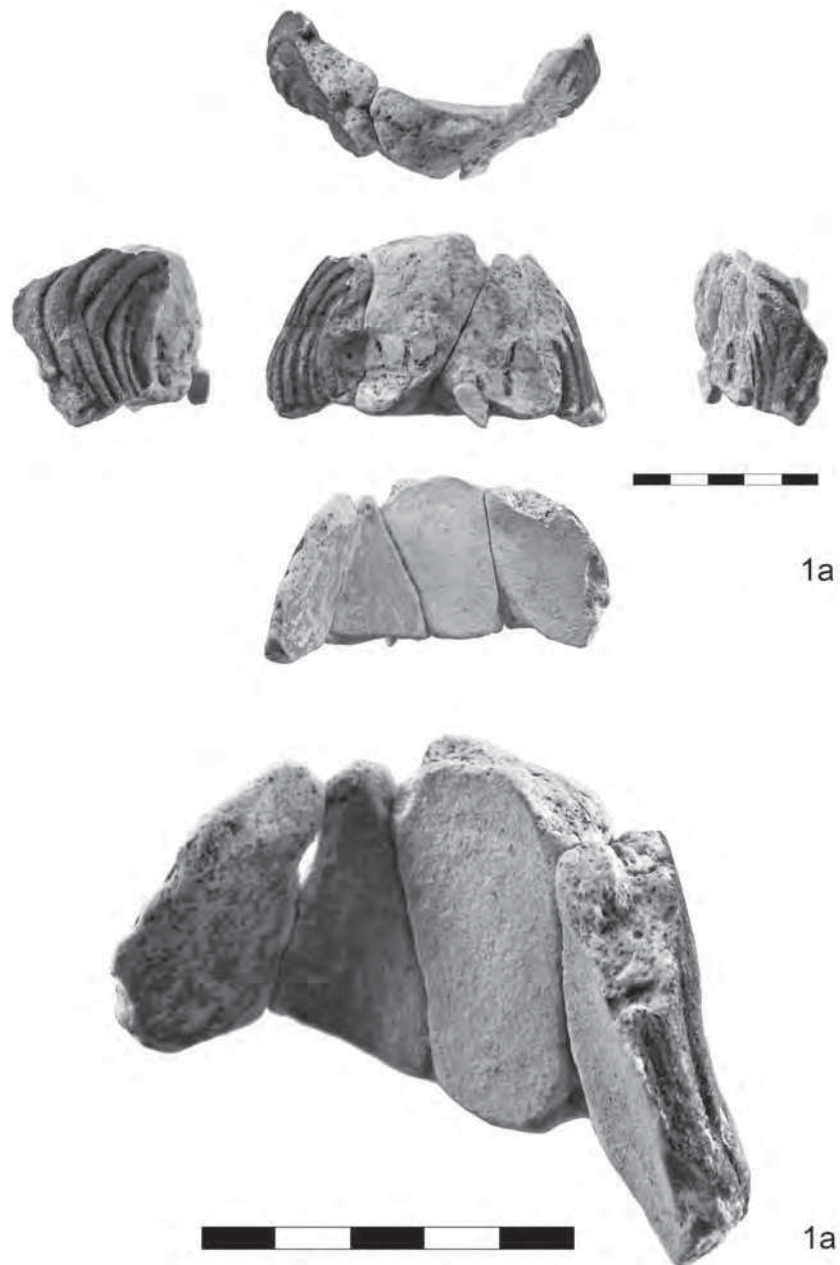


Fig. 2: Tiryns, Lower Citadel, Passageway to North Gate (Locus 1). Upper part: Different views of fragment 1a; Lower part: Close-up of interior of fragment 1a. Scale: 1:2 (upper part) and 1:1 (lower part).

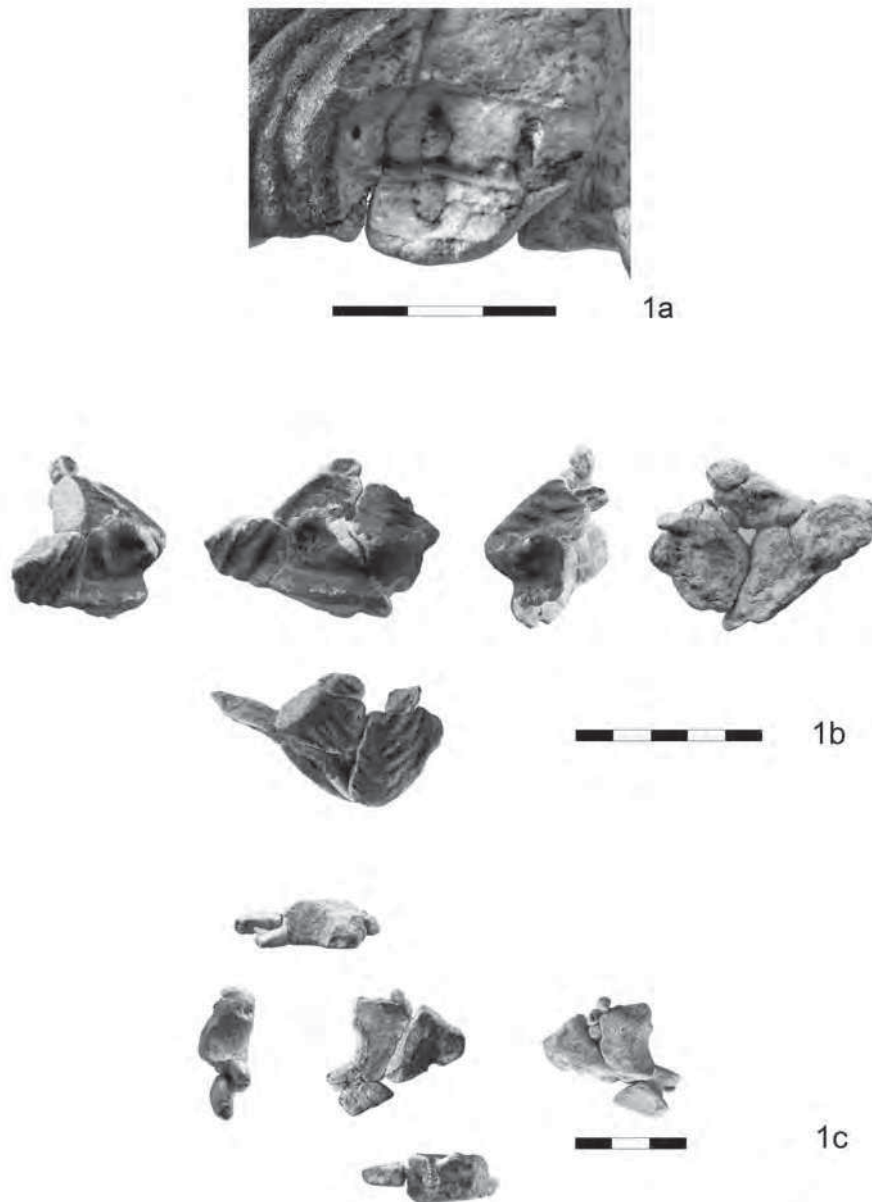


Fig. 3: Tiryne, Lower Citadel, Passageway to North Gate (Locus 1). Upper part: Close-up of left eye cavity of fragment 1a; Middle and Lower part: fragments 1b-c. Scale: 1:1 (upper part) and 1:2 (middle and lower part).

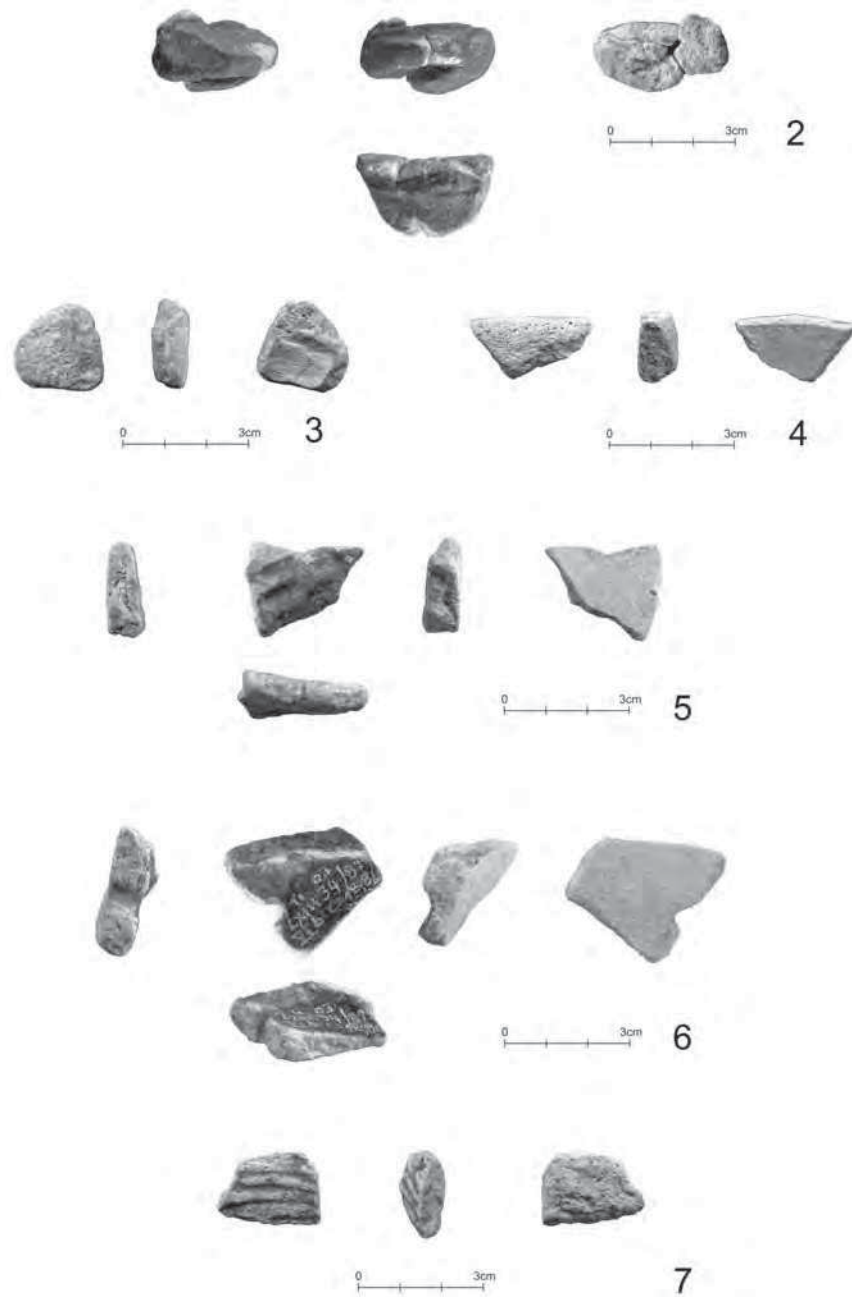


Fig. 4: Tiryns, Lower Citadel, Building XI, Room 78a (Locus 2). Different views of fragments 2-7. Scale 1:2.

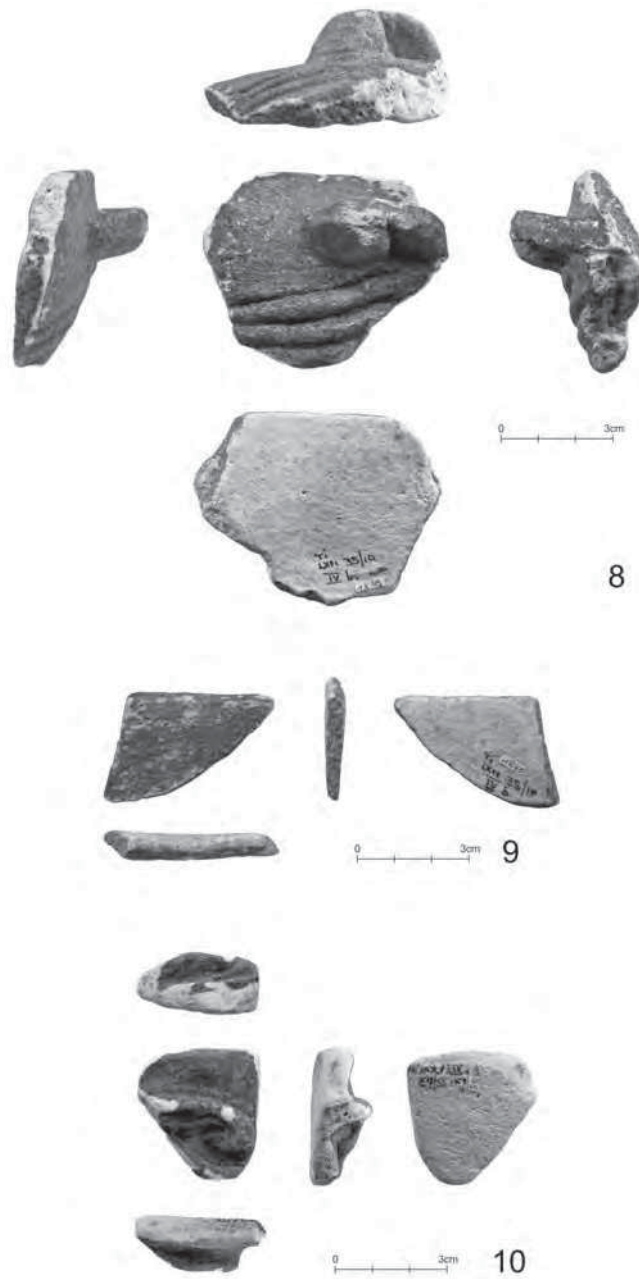


Fig. 5: Tiryns, Lower Citadel, Building XI, Room 78b (Locus 3; 8-9) and Chamber 14 of Western Fortification Wall (Locus 4;10). Different views of fragments 8-10. Scale 1:2.

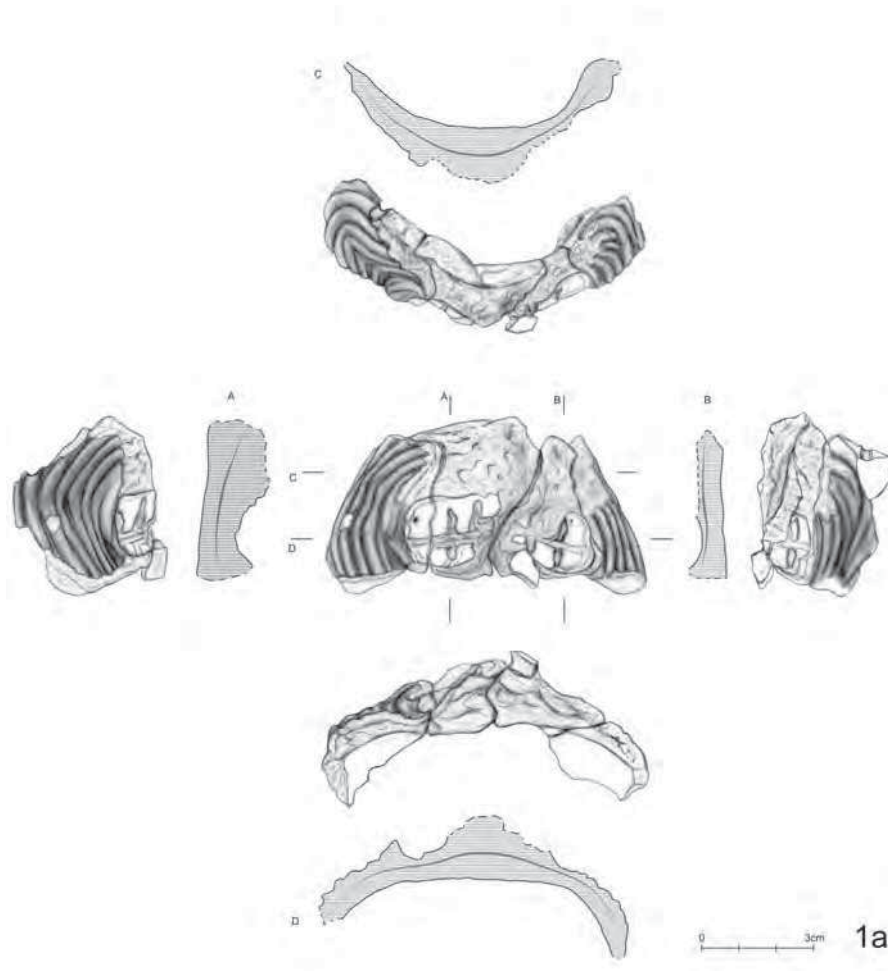


Fig. 6: Tiryns, Lower Citadel, Passageway to North Gate (Locus 1). Different views of fragment 1a. Scale 1:2.

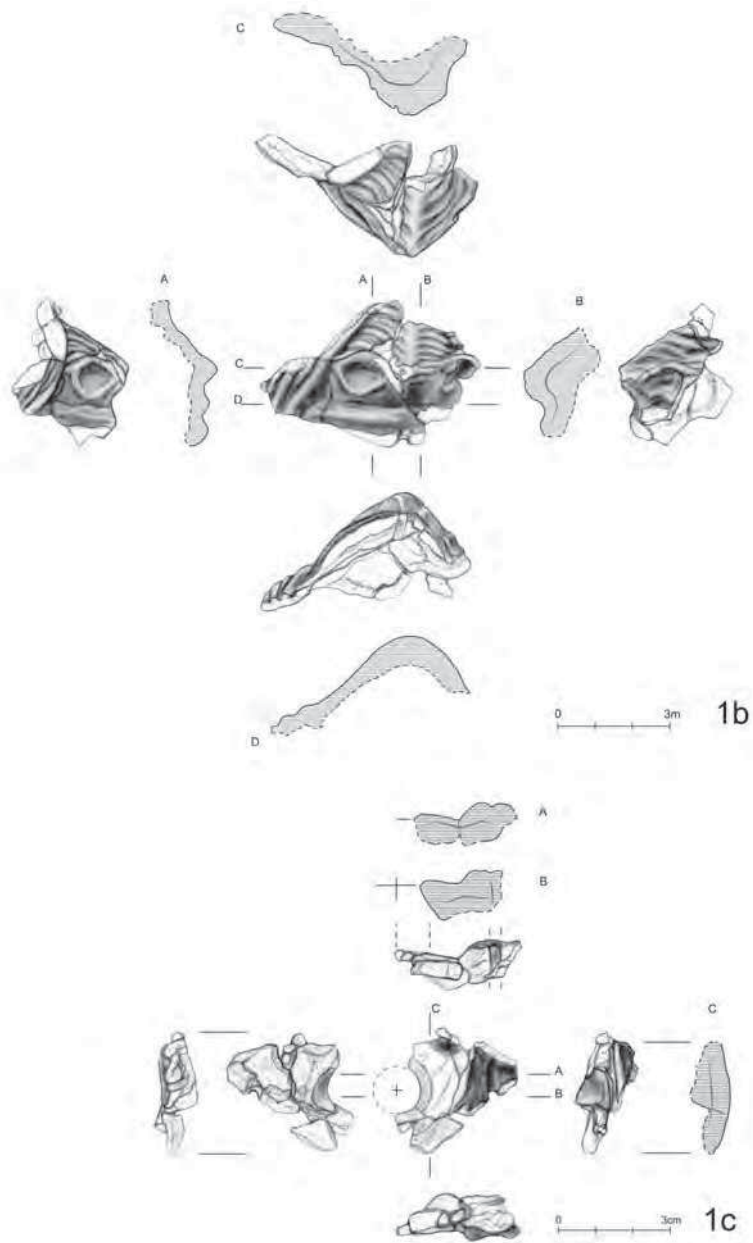


Fig. 7: Tiryns, Lower Citadel, Passageway to North Gate (Locus 1). Different views of fragments 1b-c. Scale 1:2.

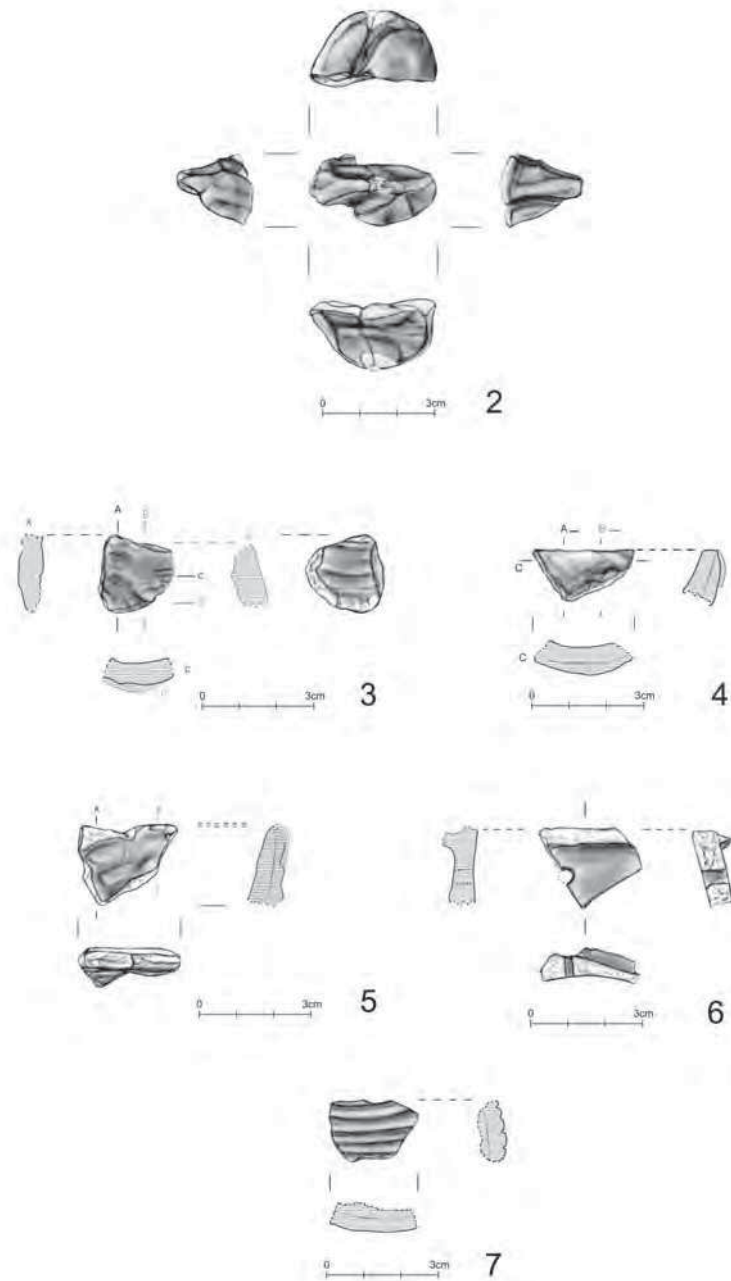


Fig. 8: Tiryns, Lower Citadel, Building XI, Room 78a (Locus 2). Different views of fragments 2-7. Scale 1:2.



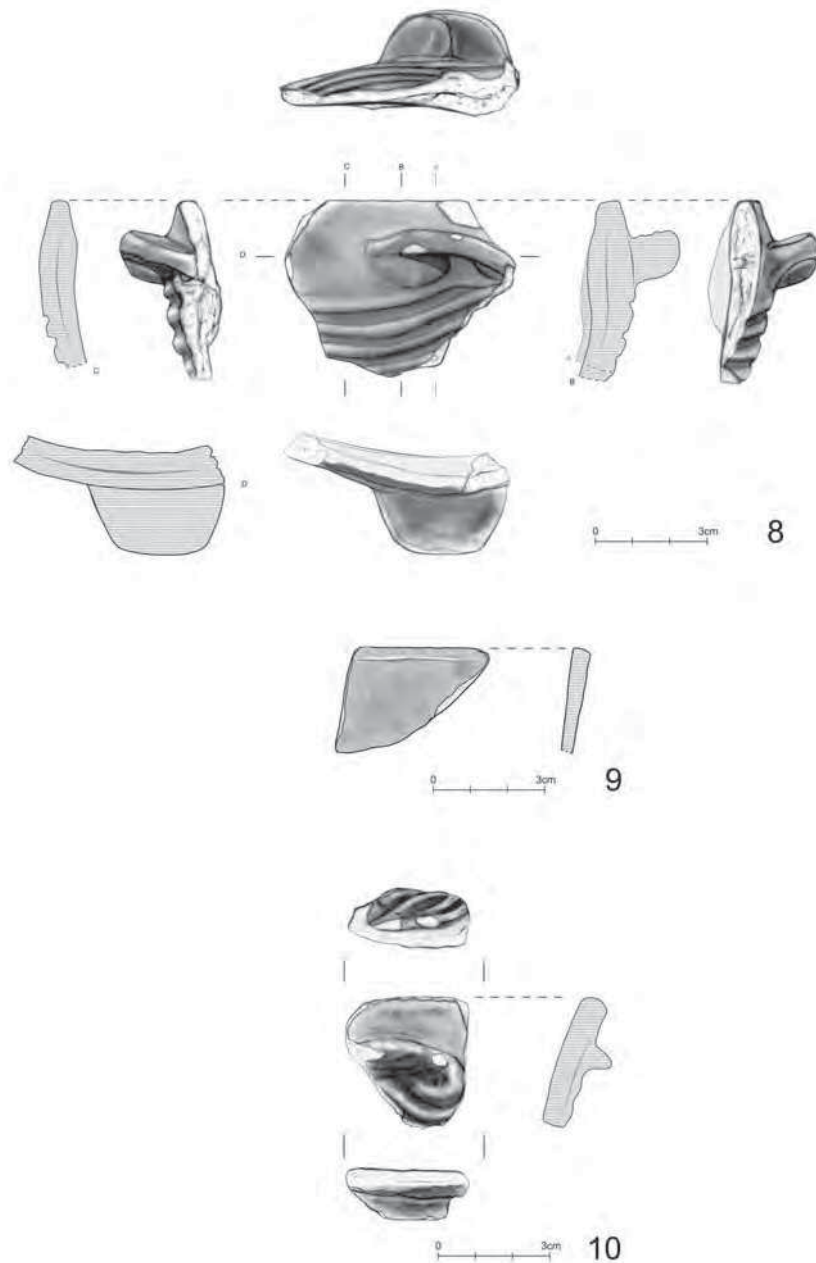


Fig. 9: Tiryns, Lower Citadel, Building XI, Room 78b (Locus 3; 8-9) and Chamber 14 of Western Fortification Wall (Locus 4;10). Different views of fragments 8-10. Scale 1:2.

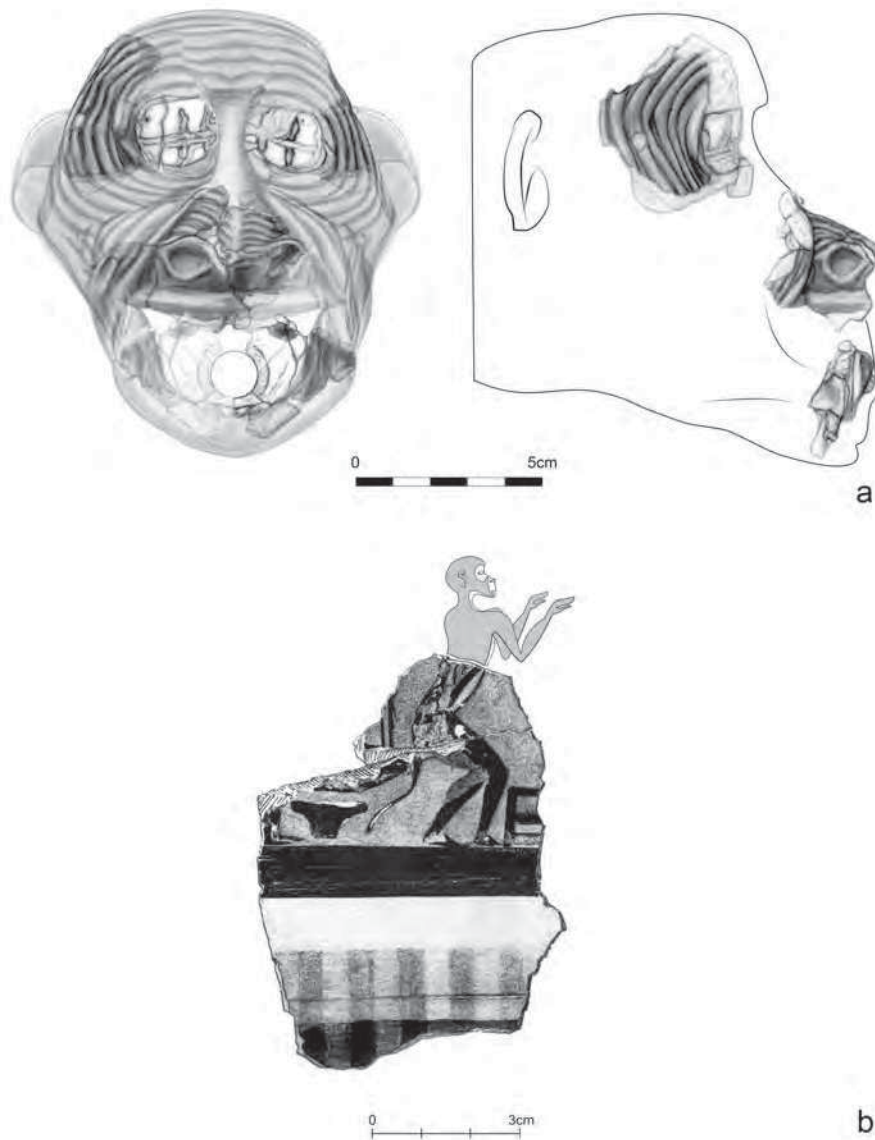


Fig. 10: Tiryns. Upper Part (a): Reconstruction of monkey-headed faience vessel from Locus 1 (1a-c); Lower Part (b): Fresco fragment from the Upper Citadel probably depicting a monkey (after Rodenwaldt 1912: Pl. II:7). Scale: 1:2 (upper part) and 2:3 (lower part).

## Archaeologically Invisible Burials in Late Second Temple Period Judea

Jodi Magness<sup>1</sup>

“Most archaeologists take it for granted that a large proportion of the dead of many ancient societies will have received ‘invisible’ disposal. ...the serious effects of archaeologically invisible disposal are now widely recognized.”<sup>2</sup>

In the late Second Temple period the upper classes of Jerusalem and Jericho buried their dead in rock-cut family tombs that were used over the course of several generations. When a family member died the body was wrapped in a shroud and placed in a loculus. When the loculi became filled, space was made for new burials by clearing out the earlier remains and placing them in a pit or on the floor of the tomb. In the middle of Herod’s reign small bone boxes called ossuaries were introduced into rock-cut tombs as containers for the remains cleared out of loculi.<sup>3</sup> Because even modest rock-cut tombs were costly, only the more affluent members of Jewish society could afford them.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It is a pleasure to honor Eliezer Oren, a mentor and distinguished colleague with whom I first became acquainted some 35 years ago as a student volunteer on excavations in the Sinai, and whose important contributions include a monograph on the northern cemetery of Beth Shan.

<sup>2</sup> Ian Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society, The Rise of the Greek City-State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1987), 105.

<sup>3</sup> See Jodi Magness, “Ossuaries and the Burials of Jesus and James,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 124.1 (2005) 121–154.

<sup>4</sup> For example, Jon Davies, *Death, Burial and Rebirth in the Religions of Antiquity* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 82, discussing a rock-cut tomb of the late Second Temple period in Jerusalem, noted that, “the cost of constructing the grave [tomb] itself indicated wealthy ownership.” Joseph Zias, “A Rock-Cut Tomb in Jerusalem,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 245 (1982) 54, observes in his discussion of a tomb of the late Second Temple period which was poor in finds that, “the family was apparently wealthy enough to afford a rock-hewn tomb.” Regarding the Akeldama tombs, Joseph Zias, “Anthropological Analysis of Human Skeletal Remains,” in: G. Avni and Z. Greenhut (eds.), *The Akeldama Tombs, Three Burial Caves in the Kidron Valley, Jerusalem* (IAA Reports, No. 1), Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority), 118, remarked on “the relative wealth of the families buried here, manifested by tomb architecture and the ossuaries...” Martin D. Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea, The Origins of the Jewish Revolt against*

The association of rock-cut tombs with the upper classes is indicated by several factors. First, rock-cut tombs are concentrated in areas of elite presence, primarily around Jerusalem and Jericho, with scattered examples elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> Second, rock-cut tombs are attested in Jerusalem only in the late First Temple period and late Second Temple period, that is, only when there was an autonomous Jewish elite in the city.<sup>6</sup> The flourishing of the necropolis at Beth She'arim is connected with the displacement and relocation of the Judean elite to Lower Galilee after 70 CE.<sup>7</sup>

The fact that rock-cut tombs accommodated only a small proportion of the population (probably no more than 20 percent) can be demonstrated on the basis of numbers and distribution. Approximately 900 rock-cut tombs of the late first century BCE to the first century CE are known from Jerusalem.<sup>8</sup> Eyal Regev has calculated that no more than five to seven people per

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*Rome A.D. 66–70* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1987), 69, assumes that rock-cut tombs were expensive.

<sup>5</sup> For the Jericho cemetery see Rachel Hachlili and Ann E. Killebrew, *Jericho, The Jewish Cemetery of the Second Temple Period* [IAA Reports No. 7] (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1999); Rachel Hachlili and Ann Killebrew, "Jewish Funerary Customs during the Second Temple Period in the Light of the Excavations at the Jericho Necropolis," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 115 (1983) 109–32; Rachel Hachlili, "The Goliath Family in Jericho: Funerary Inscriptions from a First Century A.D. Jewish Monumental Tomb," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 235 (1979) 31–65. For rock-cut tombs with loculi in the vicinity of the Jewish village at Qiryat Sefer (north of Modi'in see Yitzhak Magen, Yoav Tzionit, and Orna Sirkis, "Khirbet Badd 'Isa – Qiryat Sefer," in *The Land of Benjamin* (Y. Magen et al.; Jerusalem: Staff Officer of Archaeology – Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria, 2004), 179, 206. Andrea M. Berlin, "Jewish Life before the Revolt: The Archaeological Evidence," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 36.4 (2005) 464–65, remarks on the absence of "display tombs" and ossuaries from Galilee before 70 CE.

<sup>6</sup> As Yitzhak Magen, "Qalandiya – A Second Temple-period Viticulture and Wine-manufacturing Agricultural Settlement," in *The Land of Benjamin* (Y. Magen et al.; Jerusalem: Staff Officer of Archaeology – Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria, 2004), 82, wonders: "Where were the Jews and Samaritans buried from the time of the Babylonian Exile to the Hasmonean period?" (He suggests that they reused tombs of the First Temple period).

<sup>7</sup> Rock-cut tombs and ossuaries dating to after 70 CE are found at other Galilean and Golan sites including Dabburiyya, Gush Halav, Ibillin, Kafr Kanna, and Nazareth; see Berlin, "Jewish Life before the Revolt," 464; Mordechai Aviam, *Jews, Pagans and Christians in the Galilee, 25 Years of Archaeological Excavations and Surveys, Hellenistic to Byzantine Periods* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester, 2004), 257–311 ("Regionalism of Tombs and Burial Customs in the Galilee During the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods").

<sup>8</sup> See Amos Kloner and Boaz Zissu, *The Necropolis of Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 11, 28–30; another 100 rock-cut tombs are located in a more distant strip within a radius of 3.5–5 km from the city and belonged to settlements in Jerusalem's "Hinterland." For examples of the latter see Jon Seligman, "Jerusalem, Khirbat Ka'kul (Pisgat Ze'ev H): Early Roman Farmsteads and a Medieval Village," *'Atiqot* 54 (2006) 55–59, which Seligman notes are the simplest type of rock-cut tomb. For rock-cut tombs associated with the farm house at Qalandiya (8 km northwest of Jerusalem), see

generation were buried in most of these tombs.<sup>9</sup> If we take the maximum possible estimate (three generations of seven people each buried in all of these tombs), the number of burials (over the course of a century) would total 18,900.<sup>10</sup> During this period Jerusalem's population at any given time was at least 60,000, and perhaps much larger.<sup>11</sup> Even if we double, triple, or quadruple the number of rock-cut tombs, they would still fall far short of accommodating the majority of Jerusalem's population. The concentration of rock-cut tombs around Jerusalem (with smaller numbers in Jericho and scattered examples elsewhere) reflects the concentration of wealth, and it attests to their connection with the Jerusalem elite. If rock-cut tombs were used also by members of the lower classes (as some scholars claim), they should be widespread throughout Judea and Galilee and not limited to the late First Temple and late Second Temple periods.<sup>12</sup> The association of rock-cut tombs and ossuaries with the elite is borne out by inscriptions, some of which name these elite families. Jonathan Price has noted that no ossuary inscriptions refer to the deceased having lower class or lower-middle class occupations such as bakers or fullers.<sup>13</sup>

Ian Morris's observation about ancient Athenian burials (above) is relevant also to late Second Temple period Palestine, where archaeologists have focused on rock-cut tombs to the exclusion of other burial types because of their visibility of the former in the landscape: "If graves of one period are easier to identify because of surface indications or are more desirable

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Magen, "Qalandiya," 74–80. At the Princeton Theological Seminary's "Symposium on Afterlife and Burial Practices in Second Temple Judaism," held in Jerusalem on January 16–18, 2008, Amos Kloner distributed a handout stating that 850 rock-cut tombs of the Second Temple period have been discovered in the Jerusalem necropolis, over 70 percent of which have loculi, and with a statistical average of 24 burials per tomb.

<sup>9</sup> Regev Eyal, "Family Structure in Jerusalem during the Herodian Period based on the Archaeological Findings of Burial Caves," in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies, Volume 12* (ed. Y. Eshel; Ariel: The Research Institute, The College of Judea and Samaria, 2003), 97–116 (in Hebrew). This observation was first made by Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea*, 68–69, who connected the relatively small number of burial spaces in rock-cut tombs with the break-up of extended families into nuclear units.

<sup>10</sup> This estimate is inflated, as not only would each tomb not have held the maximum number of possible burials but also many tombs were in use for less than a century.

<sup>11</sup> Lee I. Levine, *Jerusalem, Portrait of the City in the Second Temple Period (538 BCE – 70 CE)* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2002), 340–43. E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE – 66 CE* (London: SCM, 1992), 136–38, gives a figure of 300,000 in Jerusalem during the Passover festival, when many pilgrims stayed for the entire two-week period.

<sup>12</sup> Until now no rock-cut tombs or ossuaries that can be firmly dated before 70 CE have been found in Galilee. It is not clear whether this is because they were introduced to Galilee only after 70 by the displaced Judean elite or because they were in continuous use from the first century on; see Zeev Weiss, "Jewish Galilee in the First Century CE: An Archaeological View," in *Flavius Josephus, Vita: Introduction, Hebrew Translation, and Commentary* (D. R. Schwartz; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2007), 50–52 (in Hebrew).

<sup>13</sup> Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, 3–6 January 2008, Chicago, IL.

because of their grave goods, they may tend to be over-represented in the archaeological record.”<sup>14</sup> The numbers, chronology, and distribution of rock-cut tombs indicate that the majority of the ancient Jewish population must have been disposed of in a manner that left few traces in the archaeological landscape, as is true of other ancient societies in the Mediterranean world.<sup>15</sup> Many Jews apparently buried their dead in individual trench graves dug into the ground, analogous to the way we bury our dead today. In the Iron Age kingdoms of Israel and Judah, non-elite burials consisted of individual inhumations in simple cist graves.<sup>16</sup> This custom continued through the Second Temple period, when some individuals were buried in trench graves. The body, wrapped in a shroud and sometimes placed in a wooden coffin, was laid at the base of the trench. The burial was sealed off with stone slabs or mud bricks and the trench was filled in with dirt.<sup>17</sup> A crude headstone was erected at one end to mark the grave. The necropolis at Beth Shearim attests to a diversity of burial customs used by the Jewish population. These customs included interment in arcosolia, loculi, or in stone, lead, terracotta, or wood sarcophagi inside the catacombs. Sometimes there was secondary collection of bones in pits or ossuaries. Burial outside the catacombs encompassed the use of burials in trench graves, cist graves, shaft graves, and even a mausoleum.<sup>18</sup>

At Princeton Theological Seminary’s “Symposium on Afterlife and Burial Practices in Second Temple Judaism,” held in Jerusalem on January

<sup>14</sup> Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society*, 103.

<sup>15</sup> See Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society*, 105, who comments on p. 109, “There is certainly little incontrovertible evidence for archaeologically invisible burial, particularly from Attica; but then it is never easy to find positive evidence for a negative argument.”

<sup>16</sup> Norma Franklin, “The Tombs of the Kings of Israel, Two Recently Identified 9<sup>th</sup> Century Tombs from Omride Samaria,” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 119.1 (2003) 1. I thank Franklin for giving me an offprint of this article.

<sup>17</sup> Berlin, “Jewish Life before the Revolt,” 463, sets up a straw man when she says that “these shafts cannot be dismissed as poor, casual burials, a simple covering of a body with earth. The excavation of each [shaft] tomb to a depth greater than the height of an average man would have taken some time and effort.” Neither I nor anyone else that I know of has suggested that shaft graves were casual burials consisting of a simple covering of the body with earth. This still does not change the fact that the effort and expense involved in hewing a rock-cut tomb was much greater than digging a shaft grave and therefore involved significant financial investment.

<sup>18</sup> See Benjamin Mazar, *Beth She’arim, Report on the Excavations during 1936–1940, Volume I: Catacombs 1–4* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University, 1973); Nahman Avigad, *Beth She’arim, Volume III: The Excavations 1953–1958* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University, 1976) (see pp. 125–30 for the burials outside the catacombs). Also see Aviam, *Jews, Pagans and Christians in the Galilee*, 257–311 (“Regionalism of Tombs and Burial Customs in the Galilee During the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods”), who notes elements of regionalism in tomb types. A diversity of burial customs characterized ancient Rome as well; see John R. Patterson, “Living and Dying in the City of Rome: houses and tombs,” in *Ancient Rome, The Archaeology of the Eternal City* (eds. J. Coulston and H. Dodge; Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2000), 264–70.



16–18, 2008, Amos Kloner claimed that trench graves and other field burials “consumed more area and resources than family tombs; i.e., it was *more expensive* [my emphasis] for families to use this type of burial than the hewn family tombs.”<sup>19</sup> However, in a paper presented at the same conference, Shimon Gibson estimated that at least 50 days of work were required to hew a rock-cut tomb, which means that a family would have needed considerable disposable income to pay for it. Amos Kloner and Boaz Zissu note that rock-cut tombs were hewn by “experienced professionals,” and they acknowledge that digging a trench grave required less effort than hewing a *loculus*.<sup>20</sup> It is difficult to see how a trench grave, which presumably could be dug by one or two unskilled individuals in less than a day, could be more expensive than even a small rock-cut tomb. Furthermore, availability of space would not have been a factor outside the city walls.

Because trench graves are poor in finds and are much less conspicuous and more susceptible to destruction than rock-cut tombs, relatively few examples are recorded.<sup>21</sup> The best-known cemetery of this type is found at Qumran. That cemetery is preserved and visible because it is in the desert, and it was never built over, covered up, or plowed.<sup>22</sup> Other graves of this type have been found at Ein el-Ghuweir and in Jerusalem, where they have been identified as Essene burials.<sup>23</sup> Although it is possible that some or all of

<sup>19</sup> Quote from a handout that Kloner distributed at the conference.

<sup>20</sup> Kloner and Zissu, *The Necropolis of Jerusalem*, 19, 98.

<sup>21</sup> See Joseph Patrich, “Graves and Burial Practices in Talmudic Sources,” in *Graves and Burial Practices in Israel in the Ancient Period* (ed. I. Singer; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1994), 191–92 (in Hebrew); Kloner and Zissu, *The Necropolis of Jerusalem*, 95–97. For cist graves (“box burials”) at Pisgat Ze’ev just north of Jerusalem see Seligman, “Jerusalem, Khirbat Ka’kul (Pisgat Ze’ev H),” 58–59. At Princeton Theological Seminary’s “Symposium on Afterlife and Burial Practices in Second Temple Judaism,” held in Jerusalem on January 16–18, 2008, Kloner reported finding 83 “shaft and field burials” of the Second Temple period in his survey of Jerusalem. In Rome the poor were buried in simple holes dug into the ground; see Davies, *Death, Burial and Rebirth in the Religions of Antiquity*, 148. The corpses of paupers and criminals were disposed of in mass graves; see John Bodel, “Graveyards and Groves, A Study of the *Lex Lucerina*,” *American Journal of Ancient History* 11 (1994) 38.

<sup>22</sup> See Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 168–75, with bibliography on 186–87; Patrich, “Graves and Burial Practices in Talmudic Sources,” 192.

<sup>23</sup> See Pesach Bar-Adon, “Another Settlement of the Judean Desert Sect at ‘En el-Ghuweir on the Shores of the Dead Sea,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 227 (1977) 12–17; Patrich, “Graves and Burial Practices in Talmudic Sources,” 192 n. 10; Boaz Zissu, “‘Qumran Type’ Graves in Jerusalem: Archaeological Evidence of an Essene Community?” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 5 (1998) 158–71; Boaz Zissu, “Odd Tomb Out: Has Jerusalem’s Essene Cemetery Been Found?” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 25.2 (1999) 50–55, 62; Kloner and Zissu, *The Necropolis of Jerusalem*, 95–97. For another cemetery of this type in the Judean desert see Hanan Eshel and Zvi Greenhut, “Hiam el-Sagha, A Cemetery of the Qumran Type, Judean Desert,” *Revue Biblique* 100 (1993) 252–59. Bar-Adon, “Another Settlement of the Judean Desert Sect,” 12, mentions large headstones at the southern end of each grave at ‘En el-Ghuweir but does not describe the heaps of stones



those buried in these cemeteries were Essenes, there is no archaeological evidence to support this assumption. Unlike Qumran, the graves in Jerusalem and at Ein el-Ghuweir are not associated with identifiable remains of Essene settlements, and they contain proportionate numbers of men, women, and children.<sup>24</sup> In fact, the presence of thousands of graves of this type in the first and second century CE Nabatean cemetery at Khirbet Qazone demonstrates that they are not associated only with Essenes.<sup>25</sup> Some of the headstones at Khirbet Qazone are engraved with symbols of Nabatean deities.<sup>26</sup>

Rabbinic literature refers to burial in trench graves without any indication that it was considered shameful or less proper than interment in rock-cut tombs. The Mishnah's tractate Ohalot and the Tosefta's tractate Ahilot repeatedly describe burials in soil that are trench graves:<sup>27</sup>

A man who finds a corpse lying in usual fashion, in the first instance – removes it and the soil around it. [If] one found two, he removes them and their soil. [If] one found three, if there are four cubits between this and that one, and up to eight, about enough space for the bier and its bearers – lo, this is a graveyard (m. Ohalot 16:3; also see m. Nazir 9:3).

He who ploughs up the grave – lo, he makes [the field into] a grave area... R. Yosé says, "[The entire rule of the grave area applies only] where the ground slopes downward, not where it slopes upward" (m. Ohalot 17:1).

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characteristic of Qumran. He also notes that large stones mark both ends (north and south) of each grave at Qumran.

<sup>24</sup> See Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran*, 220–23; Patrich, "Graves and Burial Practices in Talmudic Sources," 192 n. 10. Despite the small size of the sample at Qumran, the random distribution of the excavated graves suggests that male burials predominate, with only a handful of women attested. The complete absence of children seems to be meaningful as children are represented elsewhere in trench graves and rock-cut tombs around Judea and in light of the high rate of infant and child mortality. As Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society*, 62, notes, "Nowhere in the world was a consistent mortality rate below one hundred per thousand even for infants (0–1 year) alone achieved until about 1900 AD."

<sup>25</sup> See Hershel Shanks, "Who Lies Here? Jordan Tombs Match Those at Qumran," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 25.5 (1999) 48–53, 76; Konstantinos D. Politis, "The Nabataean Cemetery at Khirbet Qazone" *Near Eastern Archaeology* 62:2 (1999) 128.

<sup>26</sup> Shanks, "Who Lies Here?" 51.

<sup>27</sup> See Kloner and Zissu, *The Necropolis of Jerusalem*, 97–99. All translations of the Mishnah and Tosefta cited here are from Jacob Neusner, *The Mishnah, A New Translation* (New Haven: Yale, 1988); Jacob Neusner, *The Tosefta, Translated from the Hebrew with a New Introduction* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002). Zeev Weiss, "The Location of Jewish Cemeteries in Galilee in the Period of the Mishnah and Talmud," in *Tombs and Burial Customs in Eretz-Israel in Antiquity* (ed. I. Singer; Jerusalem: Yad Itzhak Ben-Zvi, 1994), 231 (in Hebrew), notes that in rabbinic literature and inscriptions the word קבר can refer both to a rock-cut tomb (or burial cave) and to an individual grave or burial place, and that the analogous Greek terms have similar double meanings.

Said R. Judah, M'SH B: One was ploughing and shook the plough, and it came out that a [whole] skull of a corpse was cleaving to the plough, and they declared him unclean because he overshadowed the corpse (t. Ahilot 15:13).

Two passages appear to distinguish between trench graves and rock-cut tombs:

There are three kinds of grave areas: He who ploughs up the grave – it may be planted with any kind of tree, but it may not be sown with any kind of seed... (m. Ohalot 18:2).

A field of mourners/tomb niches (שדה כוכים/בוכים) – is not planted, and is not sown, but its dust is clean. And they make from it ovens for holy [use] (m. Ohalot 18:4).

But that which is buried in its shroud, and in a wooden coffin, on dirt, and does not produce corpse-mould. And he that takes dirt from under it – that is, the dirt of graves – “a ladleful and a bit more.” A mixture which is found in the grave and the character of which one does not know, lo, this is the dirt of graves – “a ladleful and a bit more.” R. Eleazar b. R. Sadoq explained, “One sifts out the pebbles and the chips which are certain[ly not corpse-matter]. One takes that which is certain [to be corpse-matter] and leaves that which is in doubt. And this is the dirt of graves – “a ladleful and more” (t. Ahilot 2:3–4).

Other passages refer to graves that are dug (not hewn), in which individuals have been laid in coffins:

[If] they made for him [a gentile] a coffin and dug a grave for him (עשו לו ארון וחפרו לו קבר), an Israelite may be buried therein. But if this was done for an Israelite, he may not ever be buried therein (m. Shabbat 23:4).

He who ploughs on top of the grave, and so he who ploughs on top of the coffin, even covered over with boards and with stones, and even [if he ploughs] on top of them by two heights [of a person], lo, this makes a grave-area (t. Ahilot 17:1).

It is curious that although Qumran is literally ringed by caves, the sectarians did not utilize them for the interment of the dead.<sup>28</sup> Instead they buried

<sup>28</sup> This despite the fact that the wealthier (including high priestly) residents of Jericho to the north and those at 'Ein Gedi to the south interred their dead in rock-cut tombs. For Jericho see Hachlili and Killebrew, *Jericho*; Hachlili and Killebrew, “Jewish Funerary Customs during the Second Temple Period.” For 'Ein Gedi see Gideon Hadas, *Nine Tombs of the Second Temple Period at 'En Gedi* ('Atiqot 24) (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1994).

their dead in the manner of the lower classes. I believe that this reflects the ascetic and communal nature of the sect and their rejection of the Hellenized/Romanized life style (and death style) of the Jerusalem elite.<sup>29</sup> Purity concerns also may have been a factor. Sectarian law expanded on Num 19:14 by mandating that everything inside a house where someone has died contracts corpse impurity, including the nails and pegs in walls and even the contents of sealed vessels (for those strict in purity observance):

And when a man dies in your cities, every house in which a dead (man) died shall become unclean, seven days; everything which is in the house and every one who comes into the house shall become unclean, seven days. ...And earthen vessels shall be unclean, and all that is in them shall be unclean for every clean man, and the open (vessels) shall be unclean for every man of Israel... (11QT 49:5).

And any vessel, nail, or peg in a wall which are with a corpse in a house shall become impure with the same impurity as the working implement (CD 12:18).<sup>30</sup>

In the Masoretic Text, the passage that is the basis for this legislation has the word tent (אהל) instead of house (בית):<sup>31</sup>

“This is the law when someone dies in a tent: everyone who comes into the tent, and everyone who is in the tent, shall be unclean seven days.” (Num. 19:14).

The rabbis understood tent to mean whatever is under the same roof, and hence their concern with overshadowing.<sup>32</sup> Sectarian legislation replaced the word tent with house, that is, an enclosed space or building (a perma-

<sup>29</sup> See Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran*, 202–6; but for Hellenistic influence on the Essenes see Levine, *Jerusalem*, 145.

<sup>30</sup> Translation from Joseph M. Baumgarten, and Daniel R. Schwartz, “Damascus Document,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Volume 2, Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1995), 53.

<sup>31</sup> Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll, Vol. 1* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 325–26.

<sup>32</sup> See Lawrence H. Schiffman, “The Impurity of the Dead in the *Temple Scroll*,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls, The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. L. H. Schiffman; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990), 139–40; E. P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah, Five Studies* (Philadelphia: Trinity, 1990), 33–34; Magen Broshi, “Qumran and the Essenes: Purity and Pollution, Six Categories,” *Revue de Qumrân* 87 (2006) 469. For the concept of the tent in rabbinic Judaism see Jacob Neusner, *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities. Part Twenty-Two, The Mishnaic System of Uncleanness, Context and History* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 72–75, 90–91, 208–12.

nent structure).<sup>33</sup> Therefore, as Yigael Yadin observed, “a grave conveys ‘the uncleanness of a house’ like a dead person.”<sup>34</sup> The sectarian understanding of Num. 19:14 as referring to corpse impurity in an enclosed space explains why they considered a woman carrying a stillborn child in her womb as impure as a grave:

And if a woman is pregnant, and her child dies in her womb, all the days on which it is dead inside her, she is unclean like a grave (11QT 50:10–11).<sup>35</sup>

Furthermore, sectarian law considered even dirt and stones susceptible to impurity:

And all the wood and the stones and the dust which are defiled by man’s impurity, while with stains of oil in them, in accordance with their uncleanness will make whoever touches them impure (CD 12:15–17).<sup>36</sup>

Therefore, according to sectarian law anyone entering the closed space of a rock-cut tomb or burial cave would have contracted corpse impurity.<sup>37</sup> Even

<sup>33</sup> Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, Vol. 1, 325–26, who notes that the Septuagint also has the word house (οικία). Also see Schiffman, “The Impurity of the Dead in the *Temple Scroll*,” 138–40; D. Swanson Dwight, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible, The Methodology of 11QT* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 186–87; Ian C. Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 36–38. In 4Q265 (a document about Sabbath observance), “tent” also seems to have been understood as “house”; see Lutz Doering, “New Aspects of Qumran Sabbath Law from Cave 4 Fragments,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues, Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (eds. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 260–63.

<sup>34</sup> Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, Vol. 1, 324.

<sup>35</sup> This legislation has no parallel in the Hebrew Bible; see Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, Vol. 1, 336–38. Also see Yaakov Sussman, “The History of the ‘Halakha’ and the Dead Sea Scrolls, Preliminary Talmudic Observations on Miqsat Ma’ase Ha-Torah (4QMMT),” *Tarbiz* 59 (1990) 33 (in Hebrew); Magen Broshi, “Anti-Qumranic Polemics in the Talmud,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress, Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991, Volume 2* (eds. J. T. Barrera and L. V. Montaner; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 595; Schiffman, “The Impurity of the Dead in the *Temple Scroll*,” 150–51.

<sup>36</sup> For a discussion of this passage, which immediately precedes the legislation that mandates that corpse impurity extends to the nails and pegs in a house, see Hanan Eshel, “CD 12: 15–17 and the Stone Vessels Found at Qumran,” in *The Damascus Document, A Centennial of Discovery. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4–8 February, 1998* (eds. J. M. Baumgarten, E. G. Chazon, and A. Pinnick; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 45–52.

<sup>37</sup> I agree with Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 40–41, that the Damascus Document assumes that an individual entering a tent or house in which someone has died contracts corpse impurity, though this is not explicitly stated (in contrast to the *Temple Scroll*).

the rocks and dirt could have conveyed impurity, as oil often was applied to corpses in connection with the burial rites (see for example Mk. 14:8; 16:1; Mt. 26:12; Lk. 23:56; 24:1). This may explain the Qumran community's decision to bury their dead in trench graves, which limited corpse impurity to individuals who came into direct contact with the corpse or the grave (see Num. 19:18; 11QT 50:4–6). The fact that the more affluent inhabitants of Jerusalem and Jericho (among them Sadducees and Pharisees) used rock-cut tombs suggests that they may not have considered this type of enclosed space as equivalent to a corpse-impure house or tent.<sup>38</sup>

The sectarians required a corpse-contaminated person to immerse on the first, third, and seventh days after defilement, in contrast to Pharisaic and rabbinic halakhah, which, following Num. 19:16–19, requires immersion only on the seventh day.<sup>39</sup> Esther Eshel suggests that the sectarians followed a priestly law that might be described in Tobit 2:4–5:

Then I sprang up, left the dinner before even tasting it, and removed the body from the square and laid it in one of the rooms until sunset when I might bury it. When I returned, I washed myself and ate my food in sorrow.<sup>40</sup>

The discovery of *miqva'ot* near the entrances to the tomb of Queen Helena of Adiabene in Jerusalem and adjacent to a few other rock-cut tombs in Jerusalem and Jericho might reflect the practice of first-day immersion, as otherwise there is no reason to install a miqveh next to a tomb.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps the

<sup>38</sup> This possibility is supported by the rabbinic ruling that a woman carrying a stillborn child is clean. See Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, Vol. 1, 336, who observed that “The likeness in language, on the one hand, and the contrast between the laws, on the other, attests a palpable controversy, and there is no doubt that the Tannaites knew of laws such as those in the [Temple] scroll.” Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah*, 34, remarks on the apparent Pharisaic and rabbinic lack of concern with corpse impurity. Also see Neusner, *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities*, 208–9 (discussing the Ushans).

<sup>39</sup> Esther Eshel, “4Q414 Fragment 2: Purification of a Corpse-Contaminated Person,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues, Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (eds. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 3–10; Esther Eshel, “Ritual of Purification,” in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXXV, Qumran Cave 4 XXV, Halakhic Texts* (J. Baumgarten et al; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 135–54. For the sectarian legislation see 11QT 49 and 4Q414; for a discussion see Jacob Milgrom, “Deviations from Scripture in the Purity Laws of the *Temple Scroll*,” in *Jewish Civilization in the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (ed. S. Talmon; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991) 159–67.

<sup>40</sup> Eshel, “4Q414 Fragment 2,” 9; Eshel, “Ritual of Purification,” 138–39.

<sup>41</sup> Eshel, “4Q414 Fragment 2,” 9; Eshel, “Ritual of Purification,” 139; Kloner and Zissu, *The Necropolis of Jerusalem*, 44–45. For Jericho see Hachlili and Killebrew, *Jericho*, 47. Eyal Regev, “Non-Priestly Purity and its Religious Aspects According to Historical Sources and Archaeological Findings,” in *Purity and Holiness, The Heritage of Leviticus* (eds. M. J. H. M. Poorthuis and J. Schwartz; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 235–36 connects this phenomenon with “non-priestly” purity.

observance of this priestly law explains the placement of the largest miqveh at Qumran (L71), next to the gate that provided access to and from the direction of the cemetery.<sup>42</sup>

While trench graves at other sites are marked only by a headstone, at Qumran the graves are covered by heaps of stones, and they have large stones marking both ends, as Roland de Vaux observed: “The tombs [graves] are marked by oval-shaped heaps of stones appearing on the surface, often with a larger stone at either end.”<sup>43</sup> In my opinion, the heaps of stones covering the Qumran graves and the large stones set up at both ends were intended to make the graves visible to passersby, so they could be avoided due to purity concerns:<sup>44</sup>

Whoever in the open field touches one who has been killed by a sword, or who has died naturally, or a human bone, or a grave, shall be unclean seven days (Num. 19:14).<sup>45</sup>

Marking the graves in a conspicuous manner was necessary because according to sectarian legislation even dust can transmit impurity:<sup>46</sup>

And all the wood and the stones and the dust which are defiled by man’s impurity, while with stains of oil in them, in accordance with their uncleanness will make whoever touches them impure (CD 12:15–17).

The piles of stones covering the trench graves at Qumran therefore reflect the sectarians’ concern with purity observance. A similar concern is echoed in one of Jesus’ prophetic diatribes against the scribes and Pharisees:

Woe unto you, since you are like unmarked graves, and the people who walk over them do not know it. (Lk. 11:44, attributed to Q)<sup>47</sup>

This saying obviously refers to trench graves, not rock-cut tombs, and it suggests that walking over trench graves unawares was a common occurrence.

<sup>42</sup> Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran*, 154.

<sup>43</sup> Roland de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Oxford University, 1973), 46; also see Zissu, “‘Qumran Type’ Graves in Jerusalem,” 160; Zissu, “Odd Tomb Out,” 52.

<sup>44</sup> See Byron R. McCane, *Roll Back the Stone, Death and Burial in the World of Jesus* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2003), 68–70.

<sup>45</sup> This legislation is reiterated in the Temple Scroll (11QT 50:4–6); see Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, Vol. 1, 334–36.

<sup>46</sup> See Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah*, 34; Schiffman, “The Impurity of the Dead in the Temple Scroll,” 143, who notes that according to the Temple Scroll corpse impurity contaminates even objects attached to the ground.

<sup>47</sup> Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah*, 34.

The Lukan version probably is more original than Matthew's:<sup>48</sup>

Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you are like white-washed tombs, which on the outside look beautiful, but inside they are full of the bones of the dead and of all kinds of filth (Mt. 23:27).

Matthew's reference to a beautiful, white-washed exterior denotes a rock-cut tomb. The two versions have quite different meanings. Luke's version refers to something that is unseen and conveys impurity. Matthew, on the other hand, describes something that is beautiful on the outside but dirty and impure on the inside.

The Temple Scroll indicates that Jews buried their dead everywhere, even inside houses (a practice to which the author objected):

And you shall not do as the nations do: everywhere they bury their dead, even within their houses they bury. For you shall set apart places within your land (in) which you shall bury your dead" (11QT 48:11–13).<sup>49</sup>

John Bodel's description of the disposal of the dead in Rome mirrors the situation in Palestine:

The *wealthy and moderately well-to-do* [my emphasis] at Rome had always possessed the means to purchase plots of land beyond city limits where family tombs could be erected... But there had always existed at Rome a section of the population – how broad a section at any one time we cannot say – to whom the opportunity to purchase a grave site or be included in a communal tomb was denied because of impoverishment and a lack of ties to a patron. Not surprisingly, therefore, dead bodies – or parts of them – sometimes turned up in inconvenient places."<sup>50</sup>

In late Republican Rome, large pits called *puticoli* located outside the city walls contained thousands and sometimes tens of thousands of corpses

<sup>48</sup> See Thomas Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah, Was Jesus Indifferent to Impurity?* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2002), 179.

<sup>49</sup> Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, Vol. 1, 322–23; also see David P. Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity, Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1987), 123–27. Schiffman, "The Impurity of the Dead in the *Temple Scroll*," 137 expands on Yadin's observation, noting that whereas the *tannaim* and *amoraim* allowed burials everywhere except within walled cities and the boundaries of the Levitical cities (respectively), the Temple Scroll restricts burial to designated cemeteries. But Vered Noam, "The Bounds of Non-Priestly Purity: A Reassessment," *Zion* 72 (2007) 147–52 (in Hebrew), argues that Yadin misunderstood the rabbinic position, which in reality sought to ban burials from all settlements, walled and unwalled alike. Nevertheless, the Mishnah and Tractate Semahot indicate that the random disposal of bodies was common.

<sup>50</sup> Bodel, "Graveyards and Groves," 34–35.



belonging to commoners.<sup>51</sup> Public funerary pyres (*ustrinae*) adjoined the area where public executions took place.<sup>52</sup> The bodies of the poorest members of society, including executed criminals, were thrown into pits in potters' fields or were disposed of randomly.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, according to tradition, Judas' blood money was used to pay for a potter's field in Jerusalem (Mt. 27:5–8). The Mishnah indicates that even in Palestine the random disposal of bodies was not uncommon:

A cistern into which they throw abortions or slain people – one gathers bone by bone, and all is clean (m. Ohalot 16:5).

He who plows in a pit filled with bones, in a pile of bones, in a field in which a tomb was lost, or in which a tomb was [afterwards] found... (m. Ohalot 17:3).

Dogs gnawed on corpses left lying in the streets of Rome and dug up human remains buried in shallow pits, depositing body parts around the city, as reflected in Suetonius's *Life of Vespasian* (5:4): "Once when he was taking breakfast, a stray dog brought in a human hand from the cross-roads and dropped it under the table."<sup>54</sup> The Mishnah indicates that similar conditions prevailed in Palestine:

A dog which ate the flesh of a corpse, and the dog died and was lying on the threshold... (m. Ohalot 11:7; also see tractate Semahot 6:8)

These contaminate in the Tent: 1) the corpse, and 2) an olive's bulk [of flesh] from the corpse, and 3) an olive's bulk of corpse dregs, and 4) a ladleful of corpse mold; 5) the backbone, and the skull, and 6) a limb from the corpse... (m. Ohalot 2:1)<sup>55</sup>

The author of the polemical Qumran work 4QMMT objected to dogs scavenging sacrificial refuse in the Jerusalem temple:

<sup>51</sup> Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society*, 105.

<sup>52</sup> Bodel, "Graveyards and Groves," 38.

<sup>53</sup> See Patterson, "Living and Dying in the City of Rome," 267.

<sup>54</sup> See Alexander Scobie, "Slums, Sanitation, and Mortality in the Roman World," *Klio* 68 (1986) 418.

<sup>55</sup> In a rare example of leniency compared with the rabbis, the Qumran sectarians apparently considered as defiling only severed limbs from a corpse and not those belonging to someone who was still alive; see Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Pharisaic-Sadducean Controversies about Purity and the Qumran Texts," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 31 (1980) 161 n. 17; Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Halivni's *Midrash, Mishnah, and Gemara*," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 77.1 (1986) 61.

And one should not let dogs enter the h[o]ly camp, because they might eat some of the [bo]nes from the temp[le with] the flesh on them.” (4Q394, frag. 8 col. IV: 8–9)<sup>56</sup>

Perhaps in addition to making the burials visible to passersby, the stones heaped on the trench graves at Qumran were intended to prevent dogs and other scavengers from digging up the remains.

To conclude, discussions of Jewish tombs and burial customs in late Second Temple period Judea have focused on rock-cut tombs because of their durability and visibility in the archaeological landscape. However, a review of the archaeological and literary evidence as well as a consideration of contemporary practices in other ancient Mediterranean societies suggests that the majority of the Jewish population was disposed of in a manner that has left fewer traces in the landscape.

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<sup>56</sup> Translation from Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, Vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 793.

## A Late Bronze Age Biconical Jug with a Depiction of a Scorpion from Tell es-Safi/Gath, Israel

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### *Introduction*

The study of the Late Bronze Age in Canaan will be forever indebted to our esteemed honoree, due to the important excavations and studies relating to seminal aspects of this period and region. In addition to his excavations at important Late Bronze Age sites both in Israel and in Northern Sinai, Eliezer Oren has presented the scientific community with a number of groundbreaking studies on this period (e.g., Oren 1969; 1973; 1984; 1987; 2006a; 2006b; Oren and Shershevsky 1989; Goren, Oren and Feinstein 1995).

It is with this background in mind that we would like to present to Eliezer a brief study on a vessel from the Late Bronze Age levels at Tell es-Safi/Gath, on which there is a rather unique depiction of a scorpion.

The ongoing excavations at Tell es-Safi/Gath, Israel (Maeir 2003; 2008: Fig. 1) have uncovered, *inter alia*, assorted evidence dating to the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550–1200 BCE), from various parts of the site (Fig. 2). The site, which was the location of Canaanite Gath, is known to be one of the more important Canaanite city states during the Late Bronze Age, as attested to by Egyptian documents dating to the period (Uziel and Maeir 2005: 57–58, and further literature there). During the 2000–2006 seasons, a large building (Building 66323) dating to the Late Bronze Age IIB was excavated in Area E at Tell es-Safi/Gath (Shai *et al.* in press), on the eastern slopes of the tell (Fig. 3). Approximately 240m<sup>2</sup> of the eastern side of this building was excavated, however this is but a portion of the original structure, as it clearly continues to the west, where it is buried below later accumulations in an area (the eastern side of Area A) where the relevant levels have not yet been reached. The building appears to be more than a standard residential structure (Fig. 4), due to its overall size and the type of finds that were associated with it. Based on this and the comparison to architecture from other LB sites, it has been sug-

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<sup>1</sup> A. M. Maeir is the director of the Tell es-Safi/Gath Archaeological Project; I. Shai and J. Uziel directed the excavation of Area E and are responsible for publishing the finds from this area; Y. Gadot co-authored the study on the LB ceramics from Area E (Gadot *et al.* in press); J. R. Chadwick served in the 2002 season as the square supervisor of the square in which the vessel under discussion was discovered.

gested (Shai *et al.*, in Press a) that it perhaps was the residence of people of the upper social/economic echelons at Tell es-Safi/Gath.

This building, which was destroyed/abandoned at the end of Late Bronze II (ca. late 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE), contained a rich assortment of finds, including: local and imported LB II pottery (comparable to the pottery from Lachish, Level VII; see Gadot *et al.* In Press; Fig. 5), a rich assortment of Egyptiaca, including glyptics (Münger and Keel In Press; e.g., Fig. 6) and a brief Egyptian Hieratic inscription (Maeir, Martin and Wimmer 2005), and a relatively large amount of cult/ritual oriented deposits at various points in the building below the walls and surfaces (including “lamp-and-bowl” deposits, a bovine skull, a dog skeleton, and a bronze dagger). In addition, possible evidence of metal production was discerned.

From among the many finds from this building, in this brief study we have chosen to focus on a rather unique biconical jug that was found in Locus 66318 (see Fig. 7).

### *The Jug (Fig. 7)*

#### Description:

*Object:* Tell es-Safi/Gath, Season 2002; Area E; Square 93A; Stratum E4b (Late Bronze IIB); Locus 66318.

*Context:* The vessel was found in accumulation debris on the field stone pavement in the western part of Room 66325. As mentioned above, this room is part of large Late Bronze Age IIB building, and is located along its southernmost wall, close to the suggested entrance to the building. It is of interest that this is the only room in this building that was paved. Other ceramic vessels were found in this room (Fig. 5), including bowls, kraters, cooking pots and jugs, all of them well dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE (Gadot *et al.* In Press).

*Description:* Red and black decoration; Pink ware with dark grey core and many inclusions.

*Provenance and Firing:* The vessel was petrographically examined and found to be made of loess soil, local to the region of Tell es-Safi/Gath, and fired at a high temperature of 850 degrees or more (Ben Shlomo in press).

*Vessel Morphology:* The “Biconical” jug, with a pronounced carination at mid-body, is a type of vessel which is ubiquitous in Levantine Late Bronze Age II contexts.<sup>2</sup> Numerous parallels to this vessel are known, many of which, in addition to the similar shape, have somewhat similar decorative motifs as well. Parallels can be noted from the following sites: Gezer, Tomb I.10a (Seger and Lance 1988: Pl. 14:1), Tel Batash, Strata VIII–VI (Panitz-

<sup>2</sup> The vessel’s shape is largely due to the technique that was employed during its production. Two deep bowls were attached, rim to rim, to each other, and this is the location of the very pronounced carination at mid-body. Subsequently, the neck, handles and additions to the base were added. See, e.g., Franken 1991: 78–79.

Cohen and Mazar 2006: Pls. 37:12; 44:7; 54:1), Tell Beit-Mirsim, Stratum C (Albright 1932: Pl. 47:5), Ashdod, Stratum 16 (Dothan and Freedman 1967: Fig. 20:5), Tel Sera', Stratum IX (Oren 1984: Fig. 6:1), Tel Mevorakh, Stratum X (Guz-Zilberstein 1984: Fig. 2:2), Megiddo, Strata VIIB–VIIA (Loud 1948: Figs. 64:5; 67:17), Beth-Shean, Strata IX–VI (Mullins 2007: 434–438, Fig. 5.13; Panitz-Cohen 2009: 249–250, photo 5.43, Pl. 17:1), Tel Dothan (Cooley and Pratico 1995: Fig. 20:1–5), Shiloh, Stratum VI (Bunimovitz and Finkelstein 1993: Fig. 6.36:14), and a tomb near Gibeon (Pritchard 1963: Fig. 12:71).

*The decoration:* The overall decorative syntax of our vessel is quite common in the Late Bronze Age Levant (in general, see now Choi 2009). The vessel is decorated in the area between the mid-body carination and the beginning of the carinated neck of the vessel. It consists of a frieze of triglyphs and metopes which is bordered by a black line on top and on bottom. The triglyphs consist of alternating patterns of one straight red and two wavy black vertical lines; two of these triglyphs have survived.

There are two metopes, one on each side of the handle. The first metope is empty and the second is only partially preserved. Only a portion of the original composition has survived, and parts of two creatures can be identified, one above the other. The lower creature can be identified with certainty as a scorpion (see in general, Snodgrass 1952). The preserved part of this arachnid shows the cephalothorax (head or prosoma) and the adjoining pre-abdomen (mesosoma) (see below). On the missing piece of the jug the scorpion's tail (metasoma) would have been depicted. The identification of this image as that of a scorpion is primarily based on the artist's depiction of two large and well defined claws (pedipalps) with their typical bifurcated ends representing the large and powerful pincers which are used to seize and subjugate the scorpion's prey. Two further details corroborate this identification. The first is the clear depiction of the mouth parts (chelicerae) as two short and parallel protuberances located at the tip of the head. The second detail is the portrayal of the seven segments of the scorpion's pre-abdomen. These are clearly depicted by the artist as short lines, which protrude from the creature's body. All seven of these segments, are clearly shown on the one side of the animal's body, while only two are preserved on the other side. It is interesting that despite the attention to anatomical detail, the artist has not depicted the arachnid's four legs, which are attached to the cephalothorax and pre-abdomen.

Since the depiction is only partially preserved, and the posterior (tail) portion is missing, the possibility that it depicts a pseudo-scorpion needs to be raised. Pseudo-scorpions are extremely small arthropods 1–2mm to 5 mm in size, with body color ranging from light brown through to almost black. The head of the pseudo-scorpion is very small, and this orthopod has extended pedipalps with pincers resembling a scorpion. The large and pear-shaped abdomen has 12 segments. The tail, a characteristic of true scorpions, is missing. It seems unlikely, however, that the depiction is that of a

pseudo-scorpion, given that the arthropod depicted on our vessel has neither a rounded body nor a small head. Moreover, true scorpions rather than pseudo-scorpions are known to be depicted in the iconography of the region.

In terms of the possible identification of the specific species of scorpion represented on the jug, there are several possibilities. Given that the jug is locally manufactured (based on typology and petrography), this limits the options to the 21 species/sub-species of scorpions known in Israel (Levy and Amitai 1980; Amitai 1987).<sup>3</sup>

Assuming that the artistic depiction on the jug is a realistic one rather than a generalized portrayal of scorpion-like features, the identification of the arachnid depicted may be attempted on the basis of the color (black) used to depict the animal, the relative size of pincers, and the geographic distribution of scorpions in Israel. Based on these criteria there are only two possible candidates. These are 1) *Nebo hierichonticus*, the largest of all local scorpions, which is found throughout the Mediterranean region and 2) *Scorpio maurus fuscus*, which has exceptionally broad pincers and is found in central and northern Israel;

A third scorpion, *Androctonus crassicauda*, the extremely poisonous, black scorpion, also inhabits central and northern Israel, but its pincers are relatively less well developed (smaller) than those found in the other two species.

In addition, one can note that there are two more scorpions whose bodies are black, but whose pincers and ends of legs are brown. The first of these is *Buthotus judaicus*, a scorpion with a black body but whose pincers and terminal parts of the legs are brown. This scorpion is found in the central and northern parts of Israel. The second of these species is *Androctonus bicolor*. The young of this latter species have a light grey color while the adults are black with brown pincers. This species is characterized by long and thin pedipalps and pincers. It is found in central and southern Israel.

The topmost depiction is the least complete, and it portrays the lower limbs of a quadruped. Only the ends of the forelegs but most of the hind legs are shown. Behind the latter is a small line probably depicting the tip of a short tail. The legs are quite schematic, with the hind legs depicted as an inverted v. These features do not facilitate a precise zoological identification of this animal. However, on the basis of the common iconographic association of the image of a scorpion with goats (see below), it is likely that this quadruped represents a goat. Nothing in the preserved portions of this depiction would negate this identification.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> In the seminal zoological text on scorpions in Israel by Levy and Amitai (1980), only 19 species/sub-species of scorpion were described, belonging to 9 genera. Two more were added, as noted by Amitai (1987), but no detailed description is given.

<sup>4</sup> We would like to thank L. K. Horwitz, primary project zooarchaeologist of the Tell es-Safi/Gath Archaeological Project, for her comments on the depictions of the two animals.

In general, the vessel's production, both as far as pottery production and the decoration, was carried out in a rather "careless" manner. This can be seen from several aspects. First of all, it can be noted that the claws of the scorpion overlap into the triglyph area to its left, evidently due to the artist's poor planning. Further sloppiness is noted on the wavy black lines, which begin with a very dark shade, but gradually fade away (as the paint on the "brush" depleted), until they are barely visible. In choosing the raw material for the vessel, there was very little sifting of the clay, and large inclusions were left in the clay matrix, which are visible on the outer face of the vessel. The vessel was finished on the wheel, although it seems that the original form comprised of two deep bowls (see above) was built using coils, as visible on the inner portion of the vessel.

Depictions of scorpions are known from as early as the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (e.g. Hodder 2007: 115), although they are very rare in the pottery of the southern Levant. A scorpion is depicted on the well-known "Orpheus jug" from Megiddo, dating to the early Iron Age (Loud 1948: Pl. 76:1, further discussed by, e.g., B. Mazar 1976; Dothan 1982: 150–152; Yasur-Landau 2008). More recently, M. Tadmor (2003) published a Middle Bronze Age krater of unknown provenance which has, *inter alia*, a depiction of a scorpion. E. Mazar (2007: 38, no. 38) published an LB sherd from the City of David, and Choi (2009: 120–121) has suggested that this is a depiction of a scorpion's claws.<sup>5</sup> Choi (*ibid.*) also notes two additional depictions of scorpions on vessels from EB Iran and MB Tel Brak.

The scorpion motif is seen in other contemporary media, and is relatively well known in the LB Levantine glyptics (e.g. Hübner 1993: 141).<sup>6</sup>

The scorpion is known in the iconographic repertoire from various parts of the ancient Near East. At times it is seen related to fertility and abundance (e.g., Shuval 1990: 105–7; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 149; Ornan 2001: 250; 2005: 159–160; Zevit 2001: 386; Amorai-Stark *et al.* 2005: 427–429, Pl. I:5–7), or as guarantors of oaths in relationship to the Babylonian *kudurrus* (Seidl 1989: 156–157; Black and Green 1992: 160–161; Keel 1997: 97). In Mesopotamia, the scorpion is associated with the minor goddess Išara, who is at times associated with Ishtar in her reproductive/fertility associated aspects (e.g., Ornan 2001: 250; 2005: 159; Scurlock 2002: 361–387). In Egypt, the scorpion is the symbol of the goddess Serket/Selket, and at times, with the god Seth (Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 253–254; Teeter 2002: 337–338; Tadmor 2003: 197, n. 13).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Although, in our opinion, this identification does not appear to be very convincing.

<sup>6</sup> A bifacial stone seal with a depiction of a scorpion on one side and a tilapia fish on the other was discovered at Tell es-Safi/Gath in Area A, in Stratum A2 (late 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BCE). Münger and Keel (*in press*) have dated this object, on comparative typological grounds, to the LB, seeing in it strong Egyptian influence. See Fig. 6.

<sup>7</sup> The scorpion continues to play an important symbolic role in contemporary Muslim folklore in the Near East. See Frembgen 2004.



The image of the scorpion is often associated with various fertility symbols. Only rarely are depictions of scorpions incorporated into “master of scorpions” scenes, in which a god figure holds two scorpions by the tail. However, this seems to be a Levantine adaptation of the Egyptian motif of Horus holding two crocodiles by the tail (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 116).

It would seem that the scene depicted on the vessel from Tell es-Safi/Gath can be related to a fertility-oriented motif, as it is depicted alongside a caprid. The caprid is clearly a fertility symbol, whether depicted with or without the accompanying tree (e.g., Keel 1998: 30–36; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 125–126). And in fact, the caprid, with or without the tree appears, often in Late Bronze Age imagery, particularly on just such, and similar, vessels. Thus, it is quite safe to assume that the iconographic scene that is depicted is related to the ubiquitous fertility goddess(es) of the Canaanite pantheon.

### Conclusions

In summary it can be stated that the iconographic depiction on the vessel from Tell es-Safi/Gath, while not overly common, fits in very well with the commonly-used symbolism seen in Canaanite imagery. The poor production technology of the potter and careless work of the painter indicate that it is the product of a local, provincial workshop. Nevertheless, it can be seen as yet another facet of this rich, diverse, and steadily expanding symbolic repertoire, such as was recently described by the honoree (Oren 2006a).

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Fig. 1: Map of the Southern Levant with the location of Tell es-Safi/Gath and selected sites in Israel



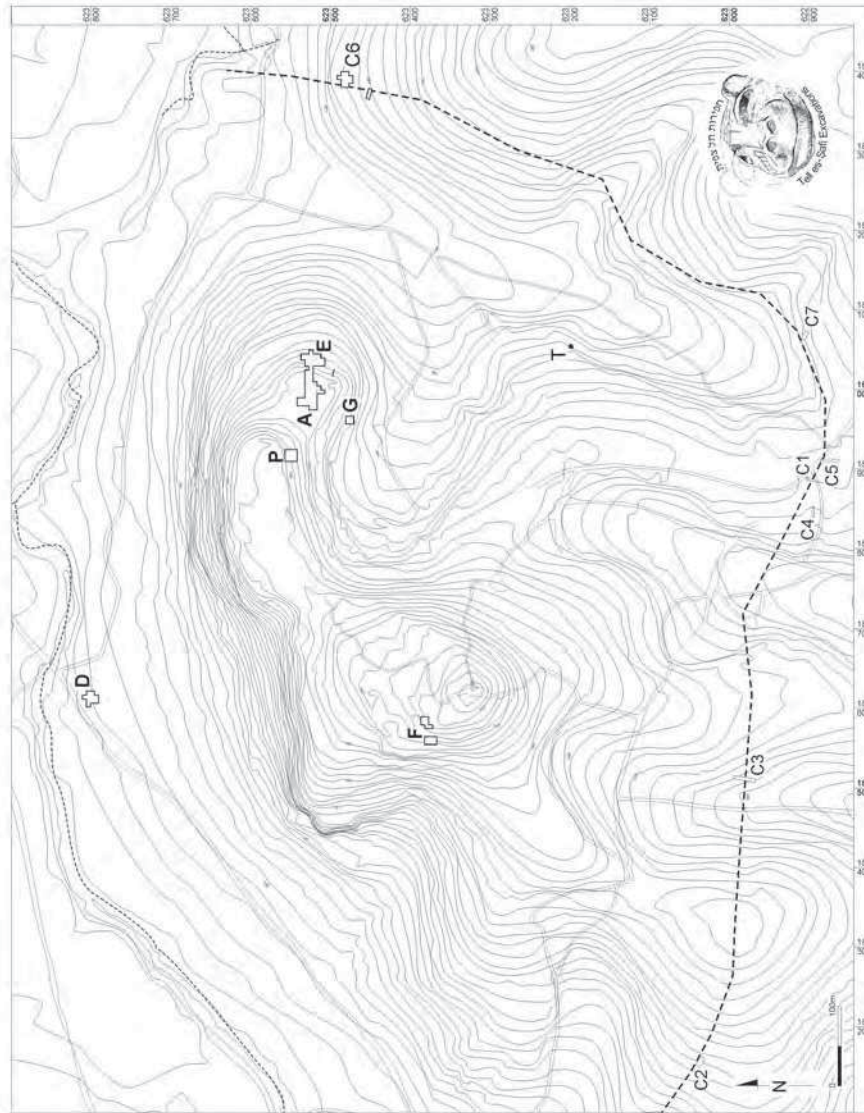


Fig. 2: General plan of Tell es-Safi/Gath. Note the location of Area E on the eastern side of the site.



Fig. 3: Aerial view, looking west, of the eastern side of Tell es-Safi/Gath, overlooking Areas E (bottom) and A (top). Note location of Late Bronze Age building.



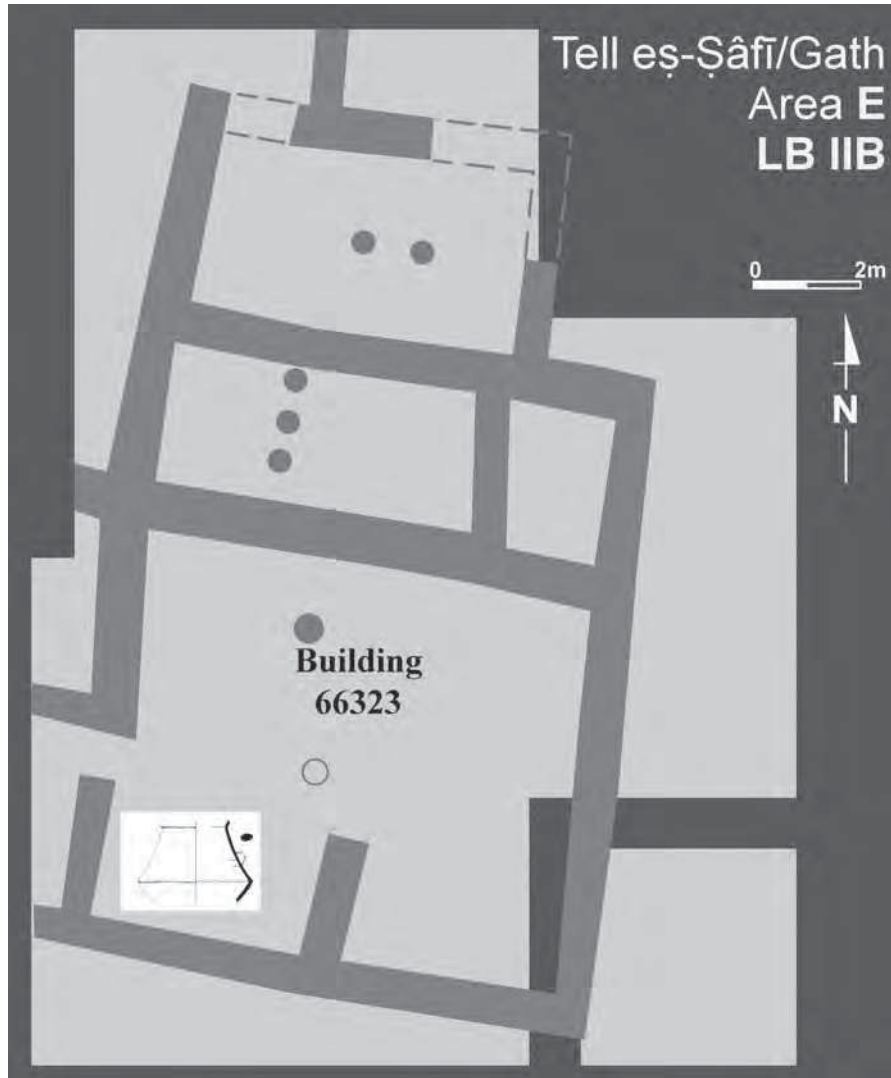


Fig. 4: Schematic plan of Late Bronze Age building 66323, in which the krater was found. The approximate location of the krater discussed in this paper is marked on the plan.

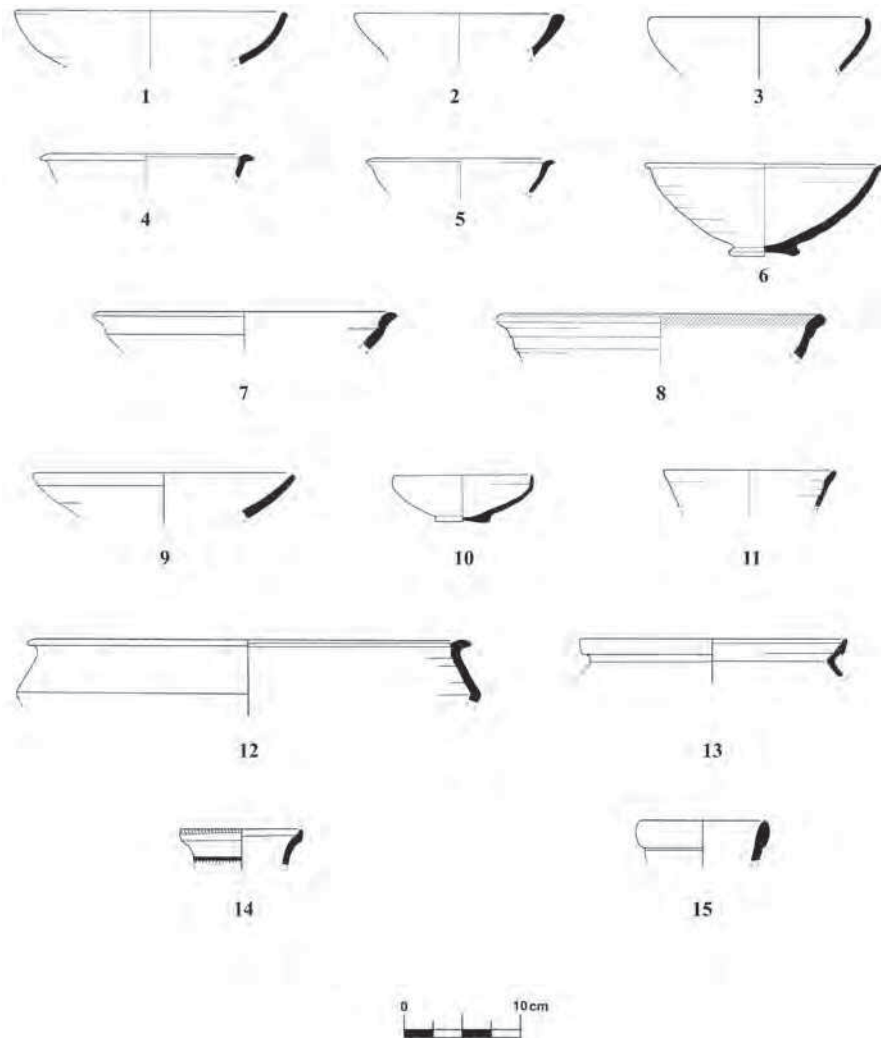


Fig. 5: Selected Late Bronze Age pottery from Building 66323

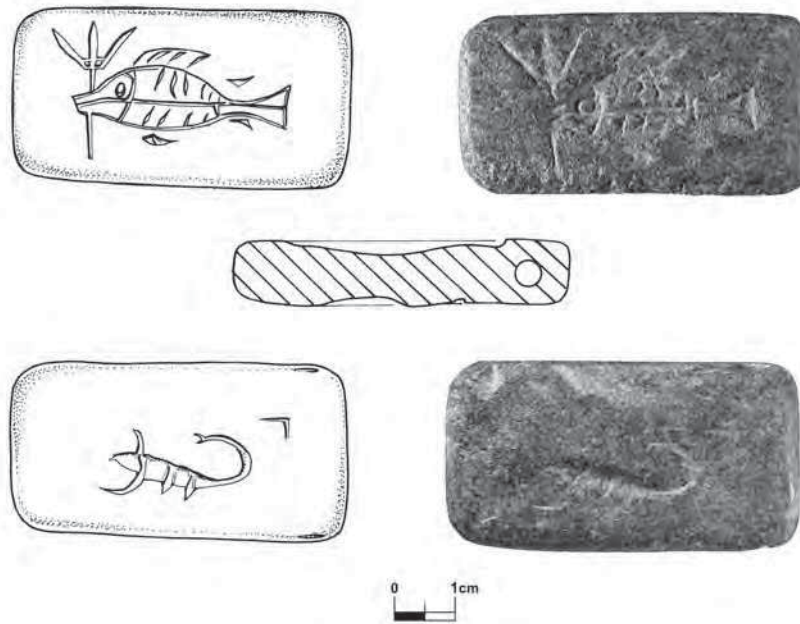


Fig. 6: View of a bifacial stamp seal amulet from Tell es-Safi/Gath, Area A, Stratum A2 (Iron Age IIB), Locus 51006, Basket 510039. Note depiction of scorpion on one side. The stamp seal is dated typologically to the Late Bronze Age (Münger and Keel, in press).

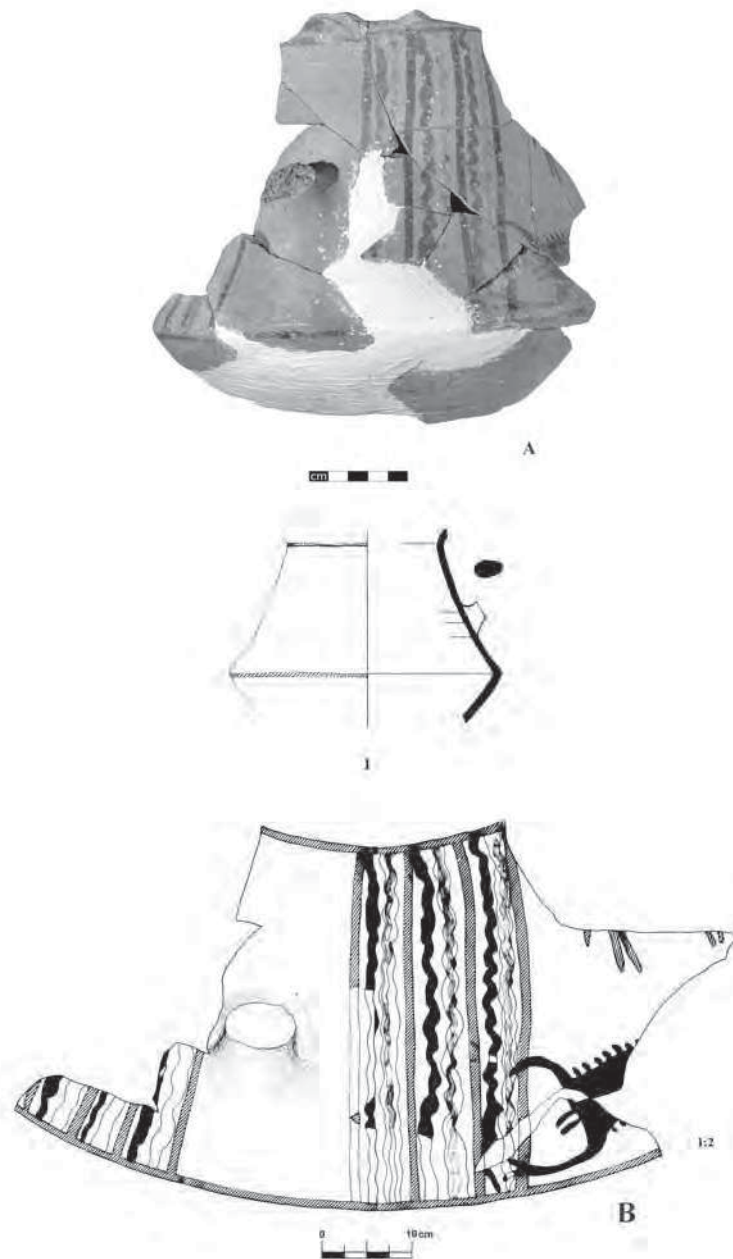


Fig. 7: Photograph (A) and drawing (B) of the krater from Tell es-Safi/Gath with a depiction of a scorpion

# Egypt and Southern Canaan in the Third Millennium BCE: Uni's Asiatic Campaigns Revisited

Pierre de Miroschedji

## *Introduction: Uni's Asiatic campaigns*

The reconstruction of interactions between Egypt and Canaan in the third millennium BCE rests almost exclusively on archaeological data until the Old Kingdom period in Egypt. Until then sources are scarce and inadequately informative. With the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, more evidence exists: in addition to archaeological material found in Egypt and in Levantine contexts, some Egyptian pictorial and inscriptional data provide testimonies of contacts, specifically of military encounters between Egyptians and Canaanites taking place on Asiatic territory. However, this evidence remains difficult to use in a historical perspective. Scenes depicted can be interpreted in a variety of ways, and they do not have necessarily a historical reality. Moreover, in inscriptions place-names are obscure, contexts ambiguous and identifications conjectural.

Among the Egyptian inscriptions of that time documenting Egyptian-Canaanite interactions, the most famous is Uni's autobiographical narrative. It stands out because of its length, literary quality, and the potentially historical value of the information it provides. A governor of Upper Egypt who lived under the reigns of the first four kings of the Sixth Dynasty (Teti [2345-2323], Userkare [2323-2321], Pepi I [2321-2287] and Merenre [2287-2278]),<sup>1</sup> Uni had his autobiography carved on a large stone slab of the funerary chapel of his monumental mastaba at Abydos (For the context of the inscription, see Richards 2002). The text was inscribed in the reign of Merenre. However, Uni had a long career, and the events which concern us here took place under the reign of Pepi I. These events are the subject of a short narrative which gives to Uni's autobiography, despite its many obscurities, the exceptional character of an historical document.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> These dates follow the consensus chronology of Shaw 2000: 482-83. For a slightly higher chronology based on radiocarbon, see Ramsey et al. 2010.

<sup>2</sup> The translation quoted below is that of Wilson (1969a: 227-28), with only two minor changes: I have kept the Egyptian designations Amu Heryu-sha and "the land of the Heryu-sha" instead of Wilson's translations of these names, "the Asiatics Who-are-Upon-the-Sands" and "the land of the Sand-Dwellers", respectively.

Uni was put in charge of a huge army levied from all over Egypt and also from Nubian and Lybian districts:

“When his majesty imposed punishment upon the Amu Heryu-sha (*‘3mw nw Hryw-š’*), his majesty made an army of many ten-thousands, in the entire Upper Egypt (...), and in Lower Egypt (...), among the Nubians (...) and from the land of the *Temeh*-Lybians (*Tmḥ*)” (lines 13-16).

Under Uni’s command, the army was organized and disciplined (lines 16-21). It left the Delta on its eastern frontier (lines 21-22) and achieved a campaign whose details are not described but whose results are evoked in a poetic victory hymn:

“This army returned in safety,  
 After it had hacked up the land (*t3*) of the Heryu-sha.  
 This army returned in safety,  
 After it had crushed the land of the Heryu-sha.  
 This army returned in safety,  
 After it had thrown down its enclosures (*wn.wt*).  
 This army returned in safety,  
 After it had cut down its fig trees and its vines.  
 This army returned in safety,  
 After it had cast fire into all its dwellings.  
 This army returned in safety,  
 After it had killed troops in it by many ten-thousands  
 This army returned in safety,  
 [After it had taken troops] in it, a great multitude as living captives.”  
 (lines 22-27)

Uni then continues his narrative in prose:

“His majesty sent me to lead [this] army five times in order to repel (attack) the land of the Heryu-sha each time that they rebelled, with these troops (...)” (lines 27-28).

Following these five successive overland campaigns, Uni had to attack for a sixth time the land of the Heryu-sha, this time for a much larger operation conducted both by land and sea:

“When it was said that backsliders (*btk*) because of something were among these foreigners (*Styw*) in Antelope-Nose, I crossed over in transports with these troops. I made a landing at the rear of the heights of the mountain range on the north of the land of the Heryu-sha. While a full half of this army was (still) on the road, I arrived, I caught them all, and every backslider among them was slain” (lines 28-32).

Since its first publication by Mariette in 1869, this inscription has been discussed by nearly every Egyptologist dealing with the Old Kingdom period.<sup>3</sup> Despite these repeated efforts, several crucial uncertainties remain for the understanding of this text. These uncertainties could hardly be resolved without additional data. Recent archaeological discoveries in Israel and in the Palestinian Autonomous Territory have provided new information which allow a fresh look at Uni's narrative of his Asiatic campaigns. The present paper intends to exploit these new archaeological data (For an initial and brief treatment, see Miroschedji and Sadeq 2001: 47-51). It is an attempt to contextualize Uni's narrative by shedding light on its geographical, archaeological and historical contexts in order to reach a better understanding of this text and, more generally, a better perception of the early history of Egyptian-Canaanite relations.

### *1. Geographical context: locating "the land of the Ḥeryu-sha"*

Among the questions raised by the many obscurities of this short narrative, a major one concerns the identity and the geographical location of the people against whom Uni led these successive campaigns. They are called "Amu Ḥeryu-sha" (line 13) and their country "the land of the Ḥeryu-sha" (line 23, *passim*), a designation in which the ideogram for "land" (*t3*) refers to a flat land (Couroyer 1971: 560 n. 16).

#### *1.1. The name "Ḥeryu-sha"*

Amu designates the "Asiatics" in general while Ḥeryu-sha means, literally, "those who are upon the sand" (Couroyer 1971: 558). The latter word is usually translated as "Sand-Dwellers" ("*Sandbewohner*", "*habitants du sable*"), with the ensuing interpretation that the Ḥeryu-sha were "inhabitants of the desert" (Piacentini 1990: "*abitatori del deserto*"), i.e., "nomads", more specifically (and, I may add, anachronistically) "Bedouins" (Drioton and Vandier 1962: 207-8, Fischer 1959: 263, Helck 1971: 18; and refs in Couroyer 1971: 558-59, 563). And since the sandy desert immediately to the East of Egypt is the Sinai, it is frequently claimed that, at least originally, the Ḥeryu-sha were the nomadic inhabitants of the Sinai (references in Couroyer 1971:

<sup>3</sup> The bibliography of Uni's inscription until c. 1980 has been compiled by Roccati 1982: 190-91. Later publications are mentioned by several authors: Wright 1988: 153-54, Redford 1992: 54-55, Rainey 2006: 277-78. The most frequently quoted translations in English are those of Wilson 1969a: 227-28 (excerpts), Lichtheim 1973: 18-23 and Simpson 2006: 404-5; see also Gardiner 1961: 95-96 (excerpts), Wright 1988: 153-54 (excerpts), Redford 1992: 54-55 (excerpts). In French, see the translations of Stracmans 1935: 509-44, Daumas (excerpts quoted by Couroyer 1971: 560-61) and Roccati (1982: 193-95). In Italian, see Piacentini 1990: 15-20. For convenience, I am using Wilson's 1969a translation, but I will also refer to other translations for some details of the text.



559; add Wilson 1969a: 227 n. 3, Rainey 2006: 277, Mumford 2006: 55-57. Goedicke 1963 believed that they were inhabitants of the eastern Delta).

However, the poetic passage of Uni's inscription makes it clear that these Heryu-sha were actually sedentary people since they lived in fortified settlements, built permanent houses and cultivated fig trees and vines.<sup>4</sup> Thus they could be neither nomads nor inhabitants of the Sinai desert. Therefore it is usually agreed that Uni most probably referred to inhabitants of Palestine (Montet 1954: 66; Gardiner 1961: 98; Wilson 1969a: 228, n. 9; Couroyer 1971: 563-64; Helck 1971: 18; Redford 1986: 126; Wright 1988: 154. See also the maps in Aharoni and Avi-Yonah 1977: 22, Rainey and Notley 2006: 46). Several explanations have been advanced to account for the apparent contradiction between the literal meaning of the name Heryu-sha "those who are upon the sand" and their sedentary way of life. For Redford (1986: 126 and n. 12-13; 1992: 32, 54-55), Heryu-sha should not be translated literally but rather as "Those who are at/beside/across the desert," despite the fact that the preposition *hr* has usually the meaning of a stative (Couroyer 1971: 558, 566). Another suggestion is that the name Heryu-sha referred originally to nomads from the Sinai, but that from the Sixth Dynasty onward, the Egyptians "called all the inhabitants of Syria-Canaan 'sand dwellers' as a sign of disdain" and that "sand dwellers" became "a purely pejorative term in these contexts" (Rainey 2006: 278; see also Rainey and Notley 2006: 46b, Wilson 1969a: 227 n. 3). Similarly, Helck (1971: 18) thought that these "Bedouins" had become sedentary from the Sixth Dynasty onward.

However the location of the Heryu-sha in southern Palestine, before or from the Sixth Dynasty onward, has been questioned because the name Heryu-sha appears in another inscription of this time and in other geographical and socio-political contexts. In the tomb inscription of Pepi-nakht, a Sixth Dynasty Elephantine official who was active in the time of Pepi II (2278-2184), the Heryu-sha are mentioned as inhabitants, not of Palestine, but of the Red Sea Coast (see Couroyer 1971: 561, 565; 1973: 55-59; Mumford 2006: 57. *Contra*: Montet 1954: 65-67; Helck 1971: 21; Redford 1986: 126-27), possibly at Wadi Gawasis (Mumford 2006: 57). They had attacked an Egyptian expedition in charge of preparing a *kebnet* (*kbnt*; "a Byblos-ship", i.e., a boat for high sea navigation) intended for a trip to Punt (the Somali Coast), and Pepi-nakht was commissioned to bring back the body

<sup>4</sup> The suggestion by Mumford (2006: 55-57) that Uni's campaigns could have taken place in West Sinai, in the area of Wadi Gharandel, is questionable on several grounds. Although "figs and grapes are known in various valleys throughout South Sinai" (*ibid.*: 56), this area is hardly known for a usual cultivation of these fruits. In addition, no fortified settlements are known in the Sinai in the third millennium (the publications of M. Haiman and I. Finkelstein quoted [*ibid.*, 56] actually do not mention any EB IV/MB I fortified site). More importantly, the many EB IV/MB I sites of the Sinai and the Negev are later than the time of Pepi I: the EB IV/MB I period coincides with the latter part of Sixth Dynasty (Pepi II) and the following First Intermediate Period, while the late EB III includes the early part of Sixth Dynasty (Pepi I, i.e., Uni): see Sowada 2009: 4.

of its slain commander. From this testimony, it could be deduced, as Wright (1988: 154a) has argued, that Uni's campaign against the Heryu-sha "cannot be accepted as necessarily taking place in southern Palestine."

This doubt is reasonable but requires further examination, especially since the natural environment of the Red Sea Coast can have hardly supported a large number of sedentary inhabitants. In both inscriptions, that of Uni and that of Pepi-nakht, the Heryu-sha appear in connection with the Amu (Asiatics), but the link between both words is not expressed in the same way: Uni embarked to quell a "rebellion" of the Amu Heryu-sha (*'3mw nw Hryw-š'*), while Pepi-nakht mentions a shipyard attacked by the Amu *of the* Heryu-sha (*'3mw nw Hryw-š'*). This raises a question concerning the exact relationship between the Amu and the Heryu-sha, expressed in the form of an apposition (Uni) or of a genitive (Pepi-nakht). In other words, are the Heryu-sha of Uni's inscription the same as those of Pepi-nakht's inscription?

Couroyer has devoted to this question a lengthy discussion (Couroyer 1971: 561-66), of which only the conclusion needs to be summarized here because it resolves the apparent contradictions between both inscriptions. In Uni's inscription, as is almost unanimously agreed, the term Heryu-sha applies to the sedentary inhabitants of southern Palestine; thus, the "sand" on which they live cannot be that of the Sinai desert; it can only be the "sand" of the south Palestinian littoral, which is indeed covered with dunes (see below) and is indeed a "flat" land, distinct from the mountainous hinterland, in accordance with the use of the ideogram *t3* ("(flat) land") in the expression "the land (*t3*) of the Heryu-sha" (see above). Therefore, Heryu-sha "those who live upon the sand" should be considered as a qualifier, and Amu "Asiatics" as an ethnic marker. In the designation Amu Heryu-sha used by Uni, the Heryu-sha represent a fraction of the Amu: among the Amu, they are "those who live upon the sand" (see already Fischer 1959: 263 ["Amu who were Heryu-sha"] and Helck 1971: 18 ["Nomaden von der grösseren Einheit der 'Amu']"). In Pepi-nakht's inscription, the relationship is reversed: the local inhabitants live on a flat and sandy coast and are therefore called also Heryu-sha; but they include some Amu "Asiatics", the group who had attacked the Egyptian shipyard; hence these Asiatics are called "Amu of the Heryu-sha", i.e., those Asiatics who reside among the Heryu-sha.

Couroyer's interpretation does not apply only to the Old Kingdom. Analyzing further occurrences of the term Heryu-sha in Middle and Late Kingdom texts, Couroyer found additional evidence to sustain his interpretation. He noted that the name Heryu-sha appears apparently always in contexts which imply their location on the sea coast, and never inland (Couroyer 1971: 568-74). Hence a location of the "land of the Heryu-sha" on the Palestinian coast appears as the most likely hypothesis.

### 1.2. The "land of the Heryu-sha"

Actually, this hypothesis adds considerably to the understanding of Uni's narrative of his Asiatic campaigns. In particular, the location of the "land of

the Ḥeryu-sha” along the Palestinian coast, as opposed to the entire territory of Palestine as is usually admitted by scholars (cf. the atlas of Aharoni and Avi-Yonah 1977: 22; Rainey and Notley 2006: 46), gives a simple explanation for the very name Ḥeryu-sha. The coast of Palestine is indeed covered by dunes, but mostly in its southern part, south of the mouth of the Yarqon River; north of it, dunes are less extensive, and even non-existent closer to the Carmel Range (see Fig. 1). Presumably then, it is this southern part of the Palestinian coast which was the homeland of the Ḥeryu-sha. It corresponds to the area that geographers, and especially historical geographers, call the “Philistine Coast” because it was later inhabited by the Philistines, whose territory was bounded, according to the Bible, by the Gaza River in the south and by the Yarqon River in the north (e.g. Aharoni 1968: 23). Actually, this area always had a distinct regional character, both in the Bronze and Iron Age, and still in medieval times, when it coincided with the kingdom of Gaza which extended from Rafiah to Jaffa (Le Strange 1890: 41).

As we have seen above, the formulation “Amu Ḥeryu-sha” implies that a distinction was made between the Amu and the Ḥeryu-sha: Amu was the generic term designating the inhabitants of the southern Levant, while the Ḥeryu-sha were the fraction of the Amu who lived along the flat and sandy Palestinian coast and who could, therefore, be distinguished with a particular name from the Amu living in the hinterland (Fig. 1).

That the Ḥeryu-sha were also distinguished from the inhabitants of Sinai may be suggested by a badly damaged stone block from the causeway of King Unas’s mortuary temple at Saqqara. It shows Egyptian soldiers shooting with a bow or engaged in hand-to-hand fighting with Asiatics (Wright 1988: 155-57). Only a broken off word ending remains of the accompanying inscription, with the hieroglyphic sign *sw*. It has been proposed to reconstruct the word as (Sha)su ([š3]*sw*), designating the nomadic inhabitants of the Sinai (Helck 1971: 21; and see Givon 1971). If this reading is correct, it would show that the Ḥeryu-sha were also distinguished from the inhabitants of Sinai, who were the Shasu at least from the late Fifth Dynasty onward.

### 1.3. Fig trees and vines

Although it rests on a *argumentum ex silentio*, it may be also significant that Uni mentions the presence of fig trees and vines in the land of the Ḥeryu-sha, but not that of olive trees. Indeed, the latter are few along the coast but abundant further inland. On the other hand, fig trees and vines were cultivated on the sandy coast, in the past as nowadays. Both plants are well attested among the botanical remains recovered in Early Bronze Age strata at Tell es-Sakan in the Gaza strip (Tengberg in Miroschedji et al. 2001: 96). They are also found in abundance in the Naqada IIIa period tomb U-j at Abydos, whose imported pottery shows close affinities with that of the Coastal Plain in the Early Bronze [henceforth EB] IB period (Braun and Van den Brink 1998).

Analyses have demonstrated that the figs were used as sweetening or flavoring agent in wine (MacGovern 2003: 94).

#### 1.4. *The wenet-settlements*

Another point of interest to elucidate the location of the land of the Heryu-sha is the mention, in the third sentence of Uni's victory hymn, of the "enclosures" of the Heryu-sha which the Egyptian army has destroyed. "Enclosure" is Wilson's (1969a) translation of the word *wenet* (*wn.t*). But this word is written with the determinative for foreign lands and a hieroglyph representing a crenellated enclosure which is actually a fortification wall (Fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> Hence, in Uni's inscription, *wenet* designates fortified settlements situated in a foreign land.

Where should this land be located? The word *wenet* has been discussed at length by Fischer (1959: 261-64; see also Helck 1971: 16-17, Wright 1988: 152-54) who concluded that "we must make a distinction between the land of *Wenet* and *wenet*-settlements. In Dynasties I-V *Wenet* seems to have designated a specific place. From the Sixth Dynasty onward this term is used in an extended sense, to refer to the type of walled settlements which were constructed by the semi-nomadic Asiatics. (...) Since the *wenet*-settlements are associated with Asiatics, it is probable that the specific place called *Wenet* was situated in the northeast of the Delta." (Fischer 1959: 264). Helck (1971: 16-17) was more precise in locating the original place called *Wenet*: he noted that it was known in the First Dynasty as a place where expeditions were dispatched from Egypt, and he suggested that it was located in the area of present day Rafiah. In fact, as we shall see below (§ 2.2), a location to the immediate south of Gaza appears more likely in light of recent archaeological discoveries.

A further remark should be added in connection with the crenellated enclosure associated with the hieroglyphic writing of *wenet*, an oval with rounded towers or bastions placed at regular intervals (Fig. 2) (See Fischer 1959: 264, Fig. 23). It is comparable to the shape of the fortified settlement shown on the relief of Inti's tomb at Deshasheh (Fig. 3), dated to the early Sixth Dynasty (Pepi I) or to the late Fifth Dynasty (Djedkare-Isesi) (Petrie

<sup>5</sup> The nature of the crenellated enclosures appearing on Protodynastic and later monuments has been long debated. They have usually been considered, not as real fortifications, but rather as simple enclosures or as fortresses (see Étienne 1999). This was largely due, it seems, to the fact that no city walls have been discovered in Egypt for the Naqada III period, when these representations first appear (see Moeller 2004). The discovery of two successive city walls protecting the Naqada IIIb-c (Dynasty 0) settlement of Tell es-Sakan in the Gaza Strip should now settle this question (see Fig. 4 for a view in section, where Walls A1+A2 and Wall B date to the time of Dynasty 0): these two city-walls demonstrate that the so-called Egyptian "enclosures" correspond actually to real fortifications consisting of a 3-4 m. thick mud-brick wall with towers or bastions (see Miroschedji et al. 2001: 84, Miroschedji and Sadek 2001: 34-36).

1898: Pl. IV; Wright 1988: 155; Sowada 2009: 11 n. 8). The badly damaged inscription accompanying this relief has a few surviving signs which give the name of the besieged city, usually read Nedja (*Ndi3*), followed by the sign of an oval walled settlement containing a bound captive (Griffith in Petrie 1898: 42; Helck 1971: 20-21; Piacentini 1987: 12 [with a proposal for a reading “*wenet* of Dia”]). Concerning the other readings proposed for these signs, see the comments by Wright 1988: 159 n. 26). Thus the Asiatic fortified settlement shown besieged by the Egyptian army on this relief may be a *wenet*-settlement. It is interesting to compare this battle scene with the roughly contemporary one painted in the tomb of Kaemheset at Saqqara (Wright 1988: 155-56; and cf. Sowada 2009: 11 n. 8): on the latter, the enclosure of the settlement is shown without crenellations and with an almost rectangular outline, different from that on the Deshasheh relief. Indeed, the besieged inhabitants are not depicted with beards and long curling hairs as is customary for Asiatics since the time of Dynasty 0. This suggests that the battle scene of the tomb of Kaemheset does not show the siege of an Asiatic *wenet*-settlement.

Although these observations are admittedly not conclusive by themselves, they strengthen the plausibility of a connection between Asiatic settlement, *wenet*-settlement, the Heryu-sha and southwestern Canaan.

### 1.5. The context of Uni's sixth campaign

Especially significant for the location of the land of the Heryu-sha is Uni's account of his sixth and last campaign. This campaign constitutes a separate event. The previous five campaigns are mentioned together, which suggests that there were no remarkable facts to distinguish between them; presumably, they were repetitive events, with similar motives, objectives and developments, conducted overland along the seashore of Sinai and southern Palestine. On the other hand, the detailed narrative of the sixth campaign indicates that the latter was different in scope and development from the previous ones. Clearly, the strategies applied until then had failed and it was decided to solve once and for all the problem posed by the Heryu-sha.

The circumstances that triggered this decision are unclear. Apparently, troubles had been provoked by *bt* among the local inhabitants in a place called “the land of the Nose of the Gazelle's Head” (for this reading, see Drioton and Vandier 1962: 208; Edel 1967, 1981. Wilson [1969a: 228 n. 10] preferred “Antelope-Nose” while Simpson [2003: 405 n. 11] read “Nose-of-the-head-of-the-goat”). The meaning of *bt* is uncertain and several translations have been suggested for this word: “backsliders” (Wilson 1969a: 228 and n. 10), “*Hineinschlüpfende*” (Helck 1971: 19 – a word which has about the same meaning as “backsliders”), “marauders” (Lichtheim 1973: 20), “*forces ennemies*” (Roccati 1982: 194), “rebels” (Wright 1988: 154b; Piacentini 1990: 18), “troublemakers” (Couroyer 1971: 560; Redford 1992: 55). These last two translations accord best with the general context of the narra-

tive since the Egyptians were clearly faced with a renewal of troubles, which had already provoked their previous interventions and which called now for an operation on a larger scale.

From Uni's vague indication it is surmised that "the land of the Nose of the Gazelle's Head" was located north of the land of the Heryu-sha. However, its precise location is unknown, and this question has generated some discussion. It is an important issue because it determines the understanding of the course of Uni's last campaign against the Heryu-sha.

While Uni's previous five campaigns were all overland operations, during the sixth campaign he adopted a different strategy: he sent half of his army to advance overland along the coast to the land of the Heryu-sha, as he had done previously. But at the same time he sent the other half of his army on sea-going ships in order to land behind the "Nose of the Gazelle's Head" (Fig. 1). The goal was presumably to catch the land of the Heryu-sha in a pincer movement, the first half of the army progressing northward and the second half southward, after having landed "behind," i.e., north of the land of the Heryu-sha.

Is it possible to understand this tactic geographically? Those scholars who considered the Heryu-sha as nomadic inhabitants of the Sinai have located the "Nose of the Gazelle's Head" in the Wadi Tumilat on the way to the Red Sea (Goedicke 1963), or along the coast of West Sinai (Mumford 2006: 56) or the coast of North Sinai, between Lake Sirbonis (Bardawil) and Gaza (Maspéro 1895: 421 n. 4; P. Tresson cited by Couroyer 1971: 559 n. 13), or at Mount Cassius (Helck 1971: 19). However, most scholars have favored the Mount Carmel Range, and this hypothesis has gained wide acceptance (Stracmans 1935: 512; Couroyer 1971: 560 n. 18; Schulman 1979: 101; Redford 1992: 55; Drower and Bottéro 1971: 361; Aharoni 1968: 125; Edel 1981; etc.), albeit sometimes with reservation (Wright 1988: 154). This hypothesis is actually based on two assumptions. The first assumption is that the "Nose of the Gazelle's Head" was a topographic landmark clearly visible from the sea and familiar to sailors who used to navigate at short distance of the Palestinian coast during their maritime expeditions to Byblos; this was clearly the case for the Carmel range. The second implicit assumption is that the Carmel range, seen from the sea, could evoke the nose of a gazelle (or an antelope or a goat), and this is obviously a moot point. Edel understood "Nose" as equivalent to German "*Bergrücken*" (Edel 1967: 70) or "*Berg-nase*" (Edel 1981: 11\*), in English "ridge"; but if the mountain juts out on the sea, "Nose" could also mean "headland" (French "*pointe*").

Whatever the merit of this reasoning, it should be stressed that an identification of this toponym with Mount Carmel is most improbable if one accepts the proposition that the Heryu-sha were the inhabitants of the sandy part of the Palestinian coast, south of the Yarqon River. The reason for this assertion is that such a location simply does not make sense in the context of Uni's narrative of his sixth campaign, especially when considering that the text specifically states that the landing took place *behind*, i.e., north of the



“Nose of the Gazelle’s Head”. If this toponym is to be identified with Mount Carmel, then the landing of part of Uni’s army would have taken place in the Haifa bay (e.g. Aharoni and Avi-Yonah 1968: 22; Rainey and Notley 2006: 46). Why should Uni land so far north of the “Land of the Ḥeryu-sha”, and then march southward for two or three days before encountering his enemies, thereby losing the benefit of his tactic? The further north he would have sailed, the greater the need for one or more stop-overs along a coast occupied by the enemy he precisely wanted to surprise (see below, § 3.3). It should also be remembered that the road along the northern part of the coast as well as the crossing of the Yarqon River were always difficult. It was therefore avoided by the historical *via maris*, which did not cross the mouth of the Yarqon River to continue northward along the coast; rather it turned off north-eastward in the direction of Tel Afeq (Ras el-‘Ain) and then towards the Wadi Ara pass to reach Megiddo (Fig. 1) (see Aharoni and Avi-Yonah 1968: maps 31, 35, 36, 41, 43, 45, etc.).

If the Carmel range is the most prominent topographic landmark along the Palestinian coast, it is not the only one. Another one is located close to the mouth of the Yarqon River, i.e., near the northern limit tentatively assigned to the “Land of the Ḥeryu-sha”: it is the rocky hillock of Jaffa, which was already settled in the Early Bronze Age (M. Peilstocker, personal communication; Gophna 2002: 420 n. 1). It culminates at ca. 25 m. above the present-day sea level (Kaplan 1959: 16), and probably reached about 30 m. in the third millennium, when the sea level was 3 to 5 m. lower than today (Stanley 2002: 101, 108; Galili, Zviely, and Weinstein-Evron 2005). Its prominence must have been more marked in the Early Bronze Age than today because the outline of the coast was then cleared of the dunes which have accumulated over the last five millennia and buried the foot of the hill. Since Uni relates that his seaborne army landed behind the “Nose of the Gazelle’s Head”, it should also be noted that “behind” the hill of Jaffa is the mouth of the Yarqon River, which has served as an anchorage point as late as 1917 (Refs in Marcus 2002: 409), close to the EB III site of Tel Gerisa (see below). This would have been an appropriate choice for landing the Egyptian army just north of the “Land of the Ḥeryu-sha”.

This suggestion for the location of the “Nose of the Gazelle’s Head” at the hillock of Jaffa is actually consistent with Uni’s narrative (see Fig. 1). If indeed, the “Land of the Ḥeryu-sha” occupied the Palestinian coast between the mouth of the Gaza River and that of the Yarqon River, then Uni’s plan to catch this land by means of a pincer movement would require sending one half of his army overland to progress northward after having crossed the Gaza River, and the other half by sea in order to land north of that territory, at the location of a well-known anchorage point such as the mouth of the Yarqon River, and then to advance southward overland.



## *2. Archaeological Context: Identifying the Heryu-sha in the Archaeological record*

The preceding discussion was based on an interpretation of the textual evidence only. It remains to be seen if its conclusions can be sustained by archaeological evidence. If the Heryu-sha were indeed the inhabitants of the southern coast of Palestine, it should be possible to identify them archaeologically. What should be found, at least in theory, are fortified settlements distributed from Gaza to Jaffa on or close to the dunes of the seashore, and occupied during the EB III period, contemporary with the Old Kingdom period in Egypt, especially during the final EB III which is coeval with the Fifth and the early part of the Sixth Dynasties (for this chronological scheme, see above, note 3).

Until only ten years ago, sites dating to the EB III in general, and to the late EB III in particular, were hardly known in the coastal area of southern Palestine. But recent excavations have led to new discoveries and shed light on earlier ones. The main developments which took place in this region during the EB III can be summarized under a few headings: a settlement revival in the southern Coastal Plain and its periphery, including the sea coast; the emergence of a cultural unity over the entire southwestern Canaan concomitant with the appearance of a discrete dichotomy between the material culture of the coastal sites and that of the sites located further inland; and the expansion of Tel Yarmuth as the dominant city in this region. As these aspects have been developed in a previous paper (Miroschedji 2006: 70-75), they will be treated here only briefly.

### *2.1. The EB III settlement revival in the southern Coastal Plain and its periphery*

In the last quarter of the fourth millennium, southwestern Canaan had enjoyed a remarkable development in the framework of Egyptian colonial exploitation. In the present state of knowledge, it seems that the center of this Egyptian domain was located at Tell es-Sakan, a major site discovered by chance in 1999 during construction works some 5 kilometers south of Gaza City (Miroschedji et al. 2001; Miroschedji and Sadeq 2001). Tell es-Sakan was a large Egyptian fortified settlement dating to the time of Dynasty 0 and the beginning of the First Dynasty, the only of its kind presently known in the entire region.

Around 3000 BCE or slightly thereafter, this Egyptian colonial network was abandoned (Miroschedji et al. 2001: 98-101; Miroschedji and Sadeq 2001: 44). Tell es-Sakan was deserted for several centuries together with the settlements that had been more or less directly connected with the Egyptian colonial enterprise during the EB I. The reasons for this abandonment are beyond the scope of this paper (see Miroschedji and Sadeq 2001: 45-46; Miroschedji 2002: 47-48). It triggered in southwestern Canaan a settlement

crisis that lasted throughout the EB II. Virtually no sites are known for this period in the southern Coastal plain (Getzov, Paz, and Gophna 2001: 27-28) and the prosperous settlements were then located further inland in the hills of the Shephelah.

This situation changed drastically from the outset of the EB III, which saw a remarkable development of Canaanite settlements: most of the sites shown as open or fortified settlements on the map of Fig. 1 were either foundations, or re-foundations of the EB III. They testify to an expansion of Canaanite settlement activities to the east (Judea), the southwest (Shephela and Coastal Plain), and the south (northern Negev) (Miroshedji 2006: 72).

## 2.2. *The EB III sites along the coast and the weneh-settlements*

Most interesting in the context of the present paper are the sites located along the sea shore or at a short distance from it, i.e., in the sandy area presumably inhabited by the Heryu-sha. It is noteworthy that none was located along the portion of the coast to the north of the Yarqon River (see maps in Getzov, Paz, and Gophna 2001: 78-79).<sup>6</sup> In a country as thoroughly surveyed as Israel, this absence is certainly significant, and it invalidates attempts to locate the events of Uni's sixth campaigns in the northern part of the coast or beyond (e.g. Aharoni and Avi-Yonah 1968: 22; Rainey and Notley 2006: 46). On the other hand, at least five settlements, all founded or re-founded during the EB III, are known in the southern part of the coast, between the Gaza River and the Yarqon River (Fig. 1). They are, from south to north: Tell es-Sakan, Ashkelon, Tel Poran, Nizzanim and Tel Gerisa.

Following an abandonment of several centuries, Tell es-Sakan was reoccupied in the course of the EB III, possibly not before the EB IIIB. It was then the westernmost Canaanite city, located on the bank of the Gaza River, which marked the Egyptian frontier (Miroshedji et al. 2001: 90-96; Miroshedji and Sadeq 2001: 46, 2008). The site has yielded a typical EB IIIB-C assemblage, although with some local characteristics (see below), but no Egyptian material whatsoever. It was protected by huge mud brick fortifications consisting of a 7.8 m. thick wall preceded by a powerful glacis in mud brick, 4 m. high and 10 m. wide (Fig. 4: Wall C and Glacis C). These impressive fortifications remained in use until the very end of the EB III, when the site was abandoned for good, never to be reoccupied.

Little is known about the sequence at Ashkelon and the nature of its occupation. The site was settled in the EB I (with an Egyptian presence; see, inter alia, Braun and Gophna 2004, and personal observation), and probably abandoned thereafter since the excavations have yielded no evidence of an EB II occupation. On the other hand, they have reached, at the north and the south of the tell, thick EB III layers resting directly on bedrock (L. E. Stager,

<sup>6</sup> The status of the site of Megadim on the Carmel coast shown on these maps during the EB III is uncertain. It was probably no more than a small village.

D. Masters and R. Voss, personal communication). It is not known whether Ashkelon was then fortified.

The contemporary settlement of Tel Poran was founded at the beginning of the EB III and strongly fortified. The fortifications were discontinued during the EB III, however, as attested by the presence of a late EB III pit partly dug into the fortification wall (Gophna 1992, and personal communication).

Further north, Nizzanim was a small open settlement occupied during the EB I (Strata 5-3, with Stratum 3 showing evidence of an Egyptian presence), abandoned thereafter for several centuries, and then reoccupied in the EB III (Strata 2-1) (Yekutieli and Gophna 1994).

Still further north, an Early Bronze Age occupation is attested on the rocky hillock of Jaffa, but its dating and importance are uncertain (M. Peilstocker, personal communication; Gophna 2002: 420 n. 1). North of it, on the southern bank of the Yarqon River, Tel Gerisa was an unfortified settlement in the EB III (Herzog 1993: 482; Gophna and Paz 2011). The contemporary small open settlement of Tell Qudadi is located nearby, but on the northern bank of the Yarqon River (Gophna and Paz 2011).

In light of this evidence, it is appropriate to return to the question of the *wenet*-settlements which were associated by Uni with the Heryu-sha (see above § 1.4). The existence of fortified settlements during the EB III along the southern part of the Palestinian coast, in an area identified as being possibly that of the Heryu-sha, sheds new light on this question.

Presently, no archaeological evidence can sustain Helck's suggestion (1971: 16-17) that the place called *Wenet* by the Egyptians in the late fourth millennium could be located in the vicinity of Rafiah. On the other hand, we have seen that a large Egyptian fortified settlement dating to the time of Dynasty 0 and the very beginning of the First Dynasty and to which expeditions were undoubtedly sent from Egypt has been identified through excavations at Tell es-Sakan, the only fortified settlement presently known for this period in this vicinity. Tell es-Sakan is therefore the best candidate to be identified with the place called *Wenet* in the early First Dynasty, especially if one considers that the mentions of *Wenet* and *wenet*-settlements in Egyptian sources (early First Dynasty, and then Fourth to Sixth Dynasties, respectively), correspond precisely to the periods of occupation of Tell es-Sakan (EB IB and EB III). Furthermore, the fact that the word *wenet* was used in the Sixth Dynasty in an extended sense (and this is clearly the case in Uni's inscription, where it does not designate a peculiar place but *several* fortified settlements: see our Fig. 2:3, and cf. Fischer 1959: 263), suggests that it refers then to a particular *category* of fortified settlements which were qualified by the term *wenet* because they were Asiatic settlement and/or because they were a special kind of fortified settlements, such as were not found in Egypt but found in Canaan. The EB III fortifications of Tell es-Sakan and the other contemporary Canaanite sites of southwestern Canaan likely to have witnessed the Egyptian assaults were indeed of a local Canaanite ("Asiatic") type, characterized by the presence of impressive glacis (Fig. 4), and were

therefore not comparable to their Egyptian counterparts (on the latter, see Moeller 2004).

### *2.3. The cultural province of southwestern Canaan*

These EB III settlements located along the coast were not isolated but part of a network of city-states covering the entire area of southwestern Canaan. There is a striking similarity between the material culture of the EB III settlements from all over this territory. Especially in the EB IIIB-C, pottery assemblages appear to be interchangeable across the entire region, including the Coastal Plain, the Shephelah, the Judean mountains, and the northern Negev (Miroschedji 2000; in press). This situation implies the establishment of close and regular relations among the major settlements of southwestern Palestine, with an increased circulation of goods, merchants, and craftsmen over a wide area.

However, there is also evidence that the material culture of the settlements located in the sandy part of the coastal area had distinct features. The EB III pottery from Tell es-Sakan (Miroschedji et al 2001: 92-93, 95) is very much the same as that found in the contemporary layers excavated at the bottom of Ashkelon,<sup>7</sup> and possibly also at Tel Poran (although the published sample is very small: see Gophna 1992: 270). These assemblages present distinctive characters such as the presence of short-necked cooking pots (Miroschedji et al. 2001: Fig. 17:18), attested only along the seashore and further north in the Esdraelon plain (Greenberg 2006; Miroschedji in press: Fig. 5.17:1-5); the abundance of small hemispherical bowls, of large bowls with inner rims (Miroschedji et al. 2001: Fig. 17:1-2, 5-6), and of juglets and jugs (ibid.: Fig. 17:10, 13-14); the low frequency of carinated platters (ibid.: Fig. 17:11); and the scarcity of the classic late EB III pithoi (ibid.: Figs. 17: 17, 20: 10). These features suggest that the pottery assemblages of these sites represent a coastal variant within the southwestern Canaanite ceramic province, an observation which implies that a distinction could be made between coastal and inland sites, thereby giving a cultural dimension to the geographical and ethnic distinction between the Heryu-sha and the Amu at large which we have detected in Uni's narrative (see above §§ 1.1 and 1.2).

### *2.4. The development of Tel Yarmuth*

Present evidence suggests that the EB III settlements of southwestern Canaan thrived particularly during the second half of the EB III and reached then the peak of their prosperity. The driving force behind this development may have been Tel Yarmuth, then possibly the largest city-state of southwestern Canaan (Miroschedji 1999, 2008). Three successive palaces dating to

<sup>7</sup> My thanks to D. Masters and R. Voss who kindly showed me the as yet unpublished Early Bronze Age pottery from Ashkelon and made possible the present reference.

the second part of the EB III have been excavated there (Miroschedji 2001, 2003, 2004). The latest, Palace B1, was the largest and most elaborate of the three. It included some 50 rooms, corridors, and small inner courtyards distributed in several functional areas, including an official and an economic part. Tel Yarmuth was obviously the seat of a strong political power, which may have dominated, or at least significantly influenced, the greater part of southern Canaan. The dismantling of fortifications in the course of the EB III on several sites (Tel Yarmuth, Tel Erani [?], Tel Halif, Tell Hesi, Tel Poran) even suggests the possibility that a kind of political unification had then taken place in this region, presumably under the aegis of Tel Yarmuth (Miroschedji 2006: 72-75). Significantly, there is indirect evidence of exchanges between Tel Yarmuth and Tell es-Sakan (Miroschedji 1993: 841 and Fig. 11). Hence, the Canaanite settlements attacked by Uni could probably count on the support of city-states located further inland.

### *3. Historical Context: Explaining Uni's campaigns*

#### *3.1. Historical Background: Contacts Between Egypt and Canaan in the EB III*

Given the degree of political, economic and cultural development achieved by southwestern Canaan during the EB III, it is not surprising that it re-established direct contacts with Egypt of the Old Kingdom, after centuries of interruption during the EB II, when Egyptian-Canaanite contacts bypassed the southern region in favor of northern Canaan. The renewed contacts between the two countries were both peaceful exchanges and military encounters.

The evidence of peaceful exchanges are actually relatively scarce. The list of Egyptian objects imported to southern Canaan during this period is not extensive. It consists of a few Egyptian pottery, several palettes and also beads (Sowada 2009: 91-127). To these material remains can be added the indication of the possible adoption of Egyptian architectural models and planning techniques of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties in the building of Palace B1 at Yarmuth and Building 3177 at Megiddo (see provisionally Miroschedji 2001).

On the Egyptian side, the evidence of Levantine imports is plentiful, but few of them can be related specifically to southwestern Canaan (Sowada 2009: 54-90, 154-82). The overwhelming majority of the archaeological, iconographic and inscriptional data testify to maritime connections established directly between Egypt and the northern Levant, especially Byblos, thus bypassing the Palestinian coast. As the long maritime journey between the Delta and Byblos implied several stopovers (see below), it is presumably in these ports of call that some goods and objects were exchanged between Egyptian sailors and coastal Ḥeryu-sha.

Evidence of military encounters between Egyptians and Canaanites are few but significant (Drower and Bottéro 1971: 357-61; Wright 1988: 154-56; Sowada 2009: 10-15). It should be stressed that Uni's Asiatic campaigns

were not the first instance of violent confrontation between the two peoples. Actually, by their magnitude these campaigns simply crowned a series of military ventures conducted in this area by the Egyptians during the Old Kingdom, especially the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. The evidence is indirect, but compelling. Titles borne by Egyptian officials, such as “Recruiter of the foreign guides of *Wenet* and of every foreign land” (Ii-Kai-Nedes, Fourth Dynasty) (Fischer 1959: 262-63) or “Overseer of the Road of Horus” (Hekni-khnum, mid-late Fifth Dynasty) (Sowada 2009: 93) imply that the overland route leading to Canaan across the northern Sinai was regularly travelled and that the Egyptians were eager to maintain it open. Other titles are evocative of military campaigns conducted to southwestern Canaan: “Scribe of the king’s army in *Wenet*” (Kai-aper, Fifth Dynasty), “Overseer of *Wenet*” (Mereri, Sixth Dynasty) (references in Fischer 1959: 263-64, Wright 1988: 152-53). Taken in conjunction with the siege scene in Inti’s tomb in Deshasheh, which may illustrate the attack of a *wenet*-settlement of the Heryu-sha (see above), this evidence of Egyptian military intervention in southwestern Canaan suggests periodic confrontations with the inhabitants of the coastal area of southern Palestine.

Why did the Egyptians intervene repeatedly and with such might in southwestern Canaan, a distant land located at ten days march from the Delta? In particular, what were the reasons for Uni’s campaigns against the Heryu-sha? It is these questions that we must now try to answer.

### 3.2. *The reason for Uni’s campaigns*

The commentators on Uni’s inscription have devoted relatively little attention to the reasons behind Uni’s campaign. Most have accepted Uni’s own presentation, namely that Pharaoh had to quell successive “rebellions” of the Heryu-sha, albeit stressing that this vocabulary was purely conventional and expressed first and foremost Egypt’s conception of its relations with the outside world (Wright 1988: 153, 156-57). Why, and against what kind of domination would the Heryu-sha “rebel” was not stated, so that one could imagine that the Egyptians actually controlled southern Canaan (so Ben-Tor 1982: 14). This possibility is suggested by the title “Overseer of *Wenet*” borne by the Sixth Dynasty official Mereri mentioned above, a title which could imply that the *wenet*-settlements were under Egyptian control (Wright 1988: 153). However, the absence of Egyptian material in any of the EB III sites of southwestern Canaan in quantity likely to indicate an Egyptian domination of this area needs to be stressed. In fact, there is presently no archaeological evidence whatsoever to support the notion of Egyptian control of southwestern Canaan during the Old Kingdom.

It was also supposed that Uni’s army simply intended to plunder the land of the Heryu-sha (e.g. Drower and Bottéro 1971: 360; Redford 1986: 132-40) – although it has been remarked, and rightly so, that it is economically not expedient to plunder repeatedly the same people (Wright 1988: 153).



Finally, it has also been surmised that Egypt was actually trying with increasing anxiety to quell the first manifestations of the unrest caused by the invaders who would eventually provoke the collapse of the urban Early Bronze Age civilization of Canaan and who posed a potential threat to Egypt (Gardiner 1961: 98; de Vaux 1971: 59; see also Redford 1992: 55 and Sowada 2009: 3-4). Notwithstanding the fact that the Delta was 350 kilometers away, and thus in no immediate danger, this supposition was formulated at a time when the collapse of the south Levantine Early Bronze Age was viewed as a rather quick process imputed to Amorite invaders (see, *inter alia*, de Vaux 1971: 61-69; Kenyon 1966; etc.). However, this opinion is no longer held as it is now generally agreed that this event, and also the First Intermediate Period in Egypt, represent instances of systemic collapse (see Miroschedji 2009). In any case, the supposition of an Amorite invasion would not explain why the Egyptians had engaged military operations against southwestern Canaan already in the Fifth Dynasty, a long time before the appearance of this alleged external threat.

It has also been suggested that the reasons behind Uni's campaigns were economic. Maspéro, who located the Heryu-sha in Sinai, argued that the goal of Uni's campaigns was to secure Egypt's access to the copper mines (Maspéro 1895: 419-21). The same view was defended recently by Mumford (2006: 55-57; see the comments above, n. 3). Stracmans (1935: 539 n. 1) held the same opinion, except for the sixth campaign which, he thought, had been motivated by the need to protect Egypt's maritime connections with Byblos. Couroyer (1971: 566-67) proposed that it was rather the coastal road to Lebanon and Syria which was threatened by the Heryu-sha. However, we have seen that the *via maris* – provided it was already in use in the third millennium, which is doubtful – actually turned off inland before crossing the Yarqon River.

Stracman's hypothesis was rarely taken up again, probably because the widely held opinion that the Heryu-sha were "Beduins" seemed to conflict with it. Why, and especially how, would nomads interfere in maritime activities? It is clear, however, that Stracman's hypothesis is the one which fits best with our present archaeological and historical knowledge of the period. Not only does it apply to Uni's sixth campaign but also it provides a convincing explanation for the previous ones and, more generally, for all the Egyptian military activities undertaken against Asiatics during the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty. If the Heryu-sha did control the southern part of the Palestinian coast, they could indeed pose a mortal threat to the maritime connections between Egypt and the Levant. This statement requires some explanation.

### 3.3. *Nature of Egyptian-Levantine maritime connections in the Old Kingdom*

The importance of the maritime connection between Egypt and Byblos in the Old Kingdom, especially in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, is a well established fact that needs no elaboration here (Drower and Bottéro 1971: 343-



51; Wright 1988: 146-52; Stager 1992: 35-41; Marcus 1998: 35-58; Sowada 2009: 128-41). It is illustrated by many finds in both countries, notably by fragments of vessels discovered in Byblos and inscribed with the names of Pharaohs, mostly from the Sixth Dynasty, when these connections reached their peak (Sparks 2003, 2008). Less well understood are the frequency of the journeys, the nature of the ships, and the conditions of navigation.

The frequency of the journeys is difficult to evaluate. The fact that a maritime expedition to Byblos could be recorded as an important event in the "Annals" of the reign of King Snefru of the Fourth Dynasty (Wilson 1969a: 227; Roccati 1982: §9), or that the return of such expeditions could be the subject of reliefs in the funerary temples of King Sahure at Abusir and King Unas at Saqqara, both of the Fifth Dynasty (Sowada 2009: Figs. 39, 43 and Pl. 19), suggests that these were sporadic ventures, as were, for example, the journeys to Punt in the Eighteenth Dynasty. However, precisely because they were out-of-ordinary events and conducted at the Pharaoh's command, they were important ventures, both economically and symbolically. This explains why their cessation after Pepi II's reign was much lamented in Egypt (see "The Admonitions of Ipuwer" in Wilson 1969b: 441, Lichtheim 1975: 149-63).

The earliest textual reference to seagoing ships is found in the above-mentioned reference to an expedition commissioned by Snefru. This may be the earliest record of the use of "Byblos ships". The Fifth Dynasty relief depictions of Sahure and Unas suggest that these were vessels of significant size capable of carrying a large crew and cargo (Marcus 2002: 407-8).

It is estimated that boats of this type could navigate at a speed of 2 to 6 nautical miles per hour, and that the journey from the Pelusiac branch of the Nile to Byblos, which is approximately 500 kilometers, would thus represent about 7 days of navigation (Marcus 2002: 403; Stanley 2002: 101). However, these figures assume that the winds were favorable and allowed an immediate departure after each stop over. Otherwise the journey could take as much as 20 days or more (E. Marcus, personal communication).

These boats allowed essentially a coastal navigation. Since sailors avoided sailing at night, the journey necessitated several stop-overs regularly spaced so as to offer harbor-like conditions after a day-long navigation. The mouths of rivers provided the best locations for these early harbors (Marcus 2002: 409; see also Stager 2002), several of which were still active in the Middle Ages.<sup>8</sup> Some of these natural harbors have an Early Bronze Age site nearby. This is the case at the mouth of the Gaza River, with nearby Tell es-Sakan, the major fortified site in the southern coastal region in the EB III. It is likely

<sup>8</sup> Along the coast of Palestine, the Arab geographer al-Mukaddasi (a native of Jerusalem) listed the following ports in the second half of the tenth century CE, from South to North: Ghazzah (Gaza), Mimâs (Maiumas = Kh. el-Blakhiye), 'Askalân (Ashkelon), Azdûd (Ashdod), Yubnâ (Yavne), Yâfah (Jaffa) and Arsûf (Apollonia = Tel Arshaf). See Le Strange 1890: 23-24.

that Tell es-Sakan was originally located on the bank of the Gaza River. Following its abandonment and a change in the course of the river at the end of the third millennium, it was succeeded by Tell el-Ajjul, less than a kilometer away, a site which enjoyed extensive maritime connections in the Middle Bronze Age (Morhange et al. 2005). As already mentioned above, another mouth of river with an anchorage point historically attested until modern times is that of the Yarqon River, close to the EB III site of Tel Gerisa.

#### *3.4. The Ḫeryu-sha's interference in Egypt's maritime traffic: an early example of piracy*

On the basis of the preceding observations, it is suggested that the Ḫeryu-sha, inhabitants of the Palestinian coast, interfered directly in the maritime connection between Egypt and Byblos, presumably forbidding at times the use of their harbors as ports of call for the Egyptian fleets or, even worse, taking the ships, pillaging them or ransoming for their release. They could do so all the more easily as they were part of a powerful network of city-states covering the entire southwestern Canaan. This could be considered as one of the earliest instance of piracy in the Mediterranean Sea. Its disastrous effects necessitated repeated Egyptian military interventions to maintain the seagoing traffic between Egypt and the central Levant. In the world outlook of the Egyptians, these actions by the Ḫeryu-sha were considered as “rebellions” necessitating harsh “punishments.” This is precisely the vocabulary that Uni used in his narrative. These punitive and deterrent expeditions had probably started in the Fifth Dynasty when southwestern Canaan reached an unprecedented level of prosperity and, consequently, of nuisance for the Egyptians. Uni's narrative simply documents a peak in this military activity, provoked by an increase in acts of piracy proportionally to the increased frequency of the maritime connections between Egypt and Byblos, which reached their highest point during the reign of Pepi I. Since they had to intervene so far from their homeland, and for relatively short campaigns, the Egyptians had limited capabilities. Their military actions, however brutal, had only short term efficacy. They therefore required periodic repetition, and ultimately they were doomed to failure.

#### *Summary and conclusion*

Thanks to recent archaeological discoveries, it is possible for the first time to go beyond a textual analysis of Uni's narrative of his Asiatic campaigns. The identification of a chain of EB III Canaanite sites, some of them powerfully fortified, located in the sandy part of the Palestinian coast, between the Gaza and the Yarqon Rivers, may represent the settlements of the Ḫeryu-sha, “those who are upon the sand”, the people targeted by Uni's repeated campaigns. This suggestion offers an explanation for the otherwise puzzling name of these people who were a fraction of the Amu, the “Asiatic” inhabit-

ants of the Levant, from which they were distinguished by the fact that they lived along the sandy coast of southern Palestine. This location of the “land of the Heryu-sha” along the Philistine coast, a territory which had a marked individuality throughout history, sheds light on several aspects of Uni’s narrative and contributes, in particular, to a better understanding of Uni’s sixth campaign.

These coastal EB III sites correspond probably to the *wenet*-settlements alluded to in the titles of some Old Kingdom officials and mentioned in Uni’s narrative as the settlements of the Heryu-sha. Tell es-Sakan, the main Early Bronze Age site in this area, had a long history. At the end of the fourth millennium, it was an Egyptian fortified town presumably at the head of the Egyptian colonial domain of southwestern Canaan. It is therefore quite possible that it should be equated with the original settlement of *Wenet* hinted at in laconic inscriptions of the First Dynasty. During the Old Kingdom, Tell es-Sakan was necessarily the first fortified “Asiatic” settlement encountered by anyone penetrating Canaan from Egypt due to its location, close to a ford through which all invading armies had to pass, and passed indeed from Uni to Allenby. Therefore, it may well have been one of the *wenet*-settlements attacked by Uni, and perhaps even the fortified settlement depicted under siege on a relief of the tomb of Inti at Deshasheh.

These coastal sites had been founded or re-founded in the course of the EB III within the context of a settlement revival and expansion. This phenomenon correlates with a peak of prosperity in southwestern Canaan during the third millennium marked by a strong cultural unity, which may have been accompanied by some degree of political unity, perhaps under the aegis of Tel Yarmuth. There was thus a kind of historical coincidence between the emergence along the coast of Canaanite city-states that were possibly backed by powerful political entities such as Tel Yarmuth, on the one hand, and an increase of maritime connections between Egypt and Byblos, on the other hand. These Canaanite city-states controlled the sea coast along which the Egyptian vessels needed to make several stop-overs. They had therefore a considerable power of nuisance, and they could perpetrate periodic acts of piracy. Such were the ingredients that led to the recurrent conflicts between Egypt and Canaan during the Old Kingdom. The Egyptian interventions in Canaan were not meant to establish or maintain Egypt’s domination over a territory that it actually never controlled before the Eighteenth Dynasty, nor the result of a greed for plunder or a response to an alleged threat of invasion. They were punitive operations carried out in order to safeguard the maritime connections between Egypt and Byblos. Uni’s campaigns were not the only operations of their kind conducted by Egypt during this period. They are simply the only ones known to us, and fortunately they were recorded in detail. Such ventures probably took place several times during the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty, but presumably with increased frequency during the Sixth Dynasty, when the maritime connections between Egypt and Byblos became also more frequent.

Hence, by combining the archaeological evidence derived from recent excavations with the data contained in Uni's narrative of his Asiatic campaigns, it is possible to sketch an overall picture of Egyptian-Canaanite interactions in the third millennium BCE, a picture which is almost an outline of political history. It offers a fleeting glimpse of Egypt's first and failed attempts to secure control of the seashore of southwestern Canaan and of Canaan's first and brief entry on the scene of history.

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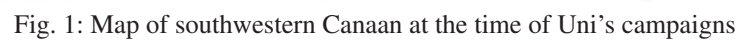


Fig. 1: Map of southwestern Canaan at the time of Uni's campaigns

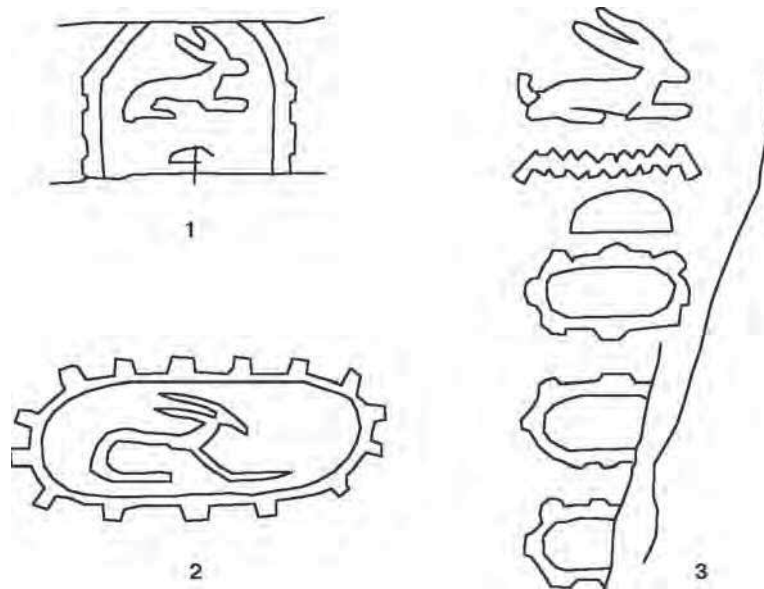


Fig. 2: Examples of wenet signs. 1-2: on First Dynasty wooden tablets. 3: in Uni's inscription (after Fischer 1959: 261, Fig. 23:a-b,e).

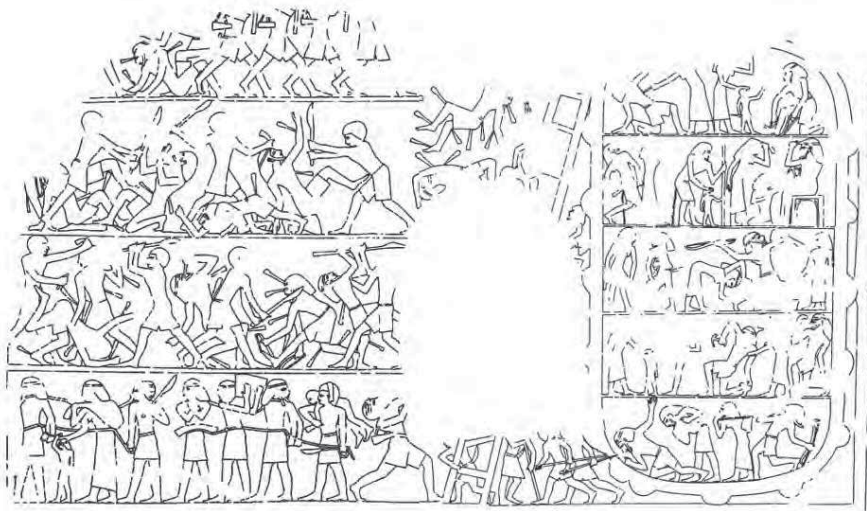


Fig. 3: The Deshasheh relief (after Petrie 1898: Pl. IV)

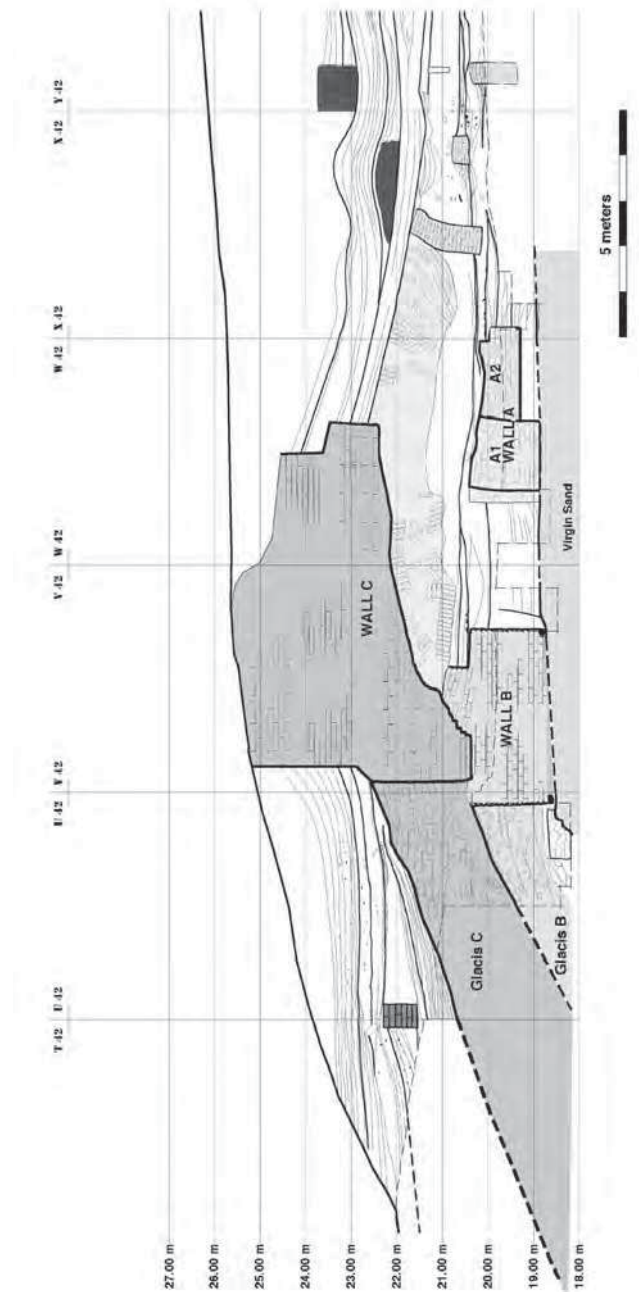


Fig. 4: The Early Bronze Age fortifications at Tell es-Sakan (Area A, NW Section, detail)

# The Temple of the Kothon at Motya, Sicily: Phoenician Religious Architecture from the Levant to the West

Lorenzo Nigro

## *1. Introduction*

### *1.1. Eliezer D. Oren at Motya and the discovery of the Temple of the Kothon*

Wherever I have been digging in the Near East, or simply, travelling for scholarly reasons (conferences, workshops, etc.) in Europe and the Near East, Eliezer D. Oren has appeared suddenly from a hill or behind a corner, as a presence always active, vigilant, stimulating with his penetrating humor. To this I was already accustomed, when in 2002 Rome La Sapienza University resumed archaeological investigations at Motya (with a team previously engaged at Tell es-Sultan/Jericho), the Phoenician foundation in the lovely island of Western Sicily, choosing a spot, the eastern side of the artificial basin known as the “kothon,” where two trenches cut by previous excavators (under the direction of Prof. B. S. J. Isserlin of the University of Leeds) had left unearthened a majestic structure built in local sandstone (“calcarenite”). It was, then, for me, amazing to apprehend that such trenches had been excavated in 1968 by a young Eliezer D. Oren, again surprisingly appearing on my excavation field, unexpectedly.<sup>1</sup> Much more unexpected was to discover that the ashlar structure emerging in Prof. Isserlin’s South Trench<sup>2</sup> was the monumental entrance to a huge temple, which has been thoroughly excavated during six excavation campaigns (2002-2007), and has been called the Temple of the Kothon. It is, thus, most appropriate to offer an overall presentation of this temple in this volume as homage to Prof. Oren.

### *1.2. Rome La Sapienza Excavations at Motya*

Rome La Sapienza Expedition to Motya resumed its field activity in 2002, after a nine year hiatus. The renewed excavation was intended as the continu-

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<sup>1</sup> For the sake of brevity I do not mention the numerous common points touched upon in conferences and personal talks with a fruitful exchange of data and interpretative insights at the time of the excavation of the MB temple at Tell Abu Hureira (Tel Haror), which Prof. Oren carried out while Nicolò Marchetti and I were engaged at Ebla in the excavation of the square facing monumental Temple P2 (Matthiae 1990; 1993).

<sup>2</sup> *Mozia* X, 38-40, 68-75.

ation of the outstanding work of Antonia Ciasca, the scholar who devoted a large part of her life to the archaeology of Motya, uncovering the Tophet and a long stretch of the city-walls.<sup>3</sup> Excavation activities have been carried out in three different areas, in order to achieve the following aims:

- a) investigating the origins of the Phoenician foundation on the western slopes of the Acropolis (Area D), where several soundings enabled the excavation to reach the earliest layers of the Bronze and Iron Ages;
- b) establishing the architecture, stratigraphy and function of the Kothon, the built-up basin traditionally considered a “kothon”, i.e. an inner harbor, by digging on its eastern side and in the area of the South Gate (Area C), where – as stated above – a series of superimposed temples has been discovered;
- c) examining the urban history and topography by digging the West Gate and the related city-walls (Area F), where a huge defensive building flanking the gate has been brought to light, called the Western Fortress.

## 2. *Architecture and Stratigraphy of the Temple of the Kothon*

The main temple (Temple C1-C2), excavated almost completely after six campaigns, was erected 10 m east of the eastern quay of the basin (Figs. 1-2), over the ruins of an earlier sacred building (Temple C5; Nigro 2010), of which it retained the orientation and the overall layout, as the most recent results of the dig demonstrated. After the final destruction of Motya by Dionysios of Syracuse (397 BC), which of course affected drastically the temple and the neighbouring zones, the remains of the religious buildings were carefully dismantled and a sacred compound was set up over them, called Sanctuary C3.

The stratigraphy of the three superimposed temples (and the open area Sanctuary C3), which was connected with that of the artificial basin and of the South Gate Quarter excavated by the British Expedition, made it possible to reconstruct the history of the whole south-western quarter of the city from the earliest Phoenician settlement in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE to modern times (the Kothon remained in use as a salt producing pool [saltwork, “salina”] and as a fishing basin through Roman, Byzantine, Islamic, Medieval and modern periods).<sup>4</sup>

Temple C5 (Phases 7-6) was founded in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE, and kept in use until the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE, when it suffered a violent destruction, also documented in other areas at Motya. It was reconstructed in a monumental shape (Temple C1, Phase 5), in which it remained until the first or the second decade of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, when a further demolition caused a new reconstruction of the building (Temple C2, Phase 4), which remained in use until Dionysios’ final destruction of 397 BCE. Sanctuary

<sup>3</sup> Ciasca 1992; 1993; Nigro 2004; *Mozia* X, 7-15.

<sup>4</sup> *Mozia* XI, 20-59.



C3 (Phase 3) was set up over the ruins of the temple one year later and was apparently used until the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

### 2.1. Overall plan of the Temple of the Kothon

We have still scanty data on Temple C5, except for its stratigraphic setting (see above), and for the identification of its northern wall, which is exactly under its successors of Temples C1-C2, demonstrating that the latter temples retained the same perimeter of the earliest sacred building. The basic plan of the Temple of the Kothon (C1-C2) adopted the scheme of the so-called “Four Room Building,” a typical device of Syro-Palestinian Iron Age public architecture,<sup>5</sup> which is characterised by three parallel rectangular spaces (with the central one usually larger than the two flanking it) and a major transversal room. Moreover, this module was designed so that the main entrance to the “Four Room Building” was located at the end of one of its long sides, while the lateral wings were commonly subdivided into regular rooms. The Temple of the Kothon was erected according to this planimetric scheme<sup>6</sup>. The overall interior dimensions of the building were 34 x 24 cubits (17.85 x 12.60 m) while the outer perimeter, including the eastern wing added in Phase 4, reached 37 x 26 cubits (19.30 x 13.65 m). The central space was an open court, where several cult installations were erected, while the two lateral wings hosted, respectively, (a) the main *cella* of the temple with a raised *adyton* on the north and (b) a vestibule and a second cult room on the south. To this central tripartite block two side wings had been juxtaposed on the short eastern and western sides, each long 24 cubits (12.6 m). The western wing opened towards the Kothon quay (Fig. 3), while the eastern wing (Fig. 4), which also hosted a stele and an obelisk, was connected to a second entrance looking east.

### 2.2. Architecture and building technique

The main supporting structure of the temple was based upon a module of 6 cubits (3.15 m), i.e. the module used for the displacement of sandstone squared pillars arrayed on the main perimeter and inner walls, and in the

<sup>5</sup> The plan of the so-called “Four Room Buildings” is a scheme variously adopted in Levantine public architecture during the Iron Age (Shiloh 1970; Wright 1985: 275-280; Nigro 1994: 203-291, 436-452; Sharon and Zarzecki-Peleg 2006), also attested in religious architecture (Ottosson 1980: 66-71; see below § 4.3.). This plan probably descends from a classic layout of Palestinian domestic architecture in this period, that of the so-called “Four Room House” (Braemer 1982; Netzer 1992). The latter structure features three parallel long rooms with a transversal room behind their short sides covering the entire width of the house. Moreover, Levantine Iron II “Four Room Buildings” are characterized by the adoption of the ashlar masonry typical of the Phoenician tradition with dressed blocks regularly displaced on alternated courses (Shiloh 1979: 50-69; Stern 1992: 302-304).

<sup>6</sup> For an overall description of the Temple: Nigro 2009b: 255-265.



*intercolumni* of the two rows of pillars, which in Phase 5 divided the temple into two wings (northern and southern) and a central courtyard.<sup>7</sup> Temple C1 was erected after the destruction layer of the previous sacred building had been levelled and new foundation walls had been built at the same elevation in the central block of the building, with the western and eastern wings respectively a half cubit lower and a half cubit higher in respect of it. Consequently, it was possible to overcome the difference in elevation of around 1 cubit between the quay of the Kothon and the street facing the eastern façade of the temple.<sup>8</sup>

The foundation walls were built up in a continuous structure made of limestone slabs and sandstone boulders, regularly cut according to 1 ½ or 2 x 1 cubits,<sup>9</sup> carefully worked on their upper surface where stone pillars (usually sandstone blocks 1 x 3 cubits) and standing stone walls were set up. The superstructure was built over a certain height in mud-bricks of a distinguished orange color, detected in almost all of the room of the temple in the destruction layer.<sup>10</sup>

### 2.3. *The monumental gate and the other entrances to the temple*

The building had three entrances. The main gate, flanked by two half-columns or pilasters supporting two Proto-Aeolic capitals (see below), was on its southern side, opening towards the square between the temple and the South Gate. The second major gate was at the center of the eastern side and opened directly outside the sacred area on the main street connecting the Kothon to the Acropolis. A third door opened towards the Kothon eastern quay, through a porch added to the temple on its western side.

The main southern gate, which was in use during the whole life of the temple, was aligned with the South Gate (55 m far away),<sup>11</sup> and consisted of a raised threshold 2.8 m wide, made up with two huge blocks, flanked by two protruding pilasters, each supporting a Proto-Aeolic capital, of a type

<sup>7</sup> *Mozia XI*, 116-118, Figs. 2.157-2.162.

<sup>8</sup> Since at the center of the temple there was a sacred well, the elevation of the floors was very important in the planning and erection of the sacred building; a series of underground drains and channels connected the various cult installations and, especially, the central obelisk and the sacred well to the Kothon itself (see below).

<sup>9</sup> In some spots, for example in the south-western corner of the temple, a series of large limestone blocks cut from the local bedrock was placed; the same irregular boulders of local limestone were sometimes used in the foundation walls as an alternative to sandstone slabs (for example, along the northern foundation wall: *Mozia XI*, 97-99, Figs. 2.125-2.127).

<sup>10</sup> *Mozia XI*, 49.

<sup>11</sup> A large square occupied the free space between the Temple and the South Gate, up to the edge of the domestic quarter brought to light by the British Expedition (Isserlin 1970: 573-579; Isserlin and Taylor 1974, 50-68; Nigro and Lisella 2004), which has been newly investigated in the last two excavation campaigns (*Mozia XI*, plan IV, squares CnIX1, CoIX1); a GPR survey indicated the possible presence of other cult installations in this square.

with large central palmette and small volutes of possible Cypriote influx (Fig. 5).<sup>12</sup> Just inside the *antae* on both sides of the passage a couple of free-standing pillars conveyed a symbolic meaning, since they did not have a structural function, and they recall a typical feature of Canaanite/Phoenician sacred architecture.<sup>13</sup>

The door lintel was surmounted by an Egyptian gola, as it is indicated by some sparse fragments retrieved in the destruction layers, while the upper frame of the building was probably a double embolden lintel, to which a carved block found on the eastern quay of the Kothon seems to witness<sup>14</sup>. The reconstruction of the main entrance to the Temple of the Kothon is, thus, not so different from many representations of temple gates on Levantine clay *naiskoi*,<sup>15</sup> or better by a number of *edicolae* carved on Punic stelae, as clearly exemplified by specimens from Motya itself (Fig. 6).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Although the temple was fully dismantled after Dionysios' destruction of 397 BCE, its monumental southern entrance has been reconstructed thanks to the retrieval, in the sacred well in its central courtyard, of some architectural elements which belonged to it: in the filling within the well one Proto-Aeolic capital was found (*Mozia XI*, 72), together with the sandstone blocks of a pilaster (*Mozia X*, 68-70, Figs. 2.28-2.35), while the well mouth was ritually closed by a circular monument (erected in Sanctuary C3, Phase 3), at the center of which the base of the half-column was vertically standing, like a stele or a *signum memoriae* of the sacred device (*Mozia X*, 57-58, note 60, Figs. 2.19-2.20, 2.33, Pls. XIV-XV). About Proto-Aeolic capitals at Motya see: Nigro 2001-2003).

<sup>13</sup> The foremost forerunners of such pillars are the two bronze columns, called Yachin and Boaz, flanking the monumental entrance of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem according to the biblical description in I Kings 7:15-22; 2 Chron. 3:15-17; Busink 1970: 299-321). Equally famous were the two golden and emerald pillars described by Flavius Josephus standing on both sides of the entrance to the Zeus (Baal Shamin) Temple at Tyre (*C. Ap.* 1, 112-127); according to Herodotus who visited the Phoenician island (II, 44, 1-3), those pillars flanked the entrance to the Temple of Melqart. From a mere archaeological point of view, the nearest evidence of such devices of Canaanite/Phoenician temples is perhaps the well known pair of pillars attested to in the Orthostats Temple of Hazor (Otto 1980: 29-32, Fig. 5C-D1; Matthiae 1997: 138-139); another interesting antecedent may be the free-standing pillars without any static function discovered in the temple of Kamid el-Loz, in the Lebanese Beqa' (Matthiae 1986: 122-128; 1997, 118-119; Metzger 1991: 151-159, 209-212, Pls. 8:2, 9, 42-43). This long and firm tradition of Levantine religious architecture was, thus, transmitted also to the West, finding a number of new interpretations both in the Phoenician and Punic architectural language. A further example, perhaps much more meaningful in respect of the Temple of the Kothon of Motya, is offered by the very pillars with floral capital retrieved in the Temple of Astarte at Kouklia-Palaepaphos in Cyprus (Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 191, Figs. 176-177), which in respect of their dimensions and the carving technique recall the fragments found on both sides of the entrance to the former.

<sup>14</sup> Two more carved ashlar blocks mentioned by Isserlin (but non illustrated) may have belonged to the same monument (Isserlin 1971: 183-184).

<sup>15</sup> Several terracotta *naiskoi* illustrate the typical façade of the Phoenician temples, flanked by a pair of columns surmounted by Proto-Aeolic capitals supporting an Egyptian gola (e.g. *I Fenici*, 163, 589 [No. 34]).

<sup>16</sup> Some *edicolae* may be quoted as examples of temple fronts with pillars and capitals: stele S 285 (*Mozia VI*, 87-93, Pl. XLIX, 1-2, 115-116, n. 21, Pl. LXXIX, 2; Moscati and Uberti

#### 2.4. Temple C1 of Phase 5 (second half of 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE)

Structures of Temple C1 are partly concealed underneath or within the foundations of following Temple C2, and they have been explored in almost all the spots where later floors of Phase 4 were not preserved, and in a series of soundings excavated in selected points of the building, such as the vestibule, the corners of the main *cella*, the western wing; soundings basically aimed, however, at the investigation of the earliest sacred building of Phases 7-6 (Temple C5). The central block of the temple, with a somewhat square plan, was subdivided into three rectangular spaces on the east-west axis by a double row of pillars; in the center was a court, towards which the northern and southern wings opened (Fig. 7).<sup>17</sup> To this block an eastern and western wing were juxtaposed. The eastern wing, 8 cubits-wide (4.2 m), was accessible through a couple of doors symmetrically opened in the eastern side of the temple. It was connected with the central courtyard through a door in the south-eastern corner of the latter. The western wing, facing the Kothon, was conversely only 6 cubits wide (3.15 m) because, through a somewhat wide passage, it entered a porch opening towards the eastern quay of the Kothon. The flagstones flooring<sup>18</sup> of this wing was, in fact, directly connected with the limestone slabs pavement of the eastern quay of the basin, where the drain connected with the sacred well and the obelisk was inserted (Fig. 7).

In the central courtyard a series of cult installations were arrayed:<sup>19</sup> a sacred well, with a square mouth (with the corners oriented according to the north);<sup>20</sup> an obelisk, standing behind the well; and two stelae, the latter three free standing elements aligned on the middle axis of the courtyard (each stele was standing on a square base; Fig. 8). All monuments were connected with or incorporated holes for libations. From the holes at the foot of the obelisk a channel ran under the flooring and emerged on the quay surface, eventually flowing into the Kothon (Fig. 9). The northern wing of Temple C1 was characterized by the presence of a raised area at its eastern end, possibly indicating a cult focus. In the rear wall of the *cella* and against the northern face of a sandstone block enclosing the raised area to the west, two libation orifices suggested that a cult element was standing on the platform.

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1981, Pl. XLIX, n. 316); stelae *S 12* and *S 172* for the representation of a temple entrance with a betyl/obelisk inside (Moscati and Uberti 1981: 181, Pl. XCIII, nn. 611 e 612); stele *S 128* for the representation of the façade with a three-betyl altar (Moscati and Uberti 1981: 193, Pl. XCIII, n. 677); stele *S 257* for the representation of a priest worshipping a betyl or an obelisk (*Mozia VI*, 87-93, Pl. LXVII, 1; Moscati and Uberti 1981: 243, Pl. CLXIV, 1, n. 922).

<sup>17</sup> *Mozia XI*, 56-57, plan VI.

<sup>18</sup> Underneath the flagstones floor of the western wing two foundation deposits in local "neck-ridge" jugs were discovered, including animal bones and sea shells.

<sup>19</sup> Cult installations in the courtyard of Temple C1 are more or less the same as those of Temple C2, except for some minor transformations (See below in the main text); *Mozia XI*, 105-110, Figs. 2.136-2.148.

<sup>20</sup> The well mouth was made of some slabs partially worked on their upper face (*Mozia X*, 79-80, Figs. 2.40-2.41).

The most meaningful characteristic of Temple C1 is the subdivision of the plan into three wings through the two rows of pillars, which finds several parallels in Levantine sacred buildings of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC (see below § 4.1.).

### 2.5. Temple C2 of Phase (5<sup>th</sup> century BCE)

During the first decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, the Temple of the Kothon underwent a general reconstruction. The result of this reconstruction was to distinguish the main *cella* on the northern side of the central open cult space and to change the inner circulation among the various cult rooms and devices (Fig. 10). Floors were raised in all rooms, and the sacred installations arrayed in the central courtyard were re-organized: the easternmost stele was removed, and its square base with its foundation deposits<sup>21</sup> were concealed under the new floor, possibly because roughly at the middle of the eastern side of the courtyard a small podium was erected. This podium also delimited a raised platform in the north-eastern corner of the open space, perhaps destined to host a small throne.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, the central installation was enlarged, with the stele in the corner of a square platform which had on its northern side, just behind the stele, orifices for libations connected with an underground drain<sup>23</sup>. The obelisk and the sacred well remained in use with the same displacement of the earlier phase, as well as the small platform on the eastern side of the former.

After the closing of the pillared hall, the northern main *cella* opened towards the central court through a monumental gate (with a monolithic threshold, facing the main temple entrance and the vestibule). In addition, it was fully refurbished in the interior, especially at its eastern end, where a raised *adyton* with an introducing step and two antae was built up, obliterating previous libation holes.<sup>24</sup>

The southern *cella*, accessible from the south-western corner of the central cult space, was provided with three lateral benches, possibly used as seats or daises for offerings, while a small sandstone block pierced for libations (*mundus*) was embedded into the floor in the north-western quadrant of the room (Fig. 11).<sup>25</sup> The cut-off neck of a Greek amphora, found nearby, was presumably used for pouring liquids underground.

Also the western wing of the temple was refurbished and given a new floor, covering the original flagstones pavement (Fig. 3). At the northern end of the room a cult device was set, with a small podium/altar built against the

<sup>21</sup> These deposits were buried in the corners of each installations (the sacred well, the obelisk, and two stelae), including numerous sea-shells (*Cerithium rupestre*).

<sup>22</sup> *Mozia XI*, 110, Figs. 2.146-2.147.

<sup>23</sup> *Mozia XI*, 107-108, Figs. 2.141-2.142.

<sup>24</sup> Some burnt traces in the middle of the hall indicated the presence of wooden cult furniture (*Mozia XI*, Fig. 2.133).

<sup>25</sup> *Mozia XI*, 111-116, Figs. 2.148-2.156.

eastern wall, and two jug bottoms embedded into the floor probably to be used for perfume libations (Fig. 12). The eastern wing was re-floored only in its southern half, where a stele or, more probably, a second obelisk stood.<sup>26</sup> In the northern half of the hall, another stele was set up on a rectangular basis (1 x 2 cubits)<sup>27</sup> placed in the middle of the room<sup>28</sup>, to which a second square slab (1 cubit by side) was adjoined (Fig. 4), according to a scheme adopted also in the central courtyard for the obelisk.<sup>29</sup>

#### 2.5.1. *The eastern monumental entrance and the circular temenos*

The major transformation of the temple in Phase 4, however, affected the eastern side of the building. Here a monumental entrance was added to the pre-existing façade, so that the front of the temple protruded eastwards onto a street. This kind of *propyleum* included a central door flanked by a couple of orthostats, introducing into a vestibule, and to a second passage in the south-eastern corner room leading to the square south of the temple itself. This suggested that a temenos existed including the temple and the square south of it, which, actually, was successively identified for a length of more than 80 m. The temenos wall, of which so far only a small portion has been excavated, has a circular layout and encompasses the area immediately inside the South Gate to the Temple and, apparently (according to its circumference), also the whole Kothon (Fig. 14). If this is confirmed by future excavations, the functional relationship between the temple and the Kothon (together with the already proved structural and stratigraphic connections) will be definitely demonstrated.

The violent Syracusan attack of 397 BCE marked the tragic end of the Temple of the Kothon. The sacred area, however, was not abandoned: the ruins of the sacred building were carefully dismantled, collecting the obelisk and the stelae and other blocks from the various cult installations (Fig. 15) in a huge *favissa*. The destruction layers were razed, and directly over them an open cult place called Sanctuary C3 was set up, with several installations (altars, *bothroi*, *tannurs*), and in a bounded field several offerings were bur-

<sup>26</sup> This obelisk was removed together with its base in Phase 3c, when the destroyed Temple of the Kothon was carefully dismantled; the square pit and the ramp made for removing the monument are similar to the basement of the obelisk in the central courtyard of the temple.

<sup>27</sup> The rectangular slab exhibits a geometric incision consisting of a square (46 cm) flanked by two rectangles (46 x 23 cm), which recalls the overall plan of the building with a tripartite central sector and two side wings.

<sup>28</sup> It seems reasonable that a betyl or stele with a square section was standing upon this base, which was removed after the destruction of the Temple. In front of the monument, there was a square slab, like in the obelisk in the central courtyard. Two small rectangular holes in the crushed limestone flooring of the hall near the base suggest the presence of mobile furnishings, or votive pillars, removed during the sack of the building.

<sup>29</sup> At a short distance from the obelisk base, a bronze nail with a lead revetment (Fig. 13) was found fixed into the floor, curiously aligned with the other cult installation of the temple in the central courtyard and again displaced along the median east-west axis of the building.

ied. Sanctuary C3 was in use for the entire 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, thus testifying to how deeply rooted was the religious vocation of the area of the Kothon<sup>30</sup>.

### *3. The Spring of the Kothon and the relationship between the Temple and the Kothon*

Six seasons of excavations in Area C (2002-2007) made it possible to thoroughly reconstruct the architecture and stratigraphy of the Temple. However, some more general interpretative problems remained unsolved, such as determining the orientation of the sacred building, inconsistent both in respect of the South Gate, the city-walls, the road network, and, especially, in respect of the Kothon, with which, nonetheless, the Temple proved to be strictly linked.

A new survey of the Kothon confirmed that the built-up basin was completely enclosed by a continuous wall made of ashlar also on its southern side, where it seems nowadays to be connected with the channel across the city-wall (a dock) already excavated by the British Expedition, through a second oblique channel (actually a series of drains added when the pool was turned into a salt producing device or “salina”). The Kothon was instead a closed basin with a perimeter wall built up all together.<sup>31</sup> It measures 51.97 m. x 36.75 m.,<sup>32</sup> i.e., 99 x 70 cubits by 0.525 m.<sup>33</sup> These dimensions sug-

<sup>30</sup> On the cult compound erected over the razed ruins of the Temple of the Kothon after the Dionysios’ destruction, called Sanctuary C3, see: *Mozia X*, 45-51, 53-67, Figs. 2.11, 2.14-2.27, *Mozia XI*, 39-47, 60-92; Figs. 2.79-2.116. The illustration of architecture and cult installations of Sanctuary C3 is beyond the goals of the present article; numerous finds from the votive field hosted in the central area of Sanctuary, however, provide a wide and coherent inventory of offerings (including animal bones, sea-shells, metal objects and raw minerals, small pottery vessels, mainly Black Ware), illustrating cult activities performed in this religious area, hinting a deity connected with subterranean word and waters. For a general presentation of these votive deposits see: *Mozia XI*, 73-86, Figs. 2.98-2.112, pls. CXXXII-CXCII.

<sup>31</sup> Isserlin had already noticed that, at least in its latest phase of use, the channel apparently connecting the Kothon to the Lagoon in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, was no more accessible (Isserlin 1970: 565; 1971: 184-185). On the southern wall of the basin, Isserlin, finally, states “the impression gained so far is that except for the western corner, most of the south wall is of one period” (Isserlin 1971, 185). New investigations after the emptying of the Kothon have shown that the southern wall of the basin, in its lower courses, is part of the original unique ashlar structure enclosing completely the pool from all its sides (Fig. 16). Moreover, we stress the fact that the whole perimeter of the basin is made of stretchers blocks, without a single header, as it is common almost in every Phoenician harbor (as it is exemplary attested to in the dock which constitutes the outer channel included in the city-walls, only secondarily connected with the so-called Kothon).

<sup>32</sup> These dimensions derive from a new careful survey of the monument carried out in the 2005 season; they only slightly differ from those recorded by J. Whitaker (1921: 190), “c. 51 x 37 m.,” which B. Isserlin reproduced (1971: 178), and from those provided by J. du Plat Taylor of 51 x 35.5 m. (du Plat Taylor 1964: 91).

<sup>33</sup> The short side of the Kothon is 70 cubits (36.75 m.) long, a dimension which generates the entire project, roughly corresponding to 125 Attic ft. (37 m.), while the long side of



gest that the rectangular basin was meant to be based upon a square module of 70 cubits, corresponding to the short side of the pool, and obtaining the long side from the projection of the diagonal of this square (so to produce two lengths, both of which were multiples of the cubit, which was 0.525 m.). The same design was adopted for the project of the temple: the plan of the original four-room module was generated by projecting the diagonal of the central square (made up by the three rectangular spaces), and obtaining a building with a length of 37 cubits, roughly half of the short side of the Kothon (Fig. 17).<sup>34</sup>

A new decisive element, which sheds light on our understanding of the Temple, was discovered during the 2005 season. At that time, the water was emptied from the artificial basin in order to proceed to the excavation and survey of its eastern quay.<sup>35</sup> Two weeks after the basin was completely emptied and a flow of fresh water sprung out from the northern wall of the pool (Fig. 18), where a series of blocks protrudes from the edge of the perimeter wall for a length of 7.83 m. (15 cubits)<sup>36</sup>. This device proved to be the structural element through which fresh water flowed into the pool (Fig. 19). A basic achievement, obtained by geological investigations and paleo-environmental studies<sup>37</sup> in the Marsala Lagoon,<sup>38</sup> where Motya lies, was the discovery that the sea level was 0.8 m lower in antiquity,<sup>39</sup> allowing fresh

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the basin, with a length of 99 cubits (51.97 m.), coincides with 175 Attic ft. Isserlin (1971: 184) noticed that the general dimensions of the Kothon roughly correspond to the overall area of the temenos of the Temple of "Cappiddazzu," with an extension of around an *actus* of 120 Attic ft. Isserlin suggested that a Greek canon had been used while planning Motya in its second monumental reconstruction. However, the dimensions upon which this interpretation was based do not fit the Attic *actus*. In any case, the two metrologic systems, the Greek/Siceliote and the Phoenician ones, are meaningfully integrated in the monument, as a further proof of the capabilities of cultural assimilation of Motya ancient inhabitants.

<sup>34</sup> In the plan project, however, what seems really meaningful is that both monuments were realized using the same basic unit, the so-called Pharaonic or "royal" Egyptian cubits of 0.525 m.: Isserlin and du Plat Taylor 1974: 93. In the second reconstruction of the Temple of the Kothon (Temple C2 of Phase 4, 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE) the Punic cubit of 0.46 m. is also used.

<sup>35</sup> The Kothon was partly emptied by J. Whitaker in its western part, while the perimeter structure, in the corners and in some spots of the northern and southern sides, were explored by the British Expedition directed by B. S. J. Isserlin (1971: 184-186). New investigations were made possible thanks to a pump generously provided by Mr. Dali from the saltworks facing Motya (Nigro 2006).

<sup>36</sup> Such a protruding structure had been already noticed in the past, and it was interpreted as a device useful to dock boats (Isserlin 1970: 565; 1971, 185, Pl. XXIXb; Famà 1995: 178; Tusa 2004: 448).

<sup>37</sup> Tusa 2004.

<sup>38</sup> The observation of numerous fish and birds of various kinds concentrating in the Kothon and in its immediate neighbourhood, as already observed by Whitaker (1921: 190), indicated the presence of a flow of fresh water.

<sup>39</sup> The problem of water level was immediately apparent to scholars as soon as J. Whitaker published the results of his investigation of this question at the Kothon (Isserlin 1971: 179).



water present in the underground marl strata to erupt.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, geological investigations demonstrated that the sacred well in the central cult space of the Temple received fresh water from the same source which flooded the pool<sup>41</sup>. The two monuments were thus connected by an underground system, which can be easily related to classic ideological conceptions of the Phoenicians. The sacred pool and the sacred well were both communicating directly with the world of underground waters.

#### *4. The Temple, The Kothon and the Phoenician origins of Motya*

Recent discoveries at Motya by Rome “La Sapienza” University, thus, allow us to reassess the south-western quarter of the island in the light of the religious architectural tradition to which the Temple of the Kothon is ascribable<sup>42</sup>.

##### *4.1. Water in cult places of Phoenicia*

The deep relationship which links Mediterranean cult places and water sources, especially in the Phoenician homeland,<sup>43</sup> descends from one of the most typical Near Eastern religious conceptions. Since underworld water, in the Levant, as well as in earlier Mesopotamia, is always the water from which the world had its beginning in the Creation, and it is from the same water that, by a divine act, human civilization emerged, the presence of such water is, thus, sufficient to give a place the status of sacred space,<sup>44</sup> making it, at the same time, suitable for human settlement, and preferably for the rise of a city and the seat of the temple, house of the god.<sup>45</sup> Such a trivially simplified conception should point to what was part of the Phoenician “Weltanschauung”, since the times of early urbanization. It seems, thus, not by chance that the major Phoenician cities and their main sanctuaries arose directly over (as in the extraordinary case of Byblos), or in direct connection with important water sources (Tyre with Ras el ‘Ain, Sidon with Nahar al-Awali and Bostan

<sup>40</sup> The observation of quays and docks all around the island of Motya (including the so-called “underwater causeway”), all of them nowadays submerged, confirmed the fact that the current water-level in the Marsala Lagoon is around 0.8-1.0 higher than in antiquity (Isserlin 1971: 179; Tusa 2004, 450, Fig. 9).

<sup>41</sup> Nigro 2009a: 552, Figs. 306-307, 319.

<sup>42</sup> Nigro 2009c.

<sup>43</sup> Groenewoud 2005.

<sup>44</sup> Lundquist 1983: 27.

<sup>45</sup> In Mesopotamia, moreover, divine presence is expressed by the emergence of the temple – the house of the god – from the primeval waters (Matthiae 1994: 7-11).

esh-Sheikh, Arwad with Amrit, etc.).<sup>46</sup> Indeed, several other cult places were located near water reservoirs or rivers (such as 'Afqa).<sup>47</sup>

Byblos, in particular, since the earliest origins of the settlement,<sup>48</sup> was focused on the central source and the nearby "sacred lake", located in between the two major temples of the city, that of Balaat Gebal and the so-called "Temple en L,"<sup>49</sup> successively reconstructed as the Obelisks Temple<sup>50</sup>.

Special attention to water sources and their special relationship with sacred places and the city, continued in the Levant also in the Iron Age, and it was transmitted to the Western Mediterranean region during the Phoenician expansion. In the latter enterprise attention to the geomorphological setting of new foundations played a decisive role.<sup>51</sup> For sailors the availability of fresh water was so important as to become a basic factor of choice alongside of other typical features of the Phoenician landscape (coastal lagoons, spurs overlooking a bay, river mouths, etc.)<sup>52</sup>. From this perspective, the water source springing out on the southern shore of Motya<sup>53</sup> was probably one of the more attractive reasons for the Phoenician settlement in the island of the Marsala Lagoon.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>46</sup> In the case of Amrit, it seems important to stress that the sanctuary is directly connected with the source of *Naba' el-Tell* (Dunand and Saliby 1985: 4: Fig. 2); the strict link with the island city of Arwad is also known from ancient sources (Elayi 1982: 88).

<sup>47</sup> Rouvier 1900.

<sup>48</sup> The earliest sacred building at Byblos (the *Enceinte Sacrée*) arose just aside the central well, already at the end of Early Bronze IA (around 3300 BCE; "Énéolithique Récent", according to M. Dunand's terminology; *Byblos V*, 235-241, Fig. 143, Pl. J,c; Dunand 1982: 195; Nigro 2007a: 1-3, 26-31; Sala 2007: 48-58).

<sup>49</sup> When Byblos reached the status of fortified city, in the first half of the 3<sup>d</sup> millennium BCE (*Byblos I*, 288-289; Jidejian 1968, 15-21; Saghih 1983: 129-132; Wright 1985, 38-39), thanks to the special relationships established with Pharaonic Egypt, its center remained the sacred well.

<sup>50</sup> *Byblos II*, 644-652, Fig. 767; Finkbeiner 1981; Saghih 1983: 14-25.

<sup>51</sup> Bernardini 2003b: 115-116; 2005.

<sup>52</sup> A good example is the usual locations of Melqart's and Astarte's temples in the Mediterranean: Bernardini 2003a: 112-119.

<sup>53</sup> Isserlin had already stressed that the area of the Kothon possibly was a natural depression, corresponding to a small inlet of the island (Isserlin 1971, 185); hence, this favorable landscape probably attracted the earliest Phoenicians to settle just aside the spring (Nigro 2007b).

<sup>54</sup> This is not the place to illustrate zooarchaeological analyses systematically carried out by "La Sapienza" Expedition, which provided a wide set of data (*Mozia XI*, 521-532), pointing out that fish (tuna fish, mullet, etc., as well as wild animals (ducks and other birds, but also ungulates, such as deer), had a non-marginal role in the local diet, showing the intrinsic natural richness of the environment of the Marsala Lagoon. Another basic element which prompted the Phoenician settlement at Motya surely was the easy-going relationship established with the local communities of the Elymes (Falsone 1988, 43-45), who were able to offer the Phoenician colonies a wide range of agricultural products in a favourable exchange system (Tusa and Morris 2004).

#### 4.2. *The Obelisks Temple of Byblos and Ma'abed di Amrit*

The Levantine character of the Temple of the Kothon is further demonstrated by comparing it with some illustrious Phoenician sanctuaries.<sup>55</sup> The obelisk in the central court of the temple recalls the renown and earlier Temple of the Obelisks in Byblos (Fig. 20), which, together with the various alignments of obelisks and betyls, comprised a sacred well,<sup>56</sup> possibly related to libation activities. A common element with the Temple of the Obelisks is the displacement of betyls and stelae on alignments possibly depending on astral symbols;<sup>57</sup> these vertical elements were discarded and accumulated in a *favissa* in Byblos,<sup>58</sup> exactly as it happened in the Temple of the Kothon.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Some years ago, Paolo Matthiae, starting from the case of Sardinia (Perra 1998: 8), outlined a general difficulty in the identification of the oriental roots of Phoenician and Punic sacred architecture in the Mediterranean, wishing that new finds might help in this respect. His expectations were possibly confirmed by the discovery of the Temple of the Kothon at Motya in Sicily.

<sup>56</sup> *Byblos II*, Fig. 767.

<sup>57</sup> The obelisk and the stelae aligned with it, thus, represent typical oriental features of the Temple of the Kothon. The erection of stelae and betyls was common in Pre-Classical Levantine cult places, as also the Biblical sources testify. *Inter alia*, and without the needed textual and exegetic warnings, one may list some renowned descriptions found in the Old Testament, starting from the stele erected by Jacob after his agreement with Laban (Gen. 31:45) and the twelve stelae erected at Gilgal (Josh. 4:1-9, 20); the famous stele in the Shechem Temple (Josh. 24:27; Stager 2003); or the *massebôt* and the betyls, more in general worshipped in the Canaanite temples (1 Kgs. 14:23), against which Hezekiah's and Josiah's religious reforms were launched (2 Kgs. 18:4; 23:4-20). According to Deut. 27:1-8 and Josh. 8:30-35 these stelae were sometimes plastered and inscribed. Sometimes they were erected in connection with an ancestor cult, as in the case of those standing upon Rachel's Tomb (Gen. 35:20). In other cases a stele was set up at the foundation of a sanctuary, as in the case of Jacob at Bethel (Gen. 28:10-22). This tradition, largely documented in Syria and Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Ages (Graesser 1972; Wagner 1980: 112-117; Nigro 1996), was preserved until the Hellenistic and Roman Periods; in the Persian Period, for example, in the sanctuary of the harbour of Tell Sukas a sacrificial pit was associated to a betyl (Rijs 1979: 46). The continuity of the betyls cult is exemplarily illustrated by a coin of Macrinus (217 d.C.) found in Byblos, which shows the temple with a sacred precinct and an obelisk/betyl in the middle (Jidejian 1968, Fig. 121). Another meaningful comparison for the obelisk and the stelae in the Temple of the Kothon is, perhaps, represented by the Astarte Temple at Kouklia and Palaepaphos in Cyprus, where a monolithic basalt stone was worshipped (Maier and Karageorghis 1984: Figs. 65-67, 81-82).

<sup>58</sup> *Byblos II*, Fig. 1007 (the *favissa* containing dismantled betyls and obelisks is visible in the plan of the *Temple en "L"* of the Early Bronze Age, due to the arbitrary excavation method adopted by Dunand). Some of the so-called obelisks present square hollows on their vertical faces, which were interpreted as niches for bronze statuettes of deities, of the types well known in Phoenicia (this kind of small niche is also attested in stelae, as exhibited by some specimens from the Tophet at Motya: Moscati and Uberti 1981: 133-134, Fig. 12, Pl. XLIX, n. 316). Similar hollows are also present in Middle Assyrian stelae from Assur (Andrae 1977: 145-151, Figs. 121-124), where they sometimes contained small inscriptions. Phoenician stelae might have hosted small inscription or dedications inscribed on mobile supports, such as metal foils, then folded and buried in the temple area.

<sup>59</sup> *Mozia XI*, 67-68, Fig. 2.90.

In any case, if one is looking at Phoenicia in search for cult places related to water, the temple most strikingly similar to the Temple of the Kothon in Motya is the so-called Ma'abed of Amrit (Fig. 21), ancient Marathos, in Syria.<sup>60</sup> One must first take into consideration some general correspondences between the two religious complexes: they both were erected in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE; they both were realized by cutting and modelling bedrock with the addition of ashlar structures;<sup>61</sup> they both are centred on a rectangular pool with the corners oriented according to the cardinal points;<sup>62</sup> in both cases the pool was connected with a water source and some other structures.<sup>63</sup> The two sacred pools exhibit similar dimensions: at Motya the Kothon is 99 x 70 cubits of 0.52 m. (52 x 36.75 x 2 m.), while at Amrit the basin measures 85 x 70 cubits of 0.55 m. (46.75 x 38.5 x 2.5 m.). The Ma'abed is connected with the spring of Naba' el-Tell through a channel;<sup>64</sup> at the middle of its northern side a structure made of blocks protrudes towards the pool, probably serving as a dock for the boat of the priests to reach the shrine in the center of the basin.<sup>65</sup> The similar protruding structure visible on the northern side of the Kothon at Motya was never fully excavated, and it was, thus, not possible to establish its function.<sup>66</sup>

Two features of the Ma'abed are not apparently present at Motya: the porch surrounding the basin and the central shrine. However, excavations at Motya never emptied the basin completely so that it is impossible to know if there was a central structure similar to the shrine of Amrit.<sup>67</sup> A series of

<sup>60</sup> The similarities between the Kothon at Motya and the Ma'abed of Amrit were stressed for the first time by P. Mingazzini (1968: 105-112) with special attention (with many references not always coherent) to the waters cult in Syria (especially based upon the well known description by Lucian of the cult performed in Hierapolis: *De Syria Dea*, XIII) and in North Africa; see also: Stocks 1937; Seyrig 1972.

<sup>61</sup> Isserlin 1971: 183; Stern 1992.

<sup>62</sup> Note that the north in the detailed plan of the pool (Dunand and Saliby 1985, Pl. II) is wrong, as it is clearly shown by the comparisons with the north in the general topographic map of the site (Dunand and Saliby 1985, Fig. 2; see Fig. 18).

<sup>63</sup> At Amrit recent excavations on the nearby tell revealed a major building built of ashlar blocks, where a votive deposit with six *simulae* and a statuette of a crouching figure was found (al-Maqdissi 2007).

<sup>64</sup> This channel led the waters into a cave (on the eastern side of the basin) and from the latter into the pool. Another branch of the channel runs along the eastern and southern edges of the pool, possibly to be used in ritual acts (libations and ablutions): Dunand and Saliby 1985, 15, Pls. VIII, XII, 1 e XIII, 2, Fig. 22; this channel may explain why that connecting the sacred well to the Kothon at Motya emerged on the eastern quay of the latter.

<sup>65</sup> Dunand and Saliby 1985, 31-34, Pls. XXIX-XXXI.

<sup>66</sup> Isserlin 1971: 179; a transversal trench to the northern perimeter of the Kothon was excavated by the British archaeologists behind the protruding structure, achieving the identification of a sandy layer that was considered a rest of the paleo-shore of the island (Isserlin 1971: 186).

<sup>67</sup> Whitaker's excavations carried out the complete emptying of the outermost part of the channel in correspondence of the city-wall and the partial removal of the mud from the pool in the western half (Whitaker 1921: 190-192).

architectural fragments found on the Kothon quay (carved blocks with borders and *goliae*) may, in facts, have belonged to a structure erected in the center of the pool, and not only to the nearby temple as surmised up to now.

#### 4.3. *Levantine elements in the Temple of the Kothon: from Kition to Ekron*

The plan of the Temple of the Kothon, and especially of its original central nucleus, finds meaningful parallels in the series of buildings ascribed to the so-called “Four Room Building” type, a model which may be connected to the Cypriote and Aegean component of Phoenician architectural tradition. The earliest example so far known of such buildings is the Temple of Astarte at Kition. In the sacred complex excavated by V. Karageorghis<sup>68</sup> and dating back to the Late Bronze Age, Temple 1 (Fig. 22) gives the best exemplification of the planimetric typology: the tripartite plan, the inner proportions and overall dimensions (27 x 18 m) are very similar to those of the Temple of the Kothon (Fig. 23). Both sacred buildings, in their original architectural shape, were subdivided into three naves, with a transversal wing juxtaposed on one short side, and the entrance at the end of the southern nave. There is, however, a basic difference: in Temple 1 at Kition the central space is a roofed nave, while in the Temple of the Kothon at Motya it is a courtyard.<sup>69</sup>

In Cyprus another important building offers many comparative elements for the Temple of the Kothon, i.e. the Temple of Aphrodite at Kouklia Palaepaphos, a sanctuary renown in classical sources, also in use from the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE to the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE. According to its excavator the original temple of 12<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century BCE was a tripartite building with two rows of pillars (Figs. 24-25), where a *betyl* was placed, a conic volcanic stone (Fig. 26), still portrayed on coins in the Roman period<sup>70</sup>. Sanctuary I at Palaepaphos and its cult installations are, thus, fully comparable in conception and dimensions to those of the Temple of the Kothon.

Moving to the Southern Levant, and especially to Palestine, the scheme of the “Four Room Building” has been detected, with various adaptations, in two cult places of Megiddo, respectively called Building 2081 (stratum V, mid of 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE),<sup>71</sup> and Building 338 (stratum IV, second half of 9<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century BCE). The latter shows a series of long rectangular rooms juxta-

<sup>68</sup> Karageorghis 1981.

<sup>69</sup> Nonetheless, it is perhaps not superfluous to stress that at the beginning Karageorghis, basing upon excavation data, considered the central room of the Kition temple as a courtyard and the transversal wing, preceded by two pillars, as the *sancta sanctorum*; only successively he accepted the reconstruction of the temple roofing with raised ceiling over the central nave put forward by O. Callot, and interpreted the transversal wing as a deposit for votive and cult objects instead as a *cella* (Karageorghis and Demas eds. 1985: 165-239; Karageorghis 2002, Fig. 218).

<sup>70</sup> For a general presentation of this sanctuary: Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 81-102.

<sup>71</sup> Loud 1948: 45-46, Fig. 388; Kempinski 1989: 91-92, 126-127, Fig. 40:14.

posed, one of which had a row of pillars in the middle which were interpreted as stelae.<sup>72</sup>

More clearly and possibly easier to be connected with a possibly Cypriote forerunner is the example represented by the so-called Southern Temple at Beth Shan (Fig. 27).<sup>73</sup> This building, traditionally attributed to Lower Stratum V, but more convincingly to be ascribed to the 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE rebuilt city (Upper Stratum VI),<sup>74</sup> is an exception also in Beth Shan, where it takes the place of a previous building,<sup>75</sup> inserted into the residential quarter of the Egyptian officers in Beth Shan.<sup>76</sup> Some distinctive finds in it, such as the terracotta cult stands,<sup>77</sup> point to a Philistine (or more widely western/Aegean) component in the worshippers of this temple, settled in Beth Shan from the 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE (the same who used the well known terracotta sarcophagi found in the Northern Cemetery).<sup>78</sup> In this case, it seems meaningful, in respect of the Temple of the Kothon, that the lateral location of the main *cella* of the temple, hosted in two rooms of the northern wing of the sacred building.

To the same Palestinian tradition of the tripartite temple may be attributed, as convincingly suggested by J. Kamlah,<sup>79</sup> Temple 650 at Khirbet el-Muqanna, Philistine Ekron, a building erected some centuries later in respect of the examples mentioned above, which testifies to the persistence of this architectural model until the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>80</sup> Temple 650 not only is com-

<sup>72</sup> The interpretation of Building 338 is uncertain (for a synthesis of differing positions: Nigro 1994: 237-238). Its discoverer, Gottlieb Schumacher, interpreted it as a shrine (Schumacher 1908, 110-124, Pl. XXXV); later, the exploration of the building was completed by the Chicago Oriental Institute archaeologists (Fisher 1929: 68-74; Guy 1931: 18-25), who considered it a fort or a residency (May 1935, 4-11, Pls. I-VII, X, XIII; Lamon and Shipton 1939: 47-59, Figs. 49, 120); V. Fritz (1983: 25-27, Fig. 18) and A. Kempinski (1989: 165-166) ascribed it to the typology of "Four Room Buildings".

<sup>73</sup> Rowe 1940: 22-30, Pls. III, X; Mazar 1993b: 219-222; see also Burdajewicz 1990: 56-57.

<sup>74</sup> James 1966: 140-144; Weippert 1988: 293, 363-364. Successively, A. Mazar has convincingly proposed to ascribe the temple to Upper Stratum VI (Mazar 1993a: 228-229).

<sup>75</sup> This is the temple of Stratum VII e Lower Stratum VI (Rowe 1940: 6-12, Pls. V-VII).

<sup>76</sup> In the forecourt the two famous stelae of Sethi I and Ramses II were found, as well as a full size statue of Ramses III, and several sacred furnishings, testifying to the continuation of the Pharaonic cult also during the 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE at Beth Shan (Mazar 1993b: 220-221).

<sup>77</sup> Fitzgerald 1930, Pl. XIV, 3; James 1966: 39; Mazar 1993a.

<sup>78</sup> Oren 1973: 101-150. It is possible that these were the same Aegean mercenaries (from Caria) integrated into the Philistine cultural *milieu* (Stern 2000; Betancourt 2000 with previous bibliography).

<sup>79</sup> Kamlah 2003.

<sup>80</sup> The interpretation of this temple has been perhaps misled by the attempt to ascribe it to the realm of Neo-Assyrian provincial architecture, based upon its dating and the general shape of the complex which includes it (Gitin 1997: 92; 2000: 564-565). However, from a deeper analysis, evidence of a strong Phoenician influence (Kamlah 2003: 112-115) emerges in the temple as well as in other contemporary findings from Ekron (for example the numerous silver hoard, also including typical basket earrings [Gitin and Golani 2001], or the important Egyptian finds from the temple itself: Gitin 2004: 71-72, Fig. 5.8-5.9). The architecture of Temple 650 seems, nonetheless, somewhat hybrid, with a Levantine temple



parable for the plan (note that the main entrance to the complex was from the south) and the dimensions (Fig. 28),<sup>81</sup> but also it shows several cult elements similar to those of the Temple of the Kothon: the presence of two basins on both sides of the entrance, pointing at lustral activities.

The Temple of Ekron was connected with a porch too, having a series of rooms connected with it. Of outstanding interests are finds from the latter temple, showing strict relationships between the Philistines and the Phoenicians at a religious and cultural level: the dedicatory inscription of the temple<sup>82</sup> and some *ostraca* (inscribed in Phoenician) quoting the gods Anat, Asherat and Baal<sup>83</sup> with the sovereign Pady (also known from Neo-Assyrian sources).<sup>84</sup> The four silver hoards found in the sacred area, moreover, including some classic pieces of Phoenician jewellery, such as basket earrings and *udjat* eyes,<sup>85</sup> and for the weight system adopted,<sup>86</sup> not only testify to the Levantine *koiné* in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, under Neo-Assyrian control, but they also recall the numerous metallic finds from the Temple of the Kothon at Motya.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, a wheel-made female terracotta figurine found in the

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type included within a provincial Neo-Assyrian complex (Gitin 2004: 69-70, Fig. 5.6). It may be useful to recall, on the one hand, that in the inscription found in the temple *cella*, the king who dedicates the building to the feminine deity Ptgyh (possibly a non-Semitic epithet of Astarte, appearing in her winged iconography [a kind of iconography also typical of Assyrian Ishtar] standing on a lion in a silver pendant also retrieved in Ekron: Gitin and Golani 2001, Fig. 2.11) bears the name 'kyš, identified with "Ikausu son of Padi" mentioned in the same inscription and known from Neo-Assyrian annals (Gitin, Dothan, and Naveh 1997); on the other hand, at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE, not such a long time before the foundation of the temple, Cyprus had been definitely annexed to the Assyrian empire by Sargon II. It seems, thus, not surprising that Phoenician (Cypro-Phoenician) and Assyrian aspects appear simultaneously in a Philistine/Phoenician religious context on the Levantine coast. Moreover, once the inscription from the temple has been considered, we conclude from palaeography, orthography and syntactic construction that it is "predominantly Phoenician" (Gitin, Dothan and Naveh 1997: 12-16). The inscription is, therefore, a further witness that Phoenician cultural influence extended in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE to the whole Levant. These data, thus, support the comparison between Temple 650 at Ekron and the Temple of the Kothon at Motya.

<sup>81</sup> The only difference in respect to the plan model so far illustrated is the location of the entrance to the temple, which is on the short side opposite to the *cella* at Ekron. This may be easily explained as an outcome of Neo-Assyrian influence (Kamlah 2003: 108-112); in the meantime it has to be recalled that the Temple of the Kothon had also a monumental entrance on each short side, one looking the Kothon on the west side, the other opening on the street to the east.

<sup>82</sup> Gitin, Dothan, and Naveh 1997; Gitin 2004: 72-76, Fig. 5.10.

<sup>83</sup> Gitin 1993: 250-253.

<sup>84</sup> In the case of Baal, this deity is mentioned in a joint dedication with the king Padi (also known from Neo-Assyrian sources, see above): Gitin and Cogan 1999.

<sup>85</sup> Gitin and Golani 2001: 43, Fig. 2.12.

<sup>86</sup> Gitin and Golani 2001, Table 2.1.

<sup>87</sup> *Mozia XI*, 75-88, Pls. CXXXII-CXCII.



temple *cella* at Ekron reminds a distinguished Phoenician-Punic type known in Western Mediterranean especially at Motya, Carthage, and elsewhere<sup>88</sup>.

#### 4.4. *The Temple of the Kothon and the diffusion of the Levantine religious architectural tradition*

Architecture and finds in Area C at Motya make it possible to include the Temple of the Kothon in the very realm of Phoenician religious architecture, which embraces some of the major Levantine temples of the first half of the first millennium BCE. On the one hand, it supports the Phoenician origin of the tripartite plan of a building achieved by means of pillars (such a type of sacred buildings has a major forerunner in the hypostyle hall of the Baalat Gebal Temple at Byblos).<sup>89</sup> On the other hand, evidence suggests that the foundation of the Temple of the Kothon occurred together with that of the city itself, in a favorable spot of the island, where a water source came to light, also allowing to reconsider the function of the Kothon itself. The latter is now to be interpreted as a sacred pool instead of a salt producing device or a fish pond.<sup>90</sup> Data from renewed excavations by Rome La Sapienza University seem to corroborate such an interpretation, even though one has to wait for the complete excavation of the sacred area and the pool to put forward and to document an overall explanation for all of the monuments involved. However, on the basis of the information gathered so far, it is possible to affirm that the Temple of the Kothon shows the strong cultural unity and continuity of Syro-Palestinian, Canaanite, and Phoenician religious architecture, which also spread through the entire Mediterranean region from the East to the West.

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<sup>88</sup> Moreover, in general, it seems meaningful at Motya, as like as at Ekron, the presence of Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects in the sacred area, among which a Pharaonic green-stone vessel and an *Egyptian Blue* scarab.

<sup>89</sup> Saghih 1983, 42-43, Pls. X, XII.

<sup>90</sup> *Mozia* X, 35-40; *Mozia* XI, 20-45, 125-128, Figs. 2.174-2.176.

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Fig. 1: Aerial view of the south-western quarter of the island of Motya with the Kothon, the nearby Temple and the South Gate

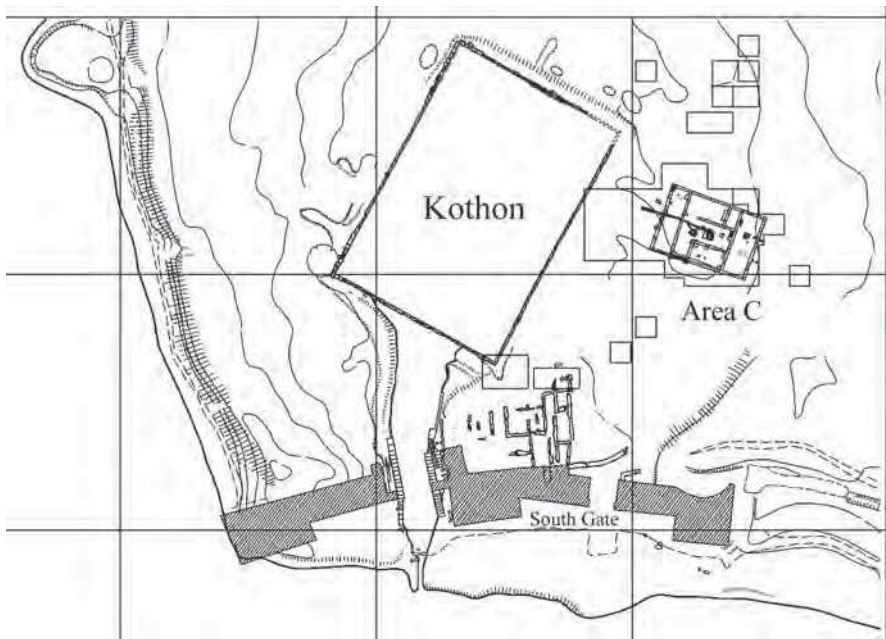


Fig. 2: Plan of the south-western quarter of the island of Motya with Area C: the Kothon, the nearby Temple and the South Gate





Fig. 3: General view of the Temple of the Kothon, from north: in the central foreground, the western wing facing the Kothon with the cult installations and, to the right, the drain connecting the sacred well and the obelisk with the Kothon



Fig. 4: General view of the Temple of the Kothon, from east; in the foreground, the eastern wing where a stele and an obelisk stood

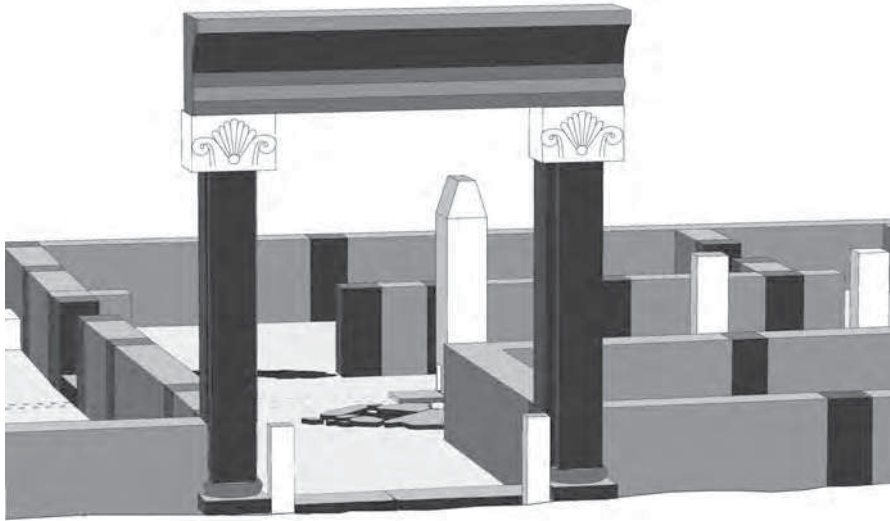


Fig. 5: Reconstruction of the main southern entrance of the Temple of the Kothon, flanked by two pilasters supporting two Proto-Aeolic capitals



Fig. 6: Specimens of Punic stelae with carved edicolae from Motya (after Moscati – Uberti 1981, Pl. XCIII)

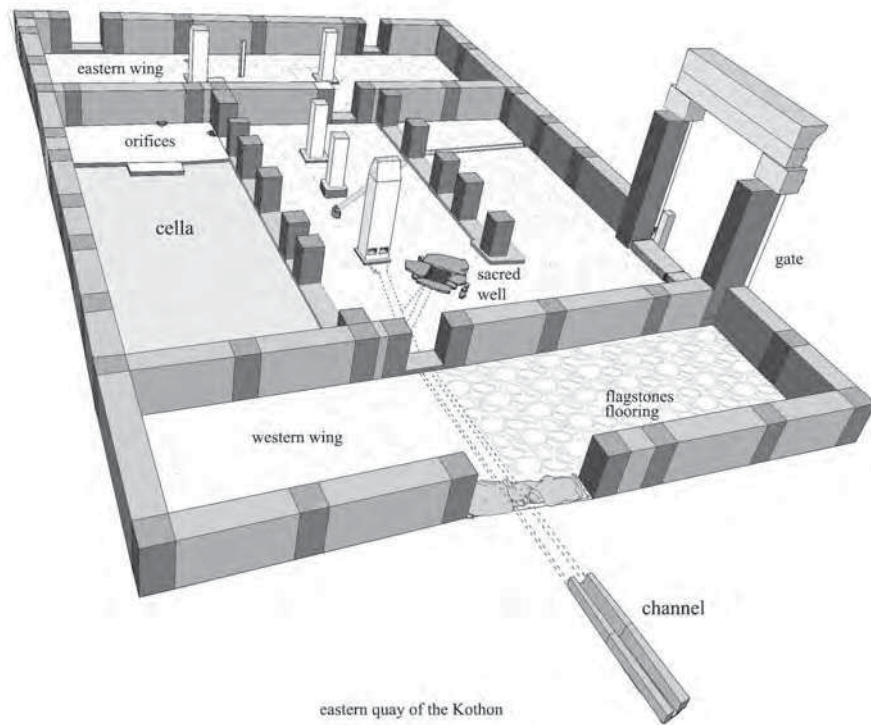


Fig. 7: Reconstruction of Temple C1 (Phase 5, 6<sup>th</sup> century BC), from north-west



Fig. 8: Cult installations aligned on the middle axis of the central courtyard of the Temple of the Kothon, from east: the two stelae and the obelisk, each one standing on a square basis



Fig. 9: The channel emerging on the eastern quay of the Kothon and coming from the betyl/obelisk and the sacred well in the central courtyard of the Temple

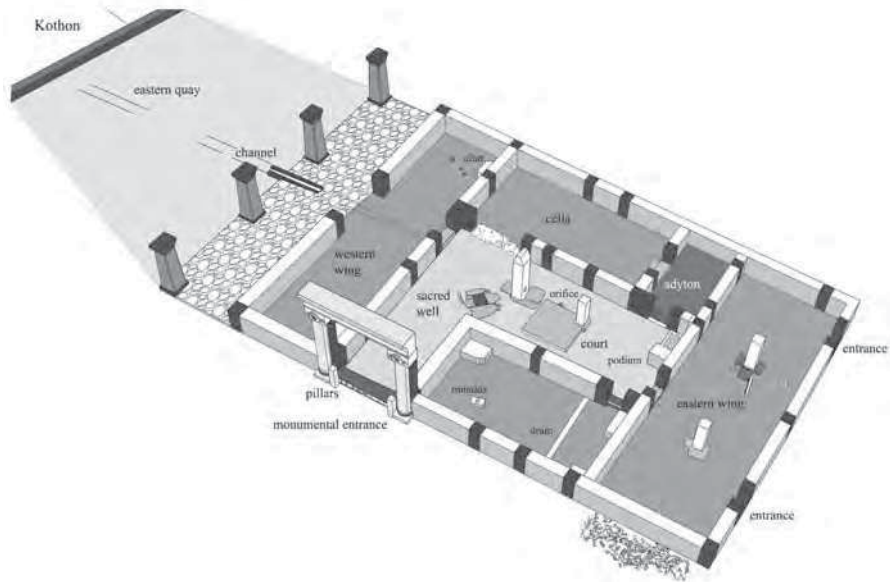


Fig. 10: Reconstruction of Temple C2 (Phase 4, V century BC), from south-east





Fig. 11: General view of the southern sector of the Temple of the Kothon, from east; on the left foreground, the southern cella with the channel connected with the platform in the central courtyard and the small sandstone block pierced for libations (*mundus*) embedded into the floor



Fig. 12: The northern side of the western wing of the Temple of the Kothon with the cult installations and two jug bottoms embedded into the floor to be used for libations

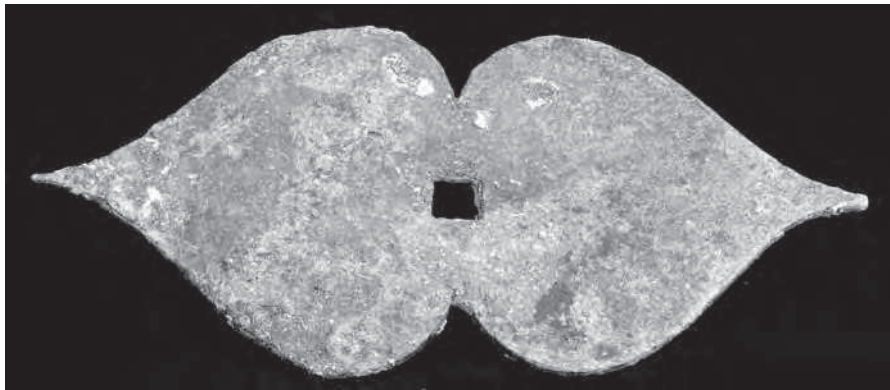


Fig. 13: Bronze element found embedded in the flooring of the eastern wing of the Temple of the Kothon





Fig. 14: Aerial view of Area C with the Kothon, the Temple and the circular temenos wall excavated in year 2007

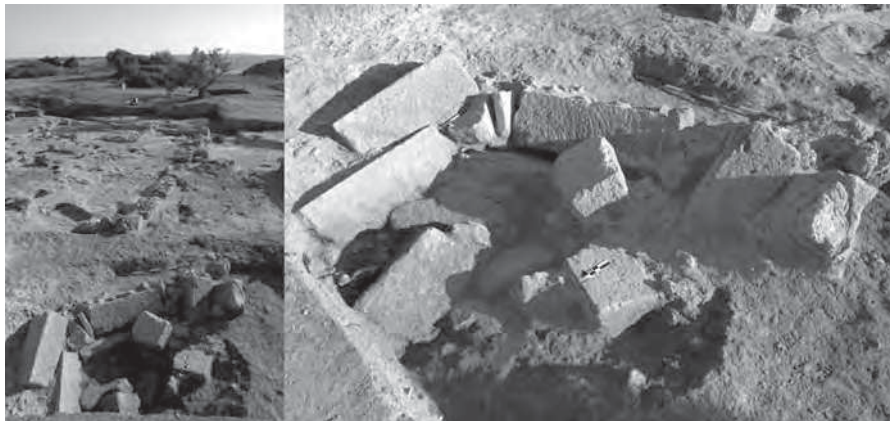


Fig. 15: The *favissa* collecting the obelisk, the stelae and other blocks from the Temple of Kothon



Fig. 16: The southern wall of the basin of the Kothon, from north, with the lower courses which clearly appear part of the original unique ashlar structure enclosing completely the pool from all its sides

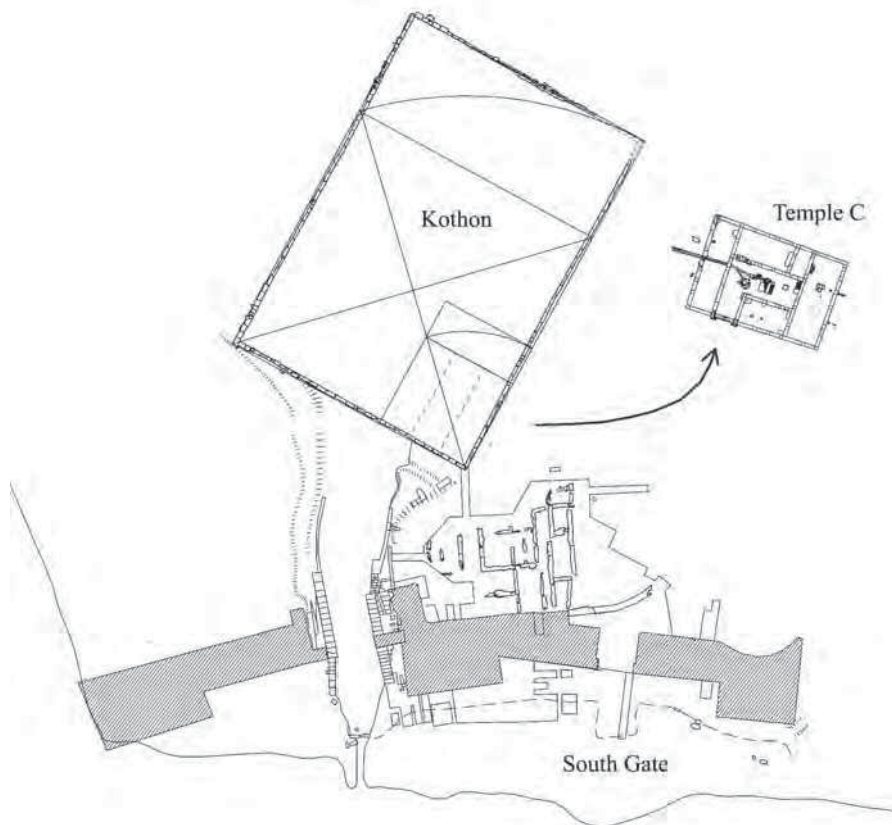


Fig. 17: Planning scheme used to build the Kothon and the nearby Temple



Fig. 18: Aerial view of the Kothon after the emptying from seawater in year 2005 with the fresh water sprung out from the source on the northern side of the basin



Fig. 19: Protruding blocks on the northern wall of the Kothon, through which fresh water flowed into the pool





Fig. 20: Byblos: general view of the Obelisk Temple, from north-east

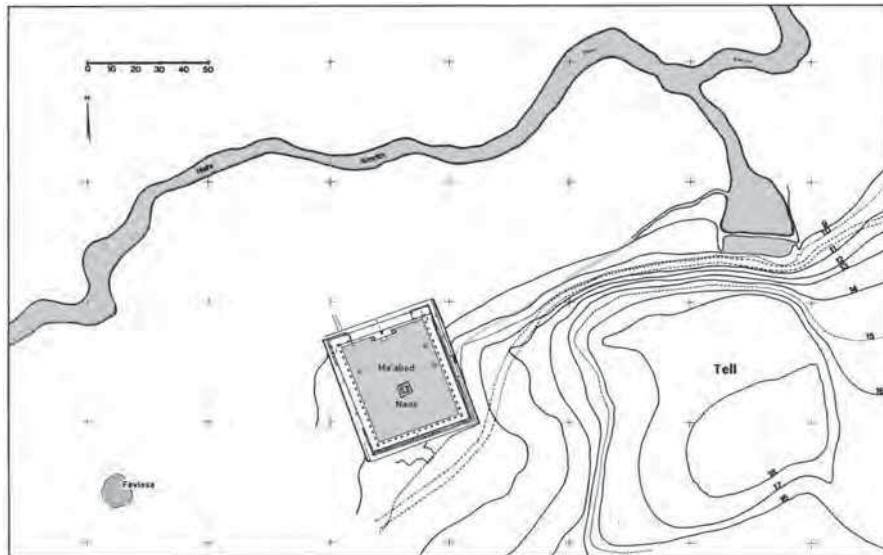


Fig. 21: Plan of the tell of Amrit, ancient Marathos, in Syria, with the so-called Ma'abed (after Dunand/Saliby 1985, 4, Fig. 2)

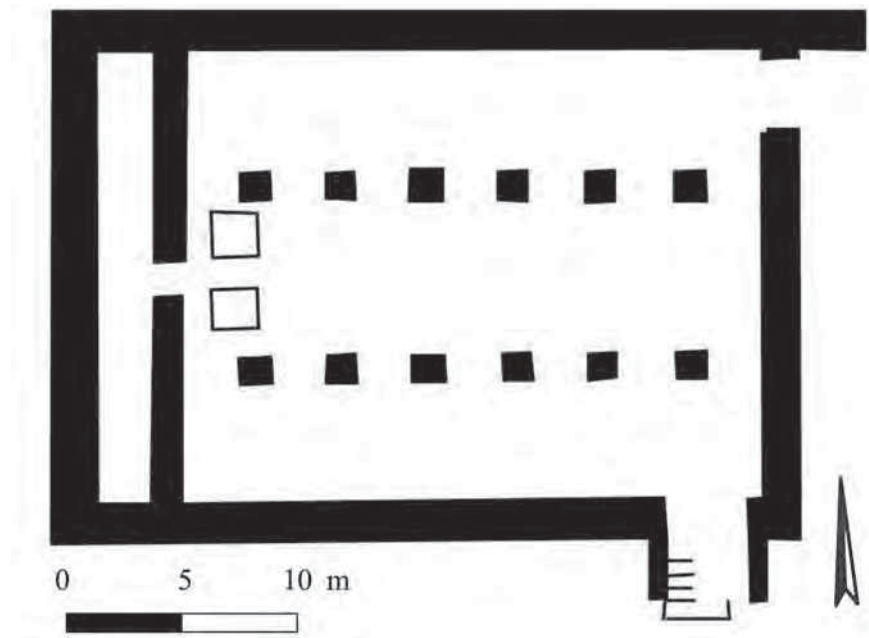


Fig. 22: Plan of Temple 1 at Kition

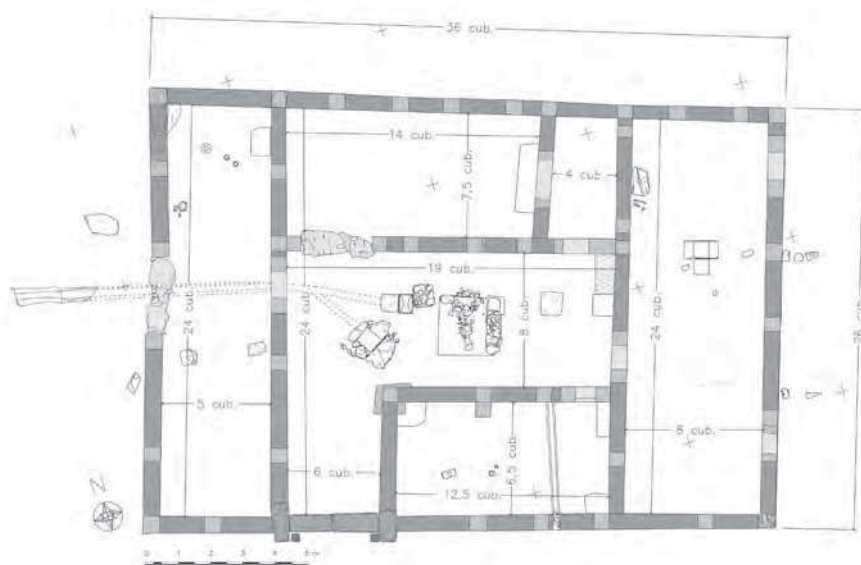


Fig. 23: Schematic plan of the Temple of the Kothon in Phase 4 (Temple C2; 5<sup>th</sup> century BC)

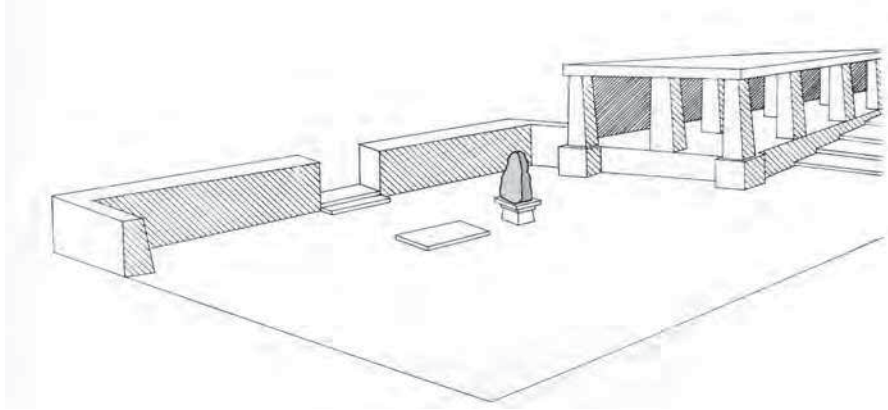


Fig. 24: Axonometric reconstruction of the Temple of Aphrodite at Kouklia Palaepaphos



Fig. 25: One of the pillars of Temple of Aphrodite at Kouklia Palaepaphos





Fig. 26: Conic volcanic stone interpreted as the cultic betyl in the Temple of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos

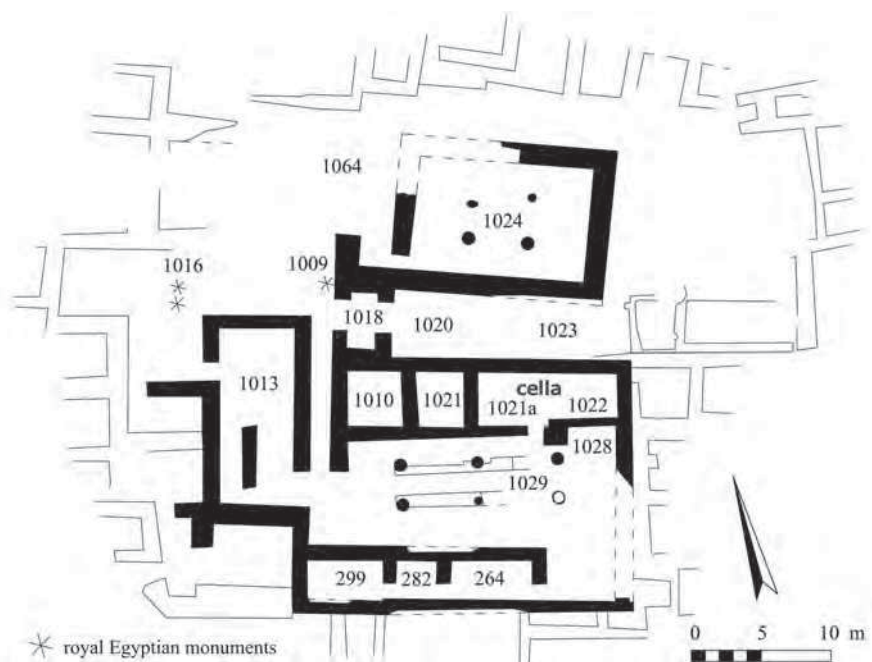


Fig. 27: Schematic plan of the temple quarter at Beth Shan, with the so-called Southern Temple and Northern Temple (Upper Stratum VI; XI century BC)

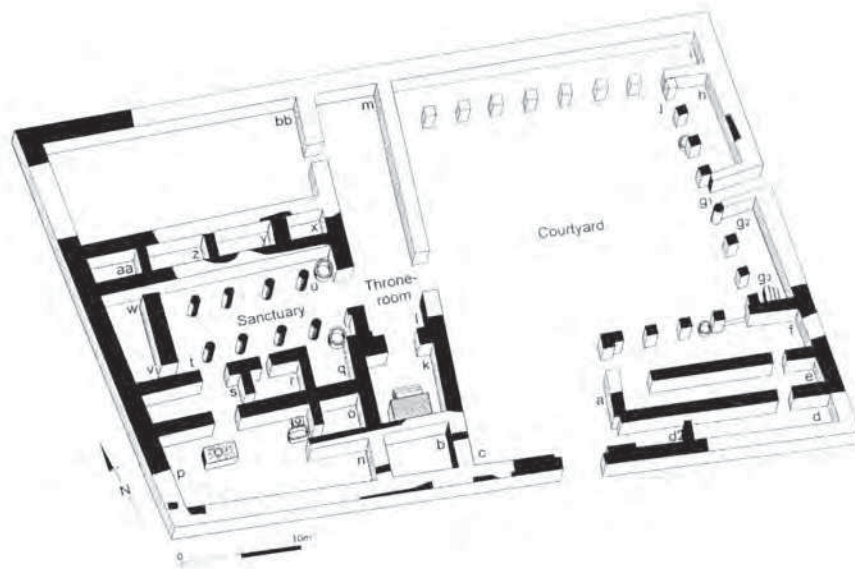


Fig. 28: Temple 650 at Khirbet el-Muqanna, ancient Ekron (after Gitin 2004, Fig. 5.6)



## Dating by Grouping in the Idumean Ostraca – The Intersection of Dossiers: Commodities and Persons

Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni<sup>1</sup>

*Method* – The discovery of the Aramaic Idumean ostraca goes back to the early 1990's and they are now scattered around the world in the United States, Europe, and Israel in the hands of some dozen libraries, museums, and private collectors.<sup>2</sup> Their find site is unknown and every so often,

<sup>1</sup> We are most indebted to our friends and colleagues Marc Hirshman, Shlomo Naeh, and Ze'ev Safrai for many fruitful discussions. The preparation of this article was supported by generous grants from the Israel Science Foundation and the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture.

<sup>2</sup> So far, just under 700 have been published: I. Eph'al and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BCE from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996) (= EN); A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée au Musée d'Israel* (Supplément no. 3 à *Transeuphratène* Paris, 1996) (= L); H. Lozachmeur and A. Lemaire, "Nouveaux ostraca araméens d'Idumée (Collection Sh. Moussaieff)," *Semitica* 46 (1996), 123-152 (= LL); A. Lemaire, "Quatre nouveaux ostraca araméens d'Idumée," *Transeuphratène* 18 (1999), 71-74 (= S); A. Lemaire, "Der Beitrag idumäischer Ostraka zur Geschichte Palästinas im Übergang von der persischen zur hellenistischen Zeit," *ZDPV* 115 (1999), 14-15 + Plate 2 [note that R 37 = AL19, R 20 = AL88, R 21 = AL91, R 6 = AL73, and R 1 = AL9]; S. Ahituv, "An Edomite Ostrakon" in Y. Avishur and R. Deutsch, eds., *Michael: Historical, Epigraphical and Biblical Studies in Honor of Prof. Michael Heltzer* (Archaeological Center Publication. Tel Aviv-Jaffa, 1999), 33-37, one of 58 ostraca held by Professor Yigal Ronen; A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée Tome II* (Supplément no. 9 à *Transeuphratène*. Paris, 2002) (= AL); S. Ahituv and A. Yardeni, "Seventeen Aramaic Texts on Ostraca from Idumea," *MAARAV* 11 (2004), 7-23. Nine new texts have been published with handcopies in B. Porten and A. Yardeni, "In Preparation of a Corpus of Aramaic Ostraca from the Land of Israel: The House of Yehokai," R. Deutsch, ed., *Shlomo: Studies in Epigraphy, Iconography, History and Archaeology in Honor of Shlomo Moussaieff* (Archaeological Center Publication. Tel Aviv-Jaffa, 2003), 207-223 (ISAP111-112, 408, 424, 429, 702, 704, 1658, 1712); 19 new texts in B. Porten and A. Yardeni, "On Problems of Identity and Chronology in the Idumean Ostraca," M. Heltzer and M. Malul (eds.), *T'shârôt LaAvishur: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East in Hebrew and Semitic Languages* (Archaeological Center Publication. Tel Aviv-Jaffa, 2004), 162\*-165\* (ISAP2, 113, 277, 430, 432, 464, 616, 703, 722, 724, 1404, 1419, 1454, 1481, 1573, 1609, 1652, 1739, 1741); 30 by A. Lemaire, "New Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea and Their Historical Interpretation," in O. Lipschits and M. Oeming (eds.), *Judah and Judeans in the Persian Period* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns; 2006), pp. 413-456 (ISAP1652-1665, 1757-1761, 1798) (= LW); and 13 in n. 2 below. For a detailed discussion of the whereabouts of the many items see B. Porten and A. Yardeni, "Why the Unprovenanced Idumean Ostraca

another one or two turns up on the antiquities market. So far, some 700 have been published and another thousand or so await publication. In preparation of a three-volume corpus of all the texts, we have encountered the problem of classification. The largest number of texts may be considered commodity chits. These are small, hand-held pieces that usually begin with a date (day, month, year [rarely with name of monarch and year often missing]); proceed to a personal name [the payer] and often to its filiation to a clan [rarely to a patronym]; then a commodity (e.g., grain, liquid, vessel) and an amount (kor, seah, qab, or a numeral); sometimes the name of a recipient (payee), a place of origin or destination (e.g., Makkedah); and less frequently the name of an agent (the עלייד person). The task of classification may be compared to sorting out individual suits from a shuffled deck of cards. We look for matches in dates, persons, and commodities and emerge with two types of dossiers: a commodities dossiers and a personal dossier.

In the first half of this study, appearing in the Ephraim Stern Volume,<sup>3</sup> we isolated six commodity dossiers, most, but not all, fully dated, lacking only the name of the monarch:

1. קמה + נשיף (semolina + flour) (yrs. 43, 46, 1, 3 [June 1, 362 – December 17, 356]) (Table 1)
2. ראש (*barley groats*) (years 43-46, 1 [April 27, 362 – October 12, 358]) (Table 2)
3. דקיר ([or maybe ריקיד] *crushed/sifted grain*) (yrs. 43, 46, 2, 3, 6, 13 [August 9, 362 – Sept. 8, 353; Sept. 14, 346]) (Table 3).
4. טחון (grinding) (yrs. 43, 44, 45, 46, 1 [June 16, 362 – May 9, 358]) (Table 4)
5. עבור זבינתא (grain of the purchase) (yrs. 6, 7 [November 9, 353 – October 6, 352]) (Table 5)
6. קמה שערן and קמה חנטן (wheat flour and barley flour) (yrs. 14, 15 [Dec. 7, 345 – Aug. 8, 344]) (Table 6)

Since the years for the first four groups were in the 40's, it was clear that the chits should be dated to the reign of Artaxerxes II. When a sequence of a particular commodity included dates in the 40's and in the low digits, it was equally clear that these latter documents should be assigned to Artaxerxes III. Thus, an isolated document for year 3 has no moorings and could be assigned to the reign of several monarchs. Once it is located in a commodity dossier, its date becomes clear. The first five dossiers fell in the decade 362-352 (Tables 1-6; Figures 1-6) and overlapped the end of the

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Should be Published" in M. Lubetski (ed.), *New Seals and Inscriptions, Hebrew, Idumean, and Cuneiform* (Sheffield, 2007), 73-75 and Figure 1. For working purposes, all the pieces have received temporary ISAP (= Institute for the Study of Aramaic Papyri) numbers. New numbers will be assigned in the final publication.

<sup>3</sup> B. Porten and A. Yardeni, "Dating by Grouping in the Idumean Ostraca: Six Commodity Dossiers dating to the Transition Years from Artaxerxes II to Artaxerxes III," *Eretz Israel* 29 (2009), 144\*-183\*; new texts include ISAP45, 203, 838, 876, 886, 891, 918, 940, 2401, 2424, 2511, 2545, 2558.

reign of Artaxerxes II and the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes III; the last two dated to years 6-7, 14-15, which could only be 353-352 and 345-344 in the reign of Artaxerxes III (Tables 5-6; Figures 6-7). Many of these early commodity chits contained three features not present in other documents, namely (1) position of date, not only at the beginning but also at the end of the document; (2) an archaic *aleph*, or better, sealing sign at the end of the document; (3) a personal name, not always sufficiently legible, which we may call a signatory.

*Identifying the dossiers* – When we examined the four grain dossiers with dates in years 43-46 of Artaxerxes II and year 1 of Artaxerxes III we revealed three outstanding parties who appeared as payer or payee in as many as 50% of each of the dossiers (Qoskahel [= Q], Šamitu [= S], Ḥalfat+Baalghayr [= H] [Tables 9-12]). Conversely, when we put together the private dossiers of these individuals, we found that more than 50% of their transactions for those years consisted of commodities from three or four of the dossier grains. Moreover, these three/four individuals were involved with each other, appearing together on a list (Tables 10.39, 11.49), making joint payments (Tables 10.30, 11.33; 10.24 with 11.41) or payments one to another (Tables 10.2, 6; 11.2, 10; 12.51-54), and each receiving an identical payment on the same day (Table 11.20, 12.47).

Our paper falls into two parts: the first, a structural analysis of the commodity dossiers, the peculiar features that point to a well-honed bureaucracy; the second, a detailed analysis of the personal dossiers, how they intersect with the commodity dossier and then continue on their own. As noted, the first part is appearing in the Ephraim Stern Vol.<sup>4</sup> References in the present article to Tables 1-8 and Figures 1-7 refer to that first part. Proper understanding requires that the two parts be read together.

The three outstanding personal dossiers belong to:

1. Qoskahel (yrs. 40, 43, 46, 1-4, 7 [July 9, 365 – March 23, 351]) – 25 are dated through year 7 (July 9, 365-June 8, 352); 11 of these are of three (of the four) grains (no *crushed/sifted grain*) (Table 10).
2. Šamitu (yrs. 43-44, 46, 3-7, 10, 13, 16 [May 31, 362 – September 4, 343]) – 24 are dated through year 6 (May 31, 362-August 3, 353); 12 of these are of three (of the four) grains (no semolina+flour) (Table 11).
3. Ḥalfat and Baalghayr (yrs. 43-46, 1-2, 4, 6, 9 [May 25, 362 – August 5, 350]) – 42 are dated through years 43- year 6 (May 25, 362 – August 20, 353); 16 of these are of the four grains (Table 12).

*Identities* (Table 9) – Close attention to prosopography and chronology reveals that both Šamitu and Qoskahel were filiated with the clan of Guru and both were involved with Baalghayr. A frequent variant of Guru in our texts was Gur, apparently a hypocoristicon, for a name such as Baalgur. In

<sup>4</sup> B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *ibid.*



fact, in a chit dated 14 Elul, year 16 (September 4, 343) we encounter the name Suaydu “of the sons of Baalgur” (“Baal is a Whelp” [Table 11.22]).<sup>5</sup> This name occurs once more in a land description in the form Baalguru. Apparently, the person so designated, was a clan head, otherwise known simply as Guru, Gur, or even Gir. In two separate chits on 22 Sivan, year 43 (June 16, 362), Baalghayr paid Qoskahel from the grinding of Iyyar and Sivan, one and a half seahs of *שאר* (*barley groats*) and 1 seah of the same to Šamitu (Tables 10.2, 11.2). Two further payments were made, one two months later and the other eight months later. On 27 Ab, 43 (August 13, 362) Baalghayr together with Gar(a)pi paid the sizable amount of 1 kor, 4 qabs to Qoskahel and Abdel and on 13 Adar, year 43 (February 28, 361), he paid the small amount of 1 seah, 3.5 qabs from the grinding of Nisan to Šamitu (Tables 10.6, 11.10). Some ten years later, Šamitu and Qoskahel, in separate, dated chits, made payments of ca. a half kor of wheat each on 5 Sivan, year 7 (June 8, 352) and in a single, undated chit paid almost 4 kors of barley to an unnamed payee (Tables 10.24; 11.33, 41). Yet, in the face of their joint appearance, whether as payee or payer, Qoskahel would appear to be a generation older than Šamitu. In an undated text Qoskahel was dubbed “son of Guru” (Table 10.25), whereas on 8 Elul, 6 (September 18, 353), Šamitu appeared as “from the sons of Guru” (Table 11.38), that is, he was not an actual son, but at the best a grandson and a likely nephew of Qoskahel. Another “son of Guru” was Qosani, attested in an account of debtors (ISAP1653+1623:10). He was apparently the uncle of Qosani son of Šamitu who made a payment of 1 seah, 3.5 qabs of crushed/sifted grain on 21 Tam-muz, 6 (August 3, 353 [Table 11.37]). Šamitu apparently had a second son. In a fragmentary text from 24 Shebat, year y, we restore with confidence the word *בר*, “son” to yield Qosnaqam [son of] Šamitu (Table 11.31). Here he is payee but in three other texts he is payer (Tables 10.5, 11.12, 11.15 [years 362-361]). Qoskahel also has a son named Zubaydu, who appears as payer in an undated text (Table 10.27). Our documents thus explicitly exhibit three generations – Zubaydu son of Qoskahel son of Guru – and implicitly four – Qosani and Qosnaqam sons of Šamitu (son of PN) who belongs to the sons of Guru. Finally, we locate on our genealogical chart Maš(i)ku, here an agent in an undated text for Qoskahel for 3 loads. In a chit dated simply 6 Iyyar with the archaic *aleph* sealing sign and an illegible signatory,<sup>6</sup> he is filiated to the sons of Guru (Table 10.28; ISAP1863 [EN65]).

*Qoskahel* – We may divide the 45 documents mentioning Qoskahel into three groups (Table 10):

<sup>5</sup> At Gurbaal, believed to be in Edom, King Uzziah smote the Arabs (2 Chron. 26:7); see R. W. Younker, “Gurbaal” in D. N. Freedman, ed., *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York, 1992) II, 1100.

<sup>6</sup> For discussion of the sealing sign and signatory, see Porten/Yardeni, *Eretz Israel* 29 (2009), 148\*-150\*, Tables 7-8.

1. (Table 10.1-22) as payee (years 40, 43, 46, 1, 3, 4, 7 [365-351])
2. (Table 10.23-35) as payer (2, 7 [357, 352])
3. (Table 10.36-42) miscellaneous

(1) There are twenty-two texts for Qoskahel as payee spanning almost fourteen years (365-351 [Table 10.1-22]) and four dated texts, but apparently from that same period, for Qoskahel as payer. The dossier of Qoskahel intersected with three of the commodity dossiers – (1) Nine payments of רֶאֶשׁ, (almost all Scribe A [No. 10:2, 5-8, 13, 15]), seven in three months (June 16 to September 20, 362 [Table 10.2-8]) and two more not until three and four years later (July 24, 359 and October 12, 358 [Table 10.13, 15]). (2) Two of these chits came from “the grinding of Iyyar and Sivan” and from the “later grinding,” respectively (Table 10.2, 13). (3) The two payments of קֶמֶחַ + נִשְׂיָר (semolina + flour), both came in the month of Sivan (22 and  $x$  [July 12, June/July, 359 {Scribe B; Table 10.10-11}]). These eleven payments spanned over four years (362-358) and constituted half of Qoskahel’s transactions for the fourteen years.

The private dossier of Qoskahel included receipt of barley, wheat, semolina, oil/flour, and a log – (1-4) four chits of barley, each one distinct (15 seahs from “the grain of the loan” already on July 9, 365; 20 seahs which the payer “brought” (הֵיָרָה) on June 10, 359; a third for 14 seahs “to the storehouse” on March 23, 351, and a fourth, undated, “from the grain of Ani” for 7 seahs, 1.5 qabs [Table 10.1, 9, 18, 21]); (5) one for 1.5 kors of wheat in an unknown month in year 4 (355/54 [Table 10.17]); (6-7) one for 2 seahs of semolina and another for 2  $\frac{2}{3}$  seahs of oil/flour in undated months (Table 10.12, 22); (8) one for 2 seahs, 2.5 qabs of an unknown grain in an unknown month in year 3 (356/355 [Table 10.16]); (9) and one for a log on the 27<sup>th</sup> of an undated month (Table 10.20). (10-11) Two commodities are illegible (Table 10.14, 19).

In sum, then, Qoskahel received 22 payments, essentially of grain, at least seven outside the above three commodity dossiers. Three persons made multiple payments – three each by Qosḥanan (*barley groats*, barley [with Qosmilk as agent], and semolina+flour [Table 10.7, 9-10]) and Qoslaytha (semolina and twice *barley groats* [Table 10.12-13, 15]), and twice by Baalghayr, once alone and once with Gar(a)pi (*barley groats* [Table 10.2, 6]). At least eleven of the twenty-two payers deposited but once – Bagana, Šalmu, Qosnaqam, Gar(a)pi, Šammu, Ḥazira, Zabdi, PN s Na(a)ri, Baaladar/ider, Šallum, and Q[os...]. Qosnaqam also made two payments to Šamitu, apparently his father (Table 11.12, 15, 31). Four names are illegible (Table 10.4, 11, 16-17). The amount of grain might be as low as 1.5 seahs for *barley groats* and as high as 1.5 kors for wheat (Table 10.2, 17).

(2) In contrast to the twenty-two dated chits for Qoskahel as payee, there are but thirteen chits, mostly undated, for Qoskahel and related parties as payer. Curiously, only two record payees and one, agents (Table 10.24, 28-29). Two/three are important genealogically and two for the link between Qos-

kahel and Šamitu. We learn that Qoskahel is son of Guru and that Zubaydu is son of Qoskahel, and therefore included in his dossier (Table 10.25-27 [in Table 10.26 the patronym of Qoskahel is effaced]); and that both Qoskahel and Šamitu, in separate transactions, brought [wheat] “from the grain of Ramata” to Maḥoza/the port through the agency of Agra on 5 Sivan, year 7 (June 8, 352) (Tables 10.24, 11.41); and that in a single transaction both paid almost 4 kors of barley to an unknown payee in a chit endorsed by Zabdidah (Table 10.30, 11.33).

The undated and partially dated chits show a certain balance between receipt and payment – (1) he received 1.5 kors of wheat on 20 x, year 4 (355/54) and paid out 2 kors, 12 seahs of barley on the 20<sup>th</sup> to Palaqos (Table 10.17, 31); (2) he received a log from Baaladar/ider on 27 x and paid out a log to Abid (undated [Table 10.20, 29]); (3) a kor of barley was to be paid out from the grain of a loan to Menahem *for* his rams and Qoslagath was paying out 2 2/3 kors *from* Qoskahel’s “horse-ranch” (רכשה) (Table 10.34, 41). In addition to the five chits for grain payments (Table 10.23-24, 30-31, 34), we find five chits for items not found among those *received* by Qoskahel – (1-2) two for גרגרן, 36 seahs “from Makkedah” by Zubaydu son of Qoskahel and 27 by Qoskahel himself; (3) one for 3 loads delivered by Maš(i)ku; (4) one for 33 nails; (5) and one for 5 seahs, 2.5 qabs of oil/salt (Table 10.25, 27, 28, 32-33).

(3) Among the seven miscellaneous texts mentioning Qoskahel there are (1) one fragmentary list (Table 10.36), (2-3) one list and one account (Table 10.37-38), (4-5) two letters (Table 10.39-40), (6-7) and two jar inscriptions (Table 10.41-42). In two of the texts Qoskahel appears together with Qosyad, as he does in one of the chits above. There, each one gave Abid a log, here they are associated with semolina (Table 10.29, 36-37). An account with Šamitu shows the latter charged with 30 shekels and Qoskahel with just over ten shekels (Table 10.38). Monetary records are extremely rare in our corpus. Above, Qoskahel and Šamitu were associated with wheat and barley (Table 10.24, 30, 11.41). Written in an early script, the two jar inscriptions are mute witness to the storage, receipt, and delivery of grain to which he was party in the middle of the fourth century BCE (Table 11.41-42).

*Šamitu* – We may divide the 50 documents mentioning Šamitu into three groups (Table 11):

1. (Table 11.1-31) as payee (years 43, 44, 46, 4, 13, 16 [362-361, 359, 355, 346, 343]).
2. (Table 11.32-46) Šamitu as payer (years 5-7, 10 [354-352, 349]).
3. (Table 11.47-50) miscellaneous (year 3 [356]).

We may compare and contrast the activities of Qoskahel and Šamitu, as their activities run in tandem, diverge, and intertwine.

(1) Thirty-one chits attest the activity of Šamitu as payee (Table 11.1-31) but they are both more concentrated and chronologically later than that

of Qoskahel. Both dossiers intersected with three of the four commodity dossiers, but whereas that of Qoskahel had no *crushed/sifted grain*, that of Šamitu had no semolina+flour. His dossier intersected with (1) *barley groats* (5/7x [all Scribe A; Table 11.2-3, 5, 12, 15]), (2) the grinding of Nisan (4x [all Scribe A; Table 11.6-7, 9-10]), (3) and *crushed/sifted grain* (3x [Table 11.16, 19 {Scribe B}, 37]). Unlike Qoskahel, who received seven payments of *barley groats* in three months (June 16 to September 20, 362) and two more after three-four years (July 24, 359 and October 12, 358 [Table 10.2-8, 13, 15]), Šamitu's receipt of seven deliveries was spread out over almost a year and a half (June 16, 362 to December 2, 361 [Table 11.2-3, 5, 12, 15]). The first payment was for both, from Baalghayr on June 16, 362 in two separate chits – 1 seah for Šamitu and 1.5 seahs for Qoskahel (Tables 10.2, 11.2). Rather unique was a single chit for *barley groats* from 28 Nisan, year 44 (May 12, 361 [Table 11.12]), listing three persons, each making a separate payment to Šamitu of a couple seahs. One of the persons was Qosnaqam, apparently son of Šamitu, who paid 3 seahs, 1 qab and then made a second payment almost six months later of 2 seahs, 2 qabs on 26 Marḥeshwan, year 44 (December 2, 361 [Table 11.12, 15, 31]). Almost a year earlier (7 Ab, year 43 [July 30, 362]) he had made a much larger payment of 5 2/3 seahs of *barley groats* to Qoskahel (Table 10.5). In contrast to that single chit by three persons, were four separate chits by a single scribe for Šamitu by four different persons, all written on the same day (13 Adar, year 43 [February 28, 361]). The grain was recorded elliptically, “from (that) of Nisan” or simply “(that) of Nisan” (Table 11.6-7, 9-10), with Baalghayr, one of the payers, giving the small amount of 1 seah 3.5 qabs, similar to the 1 seah of *barley groats* he paid Šamitu some eight months earlier (Table 11.2, 10). Two of the three chits for *crushed/sifted grain* were written in year 46 (359/358) and the third, six years later on September 18, 353, with Qosani son of Šamitu as payer for an unnamed payee (Table 11.16, 19, 37).

In sum, during the four years 362-358 Qoskahel received eleven payments of the three grains, while Šamitu in three of those years (362-359) received twelve payments.

As noted, we have but 22 texts wherein Qoskahel was payee, whereas for Šamitu we have 31, that is, nine more. Only three of Qoskahel's texts were undated (Table 10.12, 21-22), whereas nine of Šamitu's were undated (Table 11.4, 8, 18, 25-30). Qoskahel's dated texts covered fourteen years (40, 43, 46 of Artaxerxes II; 1, 3-4, and 7 of Artaxerxes III [365-351 {Table 10.1-18}]), whereas those of Šamitu covered almost twenty years (43, 44, 46; 4, 13, and 16 [362-343]{Table 11.1-22}). Qoskahel's dossier contained as many individual chits as “intersecting commodity chits,” that is, eleven, whereas Šamitu had nineteen. In his personal dossier Qoskahel had received barley, wheat, semolina, oil/flour, and a log. Šamitu received all of these (Table 11.1, 14, 17-18, 21-23, 25-26), but he also received גרגרן, bales, bundles, jars, and perhaps a joist or log (Table 11.11, 20, 27-29, 31). In contrast to Qoskahel's four receipts of barley (Table 10.1, 9, 18, 21), Šamitu had but

one, drawn up very late together with Sam(a)ku (23 Sivan, 13 [June 20, 346 {Table 11.21}]); but unlike Qoskahel's single receipt of 1.5 kors of wheat in 355/354 (Table 10.17), Šamitu netted four deliveries – (1) one early (6 Sivan, 43 [May 31, 362]), (2) one late (14 Elul, year 16 [September 4, 343], (3-4) and two undated [Table 11.1, 18, 22, 25]), with only one coming to as much as a kor, coming “from D/Rauī” (Table 11.18). These four receipts should be balanced against the five payments and one exchange recorded in years 354 and 352 (see below). Qoskahel received one undated payment for 2 seahs of semolina and Šamitu received one dated to 27 Sivan for 9 seahs (Tables 10.12, 11.23). It is uncertain whether Qoskahel received 2 2/3 seahs of oil (or flour [Table 10.22]) but Šamitu received two deliveries, one of which was 5 seahs “from the oil of the purchase” (Table 11.17, 26). Qoskahel received 1 log and Šamitu may also have received a log (if not 10 גרגרן [Tables 10.20, 11.14]). The four or five items absent from Qoskahel are well represented – (1) one chit for 10 גרגרן (362/61 [Table 11.11]); (2) three chits for bales (of chaff), one dated (16 Marḥeshwan) and two undated (Table 11.24, 27-28); (3) one for jars (29 Ab, year 4 [September 2, 355 {Table 11.20}]); (4-5) and one for jars (בשלותן) (bundles) and perhaps a joist or a log (24 Shebat [Table 11.31]). In the three years 362-359, six persons made multiple deliveries – (1) appearing thrice was D/Rahanu (*grinding* of Nisan, *barley groats*, uncertain [Table 11.7-8, 12]); (2) twice: Abdidah (*barley groats* and uncertain [Table 11.3-4]); (3) Rufayu (oil and wheat [Table 11.17-18]); (4) Sam(a)ku (*barley groats* twice [Table 11.5, 12]), (5) Baalghayr (of Iyyar and Sivan, of Nisan [Table 11.2, 10]), (6) and Qosnaqam, presumably the son of Šamitu (twice *barley groats* [Table 11.12, 15, 31]). The latter two also paid to Qoskahel (Table 10.2, 5). Chit No. 11:31, partially fragmentary, appears to record as payee Qosnaqam [son of] Šamitu. Unfortunately, only day and month (24 Shebat) of the date are preserved. At least eight of the one-time payers included Zubaydu, Lubayu, Aydu/Iyadu/Ghayru, Laadiel, Qosadar/ider, Zabdiel, Abdqos, and Zaydi in the years 362-355 (Table 11:1, 6, 9, 11, 13-14, 19-20), three less than the one-time payees for Qoskahel in the parallel years 365-351. This difference may be accounted for by the fact that six persons made multiple payments to Šamitu, whereas only three did to Qoskahel. The eleven persons who made payments to Šamitu in the later years (346-343/2, etc.) and in undated chits were completely different from the earlier ones – Yathu, Suaydu, Abdsidq, Nugayu, Laytha, Zaydil, Qosa, Qosghauth, Qosrim, Zabdi/Zabdiel, and Abdmilk/maran (Table 11:21-31).

(3) In fifteen chits, eleven of which are wholly or partially dated, Šamitu is not the payee but the payer. Only one or two of these lists a payee and two, an agent (Table 11.36, 40-41). Just as we have a partially dated chit for 2 bundles by an apparent son Qosnaqam as payee (Table 11.31), so do we have one for 1 seah, 3.5 qabs of *crushed/sifted grain* by a clearly filiated payer, Qosani son of Šamitu, dated to 21 Tammuz, 6 (August 3, 353), six years after Šamitu received an uncertain amount of that grain as payee (Table 11.19, 37). Three more of these “payer” chits reveal further details about Šamitu.



As seen above, (1) he joined with Qoskahel to deliver almost 4 kors of barley in an undated chit signed off by “Zabdidah wrote” (זבדאדה כתב); (2) joined with Šaadu/Šamru, both identified as “from the sons of Guru,” to present 4 bales on 8 Elul, year 6 (September 18, 353); (3) in an undated chit he made a large payment of 1 kor of wheat to Naqru/Naqdu, debited “from the account (חשבון) of Šamitu” (Tables 10.30, 11.33, 36, 38). A half-dozen or so dated chits attest to Šamitu’s dealings in grain. (1) In two transactions recorded in one chit (26 Sivan, year 5 [May 31, 354]), he brought two deposits of wheat “to the storehouse” (x kors and 9 seahs); (2) two years later, on 10 Sivan, year 7 (June 13, 352), he brought there 1 kor, 7 seahs, 4 qabs (Table 11.32, 42). (3) Over three months later, on 22 Elul, year 7 (September 22, 352), he brought “to the storehouse” 1 kor, 5 seahs, 4 qabs of barley and exchanged it for 17 seahs, 5 qabs of wheat at the standard 2:1 rate (Table 11.43). (4-5) In two separate transactions he paid relatively small amounts of wheat “from the grain of the storehouse” – 5 seahs on 23 Elul to an unnamed payee and 5 seahs 4.5 qabs on 23 Tebeth, year 6 (January 29, 352) to a payee whose name might be effaced and by an agent whose name is illegible (Table 11.39-40). (6) In between the payment of 23 Tebeth, 6 and 10 Sivan, year 7, he made a parallel payment to that of Qoskahel on 5 Sivan year 7 (June 8, 352) of 16 2/3 seahs of wheat “from the grain of Ramata by the hand of Agra for Maḥoza (OR: the port)” (Tables 10.24, 11.41).

In sum, the busy months are Sivan, Elul, and Tebeth. Šamitu has an “account” somewhere. He receives small and large amounts of wheat from four different persons and makes comparable payments to and from the storehouse. He also receives a sizable barley payment and likewise at the storehouse exchanges wheat for barley. He can draw upon the grain of Ramata through an agent and dispatch it to מחוזה. He works closely with Qoskahel and others, and his son Qosani and possibly also one named Qosnaqam are also involved. But the transactions are not fully transparent, since we usually do not know the names of the payees. In addition to these many transactions in wheat and barley, and some semolina and flour, Šamitu received גרגרן, bales, bundles, and jars and paid out a beam (שרי), 4 bales with Šaadu/Šamru, bundles of chaff, 3 seahs, 1.5 qabs of oil, and, as the concluding item in this part of his dossier, on 22 Sivan, year 10 (June 21, 349), 1 seah of barley (Table 11.34-36, 38, 44-46).

(3) Of the four miscellaneous texts, three are accounts and one is a jar inscription. In an account dated 14 Ab, year 3 (August 28, 356), Šamitu is credited/debited with 10[+?] seahs of wheat (Table 11.47). A second account, fragmentary and undated, records “Anael to Šamitu” (Table 11.48). As seen above, the third one joins Šamitu with Qoskahel in an account of shekels (Tables 10.39, 11.49). Qoskahel had two jar inscriptions, but only one survived for Šamitu (Tables 10.42-43, 11.50). In this alone, does he seem to fall behind his colleague.

*Ḥalfat and Baalghayr* – Unlike the dossiers of Qoskahel and Šamitu, which were compiled from scattered documents, 36 photographs from this



dossier “were received together” by Eph'al and Naveh from Lenny Wolfe and were published by them as a unit (EN1-36). They called it the “archive of Halfat” because he was the person who provided the goods and the dominant recipient was Baalghayr. As more documents accumulated from other collections, it became clear that it would be best to consider this material as belonging to a dossier of Halfat and Baalghayr. It is striking that Baalghayr intersects with Qoskahel and Šamitu, discussed above. In 2006, we brought together 47 such documents.<sup>7</sup> Today, we can expand this list to 59 plus another eight that are not commodity chits. These 67 documents may be divided into 9 groups (Table 12):

1. (Table 12.1-16) Halfat to Baalghayr (yrs 43, 45-46 [archaic *aleph*], 2, 4 [no archaic *aleph*], 6 [362, 360-359, 357, 355, 353])
2. (Table 12.17-35) Halfat to no named recipient (yrs 43, 1-2, 4 [no archaic *aleph*] {361, 358-357, 355/354})
3. (Table 12.36-41) Halfat to PN (yrs 44 and 46 [archaic *aleph*] {361, 359})
4. (Table 12.42-46) Zabdi to Baalghayr (yr 43 [no archaic *aleph*] {362})
5. (Table 12.47-50) PN to Baalghayr (yr 4, [agent, no archaic *aleph*] {355})
6. (Table 12.51-54) Baalghayr to Qoskahel and Šamitu (yr 43 [archaic *aleph*] {362/361})
7. (Table 12.55-58) Baalghayr to no named recipient (yrs 43, 6 [no archaic *aleph*] {362/361, 353})
8. (Table 12.59-66) Miscellaneous
9. (Table 12.67) Halfat as agent (year 9 [350])

We shall deal here with matters pertaining to the commodity dossiers and those not discussed in the earlier article.

It was not customary to state the patronym of either the payer or the payee in these chits (for exceptions see Tables 10.19, 25-27, 11.31 [five different persons]), yet in this large dossier we find recorded four times Baalghayr son of Hori (Table 12.3, 5-6, 14) and once Halfat son of Sammu (No. 12.25). Hori himself may have been a prominent person, perhaps even a clan head, since we possess five texts, one dated to year 14 (345/344 [ISAP1238]), where individuals are filiated as “sons of Hori” (ISAP1148, 1158, 1258, 1598). He, himself, appears a dozen times, twice as owner of a כרם (ISAP331, 1966). Sammu, though he appears in only a half-dozen or so texts, is tagged as owner of olive groves (ISAP55, 1964) and is also known as father of Baadu (ISAP1229).

<sup>7</sup> B. Porten and A. Yardeni, “Social, Economic, and Onomastic Issues in the Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BCE,” in O. Lipschits and M. Oeming (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period* (Winona Lake, IN, 2006), 461-466.

(1) (Nos. 1-16) Of the twelve dated chits Ḥalfat wrote for Baalghayr (Table 12.1-12), eight intersect, for a couple seahs, with three of the four products in the commodity dossiers – three payments of *barley groats* (Table 12.1, 3-4), three of semolina + flour (Table 12.2, 5, 7), and two of crushed/sifted grain (Table 12.6, 12) – and span just over three years (May 25, 362 to August 7, 359), with the eighth payment six years later on August 20, 353 (Table 12.12). One is most unusual – on 2 Iyyar, year 45 (May 4, 360), 2.5 seahs of *barley groats* “brought from the grinding of *Mšby* of Natanbaal” are paid to Baalghayr son of Ḥori [NB: patronym cited!] “for the animals” (Table 12.3). As we shall see, a year and three months later a bale of chaff will be sent for the “female camels which are in Makkedah” (Table 12.37). These are the only foodstuffs supplied for animals in our whole corpus (but cf. ISAP1846 = EN46). Since at least four of the chits in this group were found together in Eph'al-Naveh's “Ḥalfat archive” (Table 12.3, 5-7), and the other four (Table 12.1-2, 4, 12) no doubt belonged there, it is clear that they were part of a family dossier rather than independently existing commodity dossiers. The latter are put together by the scholar on the basis of contents and date. Moreover, we have no way of knowing whether there existed independent dossiers of Šamitu and Qoskahel or whether these, too, are scholarly combinations. In any case, it is only by constructing such combinations that we achieve an overview.

In the four personal chits spanning four years from years 2 through 6 (June 1, 357-August 14, 353), Ḥalfat twice paid Baalghayr sizable amounts of barley (Table 12.8, 10), 4 bales of chaff and 2 jars (Table 12.9, 11), and in three of four chits without dates he paid 2 bales, a load of wood and 16+ seahs of wheat (Table 12.13-15). Striking is the fact that the wheat was delivered by Zabdi (Table 12.15), who, in three dated chits (June 7 to November 18, 362) and two undated ones, paid Baalghayr on four occasions bales, once “from Makkedah” (Table 12.42-43, 45-46) and once גרגרן (Table 12.44).

(2) There are 19 chits (Table 12.17-35) drawn up by Ḥalfat without recipient; ten are fully dated and these span seven years (March 30, 361 to February 22, 354 [Table 12.17-32]). Only four intersect with the commodity dossiers – semolina + flour on 4 and 11 Elul, year 1 (September 10, 17, 358 [Table 12.18-19]) and again in two undated chits (Table 12.21-22). With the accession of Artaxerxes III, the sealing sign (archaic *aleph*) disappeared and the conjecturally read name *Yazidu*, borne by one who twice served as signatory for this same commodity in year 46 (Table 12.5, 7), gave way to Šaadel and Zabdiel (Table 12.18-19). Šaadel had earlier endorsed a chit for fifty pegs on 15 Adar II, [43] (March 30, 361 [No. 12.17]), while Zabdiel will endorse one for 6+ seahs of grain on 24 Ab, year 2 (August 19, 357 [Table 12.24]). Two, and perhaps three, new names will appear as signatories for wheat and barley – Zaydu, Qosyatha, and Qos[...] (Table 12.26, 28, 31). The most frequent item(s) paid by Ḥalfat was grain. He appears as both a minor and major supplier, as little as 2+ to 4+ seahs of wheat (Table 12.20, 23) and as much as 1 to 3 kors of wheat and barley (Table 12.26-28, 30). The range

could be extreme – one chit recorded 2 seahs of wheat and 3+ kors of barley (Table 12.28) and another 3+ kors of wheat and uncounted chaff (the latter by Zubaydu [Table 12.29]). A payment on 4 Shebat, year 4 (February 1, 354) of 12+ seahs of wheat was marked as “from Makkedah” (Table 12.31). Next in frequency was oil in very small amounts (Table 12.25, 32-33), and once an animal skin (Table 12.34).

(3) Six chits recorded payments by Ḥalfat to six parties other than Baalghayr (Table 12.36-41), but only one intersected with the commodity dosiers – *barley groats* to Al(i)qos (4 Tishri, year 44 = October 12, 361 [Table 12.36]). Three of the others are for grain, again in large quantities: 16 2/3 seahs, 1 and 6 kors (barley); and 2+ kors of wheat (Table 12.39-41). Four chits here and in the section above record payments of barley and wheat together (Table 12.27-28, 30, 40). Two of the chits are unusual. Four and one-half years before the payment of 12+ seahs of wheat “from Makkedah” (4 Shebat, 4 = February 1, 354 [Table 12.31]), Ḥalfat wrote a chit endorsed by Šaadel (20 Tammuz, 46 [August 8, 359]) for 1 bale of chaff for the “female camels which are in Makkedah” (Table 12.37).<sup>8</sup> On 28 Kislev (no year) Ḥalfat “gave” (הִתַּב) Yehoanah, perhaps a Jewish merchant, 8 maahs for “the price of wine” (Table 12.38; see note to EN16). This unique monetary notation may be matched by an account of 10 and 30 shekels for Qoskahel and Šamitu, respectively (Tables 10.39, 11.49).

(4) Zabdi was a major supplier of bales, presumably of chaff, four in all. In a span of 2 1/2 months (between 13 Sivan and 10 Elul [June 7 to August, 31, 362]), he made to Baalghayr two payments of bales, one “from Makkedah” (Table 12.42-43), and two more payments in undated chits (Table 12.45-46). As noted, in each of the above sections a grain payment was marked as coming “from Makkeadah” (Table 12.21, 40), one of semolina + flour “delivered” (הִמְטָא) and the other, a huge payment of wheat and barley, “brought in” (הִנְעַל). Zabdi also made Baalghayr the only payment of גִּרְגָּר (Table 12.44) in the whole dossier. Three of his chits are by the same scribe (Scribe K [Table 12.44-46]).

(5) Besides Ḥalfat and Zabdi, four other persons made payments to Baalghayr, each a different commodity (Table 12.47-50) and three through agents (Table 12.48-50). Two transactions were dated just over a month apart in year 4 (29 Ab and 6 Tishri [September 2 and October 8, 355] {Table 12.47-48}) and two only to 20 Ab. On the same day that Nugayu gave Baalghayr 5 jars (29 Ab, year 4), Zaydi gave Šamitu the same or a similar amount (Tables 11.20 12.47). These distinct transactions were drawn up by the same scribe and subscribed by Abdmilk with the letter *beth* as a sealing sign. Othni gave Baalghayr 3 bales of chaff through Abdelbaali; Abdi, 1.5 bundles (probably also of chaff) through Amittai; and Qanael through PN, 2 seahs of oil (Table

<sup>8</sup> See B. Porten and A. Yardeni, “Makkedah and the Storehouse in the Idumean Ostraca”, in: Y. Levin (ed.), *A Time of Change: Judah and its Neighbors in the Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods* (London, 2007), 143-145.

12.48-50). Over the years, Baalghayr received bales from three different persons – Halfat (once, 4 bales and once, 2 [Table 12.9, 13]), Zabdi (twice, 1 bale and once, 2 bales [Table 12.43, 45-46]), and Othni (3 bales [Table 12.48]) – and bundles from one (Abdi [Table 12.49]).

(6) In this section are concentrated the documents that demonstrate Baalghayr's four-time involvement during eight months of year 43 with Qoskahel (Table 10.2, 6) and Šamitu (Table 11.2, 10), as related to two of the commodity dossiers, *barley groats* and grindings (Table 12.51-54). These four documents are dated at the end, one explicitly to year 43 and the others by association. On three occasions, the amounts paid were small – a seah or so to each on 22 Sivan (June 16, 362) and a seah from (the grinding) of Nisan to Šamitu on 13 Adar (February 28, 361) [Strange! which Nisan?!]. But once, he and Gar(a)pi combined to pay to Abdel and Qoskahel the large amount of 1 kor and 2/3 qab of *barley groats* (Table 12.53).

(7) Just as there were (19) chits recording Halfat payments to unnamed recipients (Table 12.17-35), so there were chits, though only four, that recorded Baalghayr's payments to unnamed recipients (Table 12.55-58). Only the first of the four is dated at the end, and, as in the group above, this argues for a year 43 date (362/361 BCE). One other is explicitly dated to 29 Sivan 6 (July 12, 353 [Table 12.57]), making a gap of some eight years between the two dated texts. Two are for modest payments of wheat – 8.5 seahs and 10 seahs (Table 12.55-56) – while the 29 Sivan text is for a whopping 4.5 kors of barley (Table 12.57). Who received such a delivery? The final chit is for correspondingly large numbers of bundles, 12 by Hannel and 8 by Baalghayr (Table 12.28).

(8) Miscellaneous documents record Baalghayr five times and Halfat, three. A fragmentary land description assigns 3.5 seahs to a plot (שָׂדֶה) of Baalghayr and he is further noted in a fragmentary list and in three accounts, one for 5 qabs on 1 Tebeth; one for 4 seahs, 3.75 qabs of wheat; and a third for 15 seahs of barley along with Qosdakar (Table 12.59-60, 63, 65-66). The latter two accounts also mention Othni, elsewhere a payer of chaff to Baalghayr (Table 12.48). Halfat appears in two lists (or a list and a letter) and an account of barley (Table 12.61-62, 64).

(9) In a single, fragmentary chit, Halfat appears as the עָלִיד person (agent) for 23.5 seahs of barley sent by Qo[s...] to PN (Table 12.67).

This dossier may be divided into two parts. The first contains 41 chits wherein Halfat is payer, 16 times to Baalghayr (Table 12.1-16), 19 times where the payee is unnamed (Table 12.17-35), and 6 times to 6 different payees (Table 12.36-41). The second part is much smaller (Table 12.42-58). It makes no mention of Halfat. In the first half Baalghayr is the payee, five times receiving from Zabdi (Table 12.42-46) and four from other persons (Table 12.47-50). In the second half Baalghayr is the payer, four times to Qoskahel and Šamitu and four times to unnamed recipients (Table 12.51-58). Nine times as payee and eight as payer (years 362, 353 and 355). Forty-one chits for Halfat vis-a-vis seventeen for Baalghayr is certainly lop-sided.

Halfat is always a payer, and never a payee, whereas Baalghayr, separated from Halfat, is almost half and half, just like Qoskahel and Šamitu. Clearly, a dossier of Halfat alone, a person who makes so many payments to Baalghayr (16) and even more to one whom we may assume to have been Baalghayr (19), or a dossier of Baalghayr alone, unnamed in these later 19 chits for Halfat, would be incomplete. Only combined do we get the complete picture for both.

Though it has the largest number of chits, 67 as compared to 43 for Qoskahel and 50 for Šamitu, the dossier of Halfat and Baalghayr spans the shortest period – 19 years for Šamitu (362-343), 14 for Qoskahel (365-351), but only a dozen for Halfat and Baalghayr (362-350). Yet their involvement with the commodity dossiers is the largest – 16 transactions as distinct from 12 for Šamitu and 11 for Qoskahel. Several persons are involved more than once as payers to Qoskahel and Šamitu, but only two of them were involved with both of these – Qosnaqam, who may be the son of Šamitu (Tables 10.5; 11.12, 15, 31); and Baalghayr, twice paying small amounts of *barley groats* to Qoskahel and Šamitu, once even on the same day (June 16, 362 [Table 12.51-52]). Once both Baalghayr and Šamitu received payment of jars from two different persons on the same day, recorded on separate chits drawn up by the same scribe and attested by the same signatory (Tables 11.20, 12.47). In like fashion Šamitu and Qoskahel had separate chits drawn up on the same day for a unique payment transaction of wheat (Tables 10.24, 11.41) and joined together in a huge payment of barley, recorded in a chit endorsed by Zabdidah, and in a singular monetary transaction of shekels (Tables 10.30, 39, 11.33, 49). In a word, Baalghayr made four payments of grain, both small and large amounts, to both Šamitu and Qoskahel and these two joined up themselves to make grain payments, both moderate and huge, to others.

*Conclusion* – In the first half of this study we isolated four commodity dossiers, all beginning in the year 362, and extending, respectively to 358 (*barley groats* [42 chits] and grindings [9 non-overlapping chits]), 356 (semolina+flour [37 chits]), and 346 (crushed/sifted grain [28 chits]). The more we studied them, the more we recognized that certain individuals recurred in at least three of the four dossiers more than other individuals. Moreover, these individuals, three or four in number, had large personal dossiers of their own for these same years, larger than the commodity dossiers, and these demonstrated not inconsiderable interaction among themselves, both cutting across the commodity dossiers and extending beyond them. To be sure, each of these three/four persons (Qoskahel, Šamitu, Baalghayr+Halfat) had relations with many other people, but, for the most part, the respective groups did not overlap. Clearly, the relationships between these three/four persons were special. Through two genealogical filiations (Tables 10.25, 11.38), we detected that Qoskahel and Šamitu belonged to the clan of Guru, perhaps an abbreviation of the name Baalgur (Table 11.22). While Qoskahel was a generation older than Šamitu, both had active sons, whether as payer or payee (Tables 10.27, 11.31). Baalghayr, twice payer to both Qoskahel and

Šamitu, apparently belonged to the clan of Ḥori (Table 12.3, 5-6, 14, 51-54). So while clan filiation might have been a factor in economic relations, it was not the sole factor. Only through a methodical recording of chits and their classification as belonging either to a commodity dossier or a personal dossier were we able to capture not only the interaction between the two but among three dominant persons in the Idumean society.



Table 9: Generations of the Clan of Gur=?Baalgur

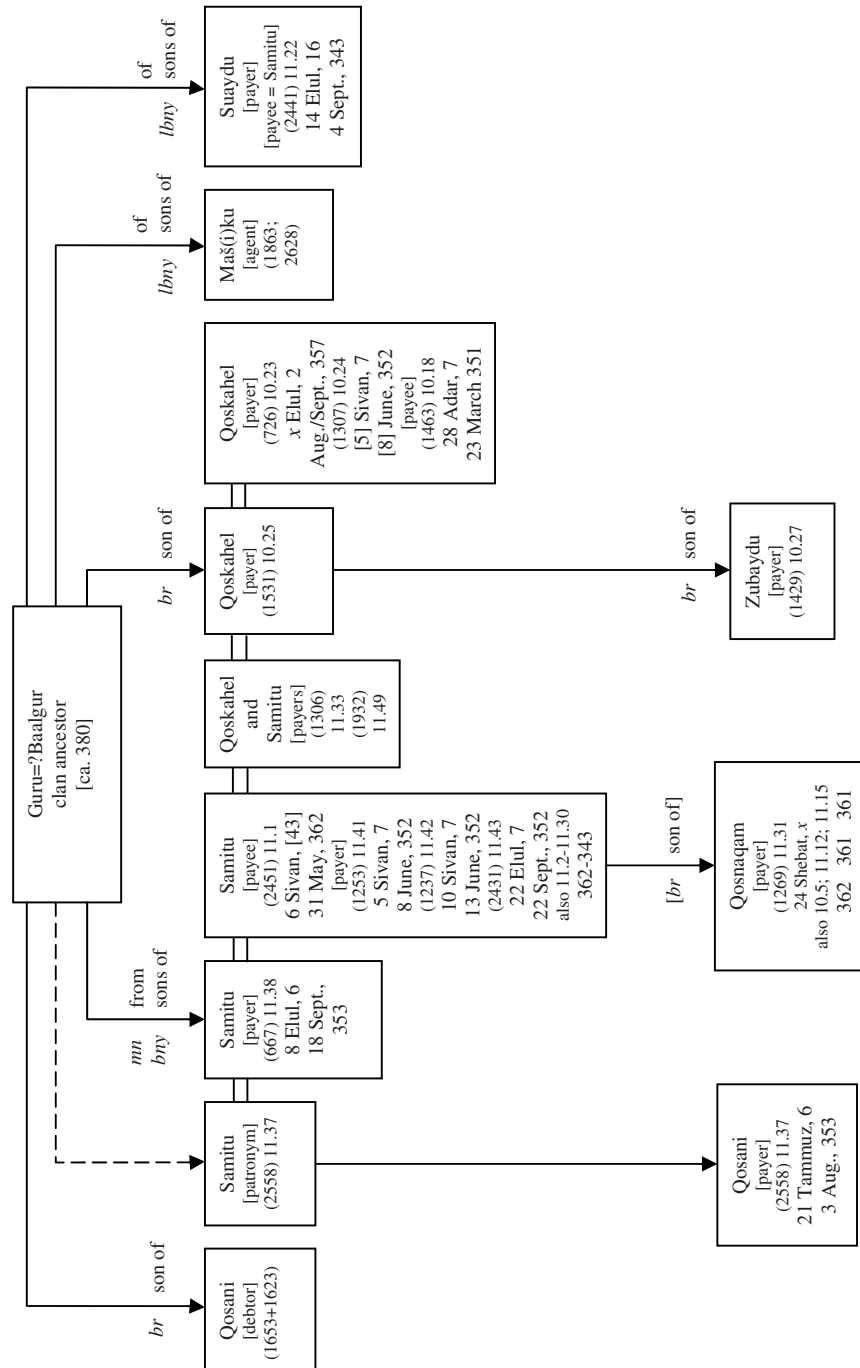


Table 10: The Dossier of Qoskahel (365-351)

Order of numbers in col. 1: serial number (1, 2, 3 etc.), table number of cross-listing (e.g. 2.5), figure number (*italics*).

Abbreviations: bh = by hand of; db = date at beginning; de = date at end; nd = no date; s = son of; sc = scribe.

Nos. 1-22 Qoskahel payee (years 40, 43, 46 [Artaxerxes II; 365-359], 1, 3-4, 7 [Artaxerxes III; 358-351]; 11 intersections with commodity dossiers (**bold**)).

Nos. 23-35: Qoskahel payer (years 2, 7 [357, 352]).

Nos. 36-42: miscellaneous.

No.	ISAP	Babylonian date	Julian Date	sc	Payer	Payee	Commodity
1.	806 = GCh6 = IA12189	14 Tammuz, 40 [Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> db	July 9, 365	?	Bagana	Qoskahel	from the grain of the loan: barley: 15 seahs
2. 2.7 12.51	823 = IA12206 = GCh23	22 Sivan, [43 Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	June 16, 362	A	Baalghayr	Qoskahel	grinding of Iyyar and Sivan: <i>barley groats</i> : 1 seah, 3 qabs
3. 2.8	1497 = AL311 = M209	1 Tammuz, [43 Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	June 24, 362	?	Šalmu	Qoskahel	<i>barley groats</i> : 25 seahs, 1[+?] qabs
4. 2.9	410 = IA11405	30 Tammuz, [43 Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	July 23, 362	?	[PN]	Qoskahel	<i>barley groats</i> : [x seahs], 1 qab
5. 2.10	456 = IA11415	7 Ab, 43 [Artaxerxes II] de	July 30, 362	A	Qosnaqam	Qoskahel	<i>barley groats</i> : 5 seahs, 4 qabs
6. 2.11 12.53 <i>Id</i>	1001 = L1 = IM91.16.76	27 Ab, 43 [Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	Aug. 13, 362	A	1. Gar(a)pi 2. Baalghayr	1. Abdel 2. Qoskahel	<i>barley groats</i> : 1 kor, 4 qabs
7. 2.12	1248 = AL4 = JA75	4 Elul, 43 [Artaxerxes II] de	Aug. 25, 362	A	Qošhanan	Qoskahel	<i>barley groats</i> : 5 seahs
8. 2.13	706 = YR8	30 Elul, [43 Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	Sept. 20, 362	A	Šammu	Qoskahel	<i>barley groats</i> : 10 seahs
9.	1944 = EN153 = BLM668	20 Iyyar, [46 Artaxerxes II] db	June 10, 359	?	Qošhanan	Qoskahel bh Qosmilk	brought barley: 20 seahs
10. 1.4 2c	1419 = AL10 = M126	22 Sivan, 46 [Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> db	July 12, 359	B	Qošhanan	Qoskahel	semolina, wheat: 2 seahs; flour: 1 seah Yazidu
11. 1.10	1433 = AL7 = EN53 = M143	x Sivan, 46 [Artaxerxes II] db	June, 21 - July 20, 359	B	[PN]	Qoskahel	[semolina: x seahs], 1 1/2 qabs; flour: [x seahs, y] 1/2 qabs
12.	2561 = JA286	— nd	—	?	Qoslaytha	Qoskahel	semolina: 2 seahs

13. 2.33 4.16	703 = YR14	5 Tammuz, 46 [Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> db	July 24, 359	A	Qoslaytha	Qoskahel	from the later grinding: <i>barley groats</i> : 3 seahs, 4 qabs <i>Yazidu</i>
14.	1389 = AL18 = M95	x+2 Ab, 1 [Artaxerxes III] db	Aug. 9+, 358	?	Ḥazira	Qos[kahel]	[...]
15. 2.35	1652 = OG?18	6 Tishri, 1 [Artaxerxes III] db	Oct. 12, 358	A	Qoslaytha	Qoskah[el]	<i>barley groats</i> : 5 seahs, 5 qabs
16.	1149 = L149 = IM91.16.187	x, 3 [Artaxerxes III] db	356/355	?	[PN]	[Q]oskahel	x: 2 seahs, 2.5 qabs
17.	1378 = AL303 = M81	20 x, 4 [Artaxerxes III] db	355/354	?	[...]	[Qo]skahe[l]	wheat: 1 kor, 15 seahs
18.	1463 = M175 = AL55	28 Adar, 7 [Artaxerxes III] db	March 23, 351		Zabdi	Qoskahel	to the store- house: barley: 14 seahs
19.	1445 = AL131 = M157	7 Tishri db	—		[PN] s Na(a)ri	Qoskahel	broug[ht] [...]
20.	405 = IA11355	27 db	—	?	Baaladar/ Baalider	Qoskahel	log: 1
21.	1930 = EN139 = JA113	— nd	—	?	Šallum	Qoskahel	from the grain of Ani: barley: 7 seahs, 1.5 qabs
22.	266 = IA11750	— nd	—	?	Q[os...]	Qoskahe[l]	<i>oil</i> (or: <i>flour</i> ): 2 seahs, 4 qabs
23.	726 = YR29	x Elul, 2 [Artaxerxes III] db	Sept. 24, 357		Qoskahel	—	[broug]ht in wheat/barley: 19 seahs, 5 qabs
24.	1307 = AL53 = M7	[5] Sivan, 7 [Artaxerxes III] db	June [8], 352		[Qoska]hel	bh Agra Maḥoza/ port	brought from the grain of Ramata: [wheat: 16 seahs]
25.	1531 = AL220 = M246	— nd	—		Qoskahel s Guru	—	oil/salt: 5 seahs, 2.5 qabs
26.	132+135 = IA11844+ 11893	— nd	—		Qoskahel s [...]	—	[...]
27.	1429 = AL225 = M137+140	— nd	—		Zubaydu s Qoskahel	—	from Makkedah <i>grgm</i> : 36
28.	2628 = JA371	— nd	—		Qoskahel	bh Maš(i)ku	loads: 3
29.	74 = Zd IV > EyH III = JA433	— nd	—		1. Qosyad 2. Qoskahel	Abid (Abid)	log: 1 (log:) 1
30. 11.33	1306 = AL205 = M6	— nd	—		Qoskahel & Samitu	—	barley: 3 kors, 28 seahs, 4 qabs Zabdadah wrote

31.	816 = GCh16 = IA12199	20  de	—		Qoskahel	Palaqos	barley: 2 kors, 12 seahs
32.	1984 = LW14 = W1'	—  nd	—		Qoskahel	—	<i>grgm</i> : 27
33.	727 = YR20	8 <i>Tebeth</i>  de	—		Qoskahel	—	nails: 33
34.	2438 = JA150	—  nd	—		Qoslaghath	—	of the horse ranch of Qos- kahel: barley: 2 kors, 20 seahs
35.	1734 = Zd11	Fragment	—		[Qos]kahel	—	
36.	1138 = L138 = IM91.16.153	List			Qoskahel Qosyad	—	semolina: 1 seah
37.	854 = GCh54 > Forbes ?	List			10. Qosyad 11. Qoskahel	—	
38.	1932 = EN141 = BLM677	Accounts			1. Qoskahel 2. Samitu 3. Q[...]	—	1. 10 shekels, 1.5 maahs, 2. 30 shekels, 3. 10 shekels
39.	802 = GCh1 = IA12185	Letter			Qoskahel (twice)	—	1 maah
40.	1710 = ChM10 = JA514	Letter				rams of Qoskahel	pay to <i>Mena- hem</i> from the grain of my loan: barley: 1 kor
41.	1476 = AL339 = M188	jar inscription early script			Qoskahel	—	
42.	1519 = AL340 = M233	jar inscription early script			Qoskah[el]	—	

Table 11. The Dossier of Samitu (362-343)

Order of numbers in col. 1: serial number (1, 2, 3 etc.), table number of cross-listing (e.g. 2.5), figure number (*italics*).

Abbreviations: bh = by hand of; db = date at beginning; de = date at end; e = in exchange for; f ss = from the sons of; nd = no date; o ss = of the sons of; s = son of; sc = scribe.

Nos. 1-31: Samitu payee (years 43, 44, 46 [Artaxerxes II; 362-361, 359]; 4, 13, 16 [Artaxerxes III; 355, 346, 343]); 12 intersections with commodity dossiers (**bold**).

Nos. 32-46: Samitu payer (years 5-7, 10 [Artaxerxes III; 354-352, 349]; undated).

Nos. 47-50: miscellaneous (year 3 [Artaxerxes III; 356]).

No.	ISAP	Babylonian Date	Julian Date	sc	Payer	Payee	Commodity
1.	2451 = JA163	6 Sivan, [43 Artaxerxes II] de	May 31, 362		Zubaydu	Samitu	wheat: 6 seahs
<b>2.</b> 2.6 4.3 12.52	804 = GCh4	22 Sivan, [43 Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	June 16, 362	A	Baalghayr	Samitu	of Iyyar and Sivan: <i>barley groats</i> : 1 seah
<b>3.</b> 2.15 4.5	7 = JTS159260	x Marcheshvan, 43 [Artaxerxes II] de	Oct. 20 - Nov. 18, 362	A	[Ab]dadah	Samitu	from [lat]er [gr]inding of Marcheshvan year 43: [ <i>barley</i> ] <i>groats</i> : 2 seahs, 4 qabs
4.	1858 = EN59 = JA264	_____ nd	_____	?	Abdadah	Samitu	x: 6 seahs, 3 qabs
5. 2.22 11.19	2446 = JA158	6 Adar, [43 Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	Feb. 21, 361	A	Sam(a)ku	Samitu	<i>barley groats</i> : 3 seahs, 1 qab
<b>6.</b> 4.10	2547 = JA272	13 Adar, [43 Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	Feb. 28, 361	A	Lubayu	Samitu	from (that) of Nisan: 2 seahs
<b>7.</b> 4.11	54 = Shod4	13 Adar, [43 Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	Feb. 28, 361	A	D/Rahanu	Samitu	(that) of Nisan: 2 seahs, 2 qabs
8.	1273 = AL180 = JA98	_____ nd	_____	?	D/Rahanu	Samitu	1
<b>9.</b> 4.8	2413 = JA122	13 Adar, [43 Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	Feb. 28, 361	A	Aydu/Iyadu/ Ghayru	Samitu	(that) of Nisan: 6 seahs, 3 qabs
<b>10.</b> 4.9 12.54	2519 = JA239	13 Adar, [43 Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	Feb. 28, 361	A	Baalghayr	Samitu	from (that) of Nisan: 1 seah, 3.5 qabs
11.	1468 = AL229 = M180	1 x, [43 Artaxerxes II] de	362/61	A	Laadiel	Samitu	<i>grgm</i> : 10

12. 2.25 <i>le</i>	203 = IA11786	28 Nisan, 44 [Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	May 12, 361	A	1. Qosnaqam 2. D/Rahanu 3. Sam(a)ku	1. Samitu 2. Samitu 3. Samitu	1. <i>barley groats</i> : 3 seahs, 1 qab 2. <i>barley groats</i> : 2 seahs, 4 qabs 3. <i>barley groats</i> : 3 seahs, 2 qabs
13.	1736 = IA12408	14 Marcheshvan db	—		Qosadar/ider	Samitu	[...]
14.	813 = GCh13 = IA12196	23 <i>Marcheshvan</i> , 44 [Artaxerxes II] db	361/360	?	1. <i>Zabdiel</i> (convex)	Samitu	l[og]: 1 (OR: <i>g[rgm]</i> : 10)
15. 2.27	1286 = AL6 = B1 = Zd = JA497	26 Marcheshvan, 44 [Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> db	Dec. 2, 361	A	Qosnaqam	Samitu	from Makkedah: from the grinding of sons of Malka (OR: the king): <i>barley groats</i> : 2 seahs, 2 qabs Yazidu
16. 3.3	2571 = JA296	30 x, 43 [+3 = 46 Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> db	359/358	B	[...]	Samitu	<i>crushed/sifted</i> <i>grain</i> : [x seahs], 3 qabs, 1 quarter
17.	257 = IA11748	2 Iyyar, 46 [Artaxerxes II] db	May 23, 359	?	Rufayu	Samitu	brought from the oil which ...
18.	2484 = JA200	— nd	—		Rufayu	Samitu	from R/Dauī: wheat: 1 kor
19. 3.6	735 = YR37	19 T[ammuz, 46 Artaxerxes II] db	Aug. 7, 359	B	Abdqos	Samitu	from the later [grinding]: <i>crushed/sifted</i> <i>grain</i> : wheat, seahs, [x] Yazidu
20. 12.47	862 = IA12449	29 Ab, 4 [Artaxerxes III] <i>bet</i> de	Sept. 2, 355		Zaydi	Samitu	jars: [...]  <i>Abdmilk</i>
21. 11.5	1033 = IM91.16.122	23 Sivan, 13 [Artaxerxes III] archaic <i>aleph</i> db	June 20, 346		Yathu	1. Samitu 2. Sam(a)ku	1. barley: 25 seahs 2. barley: 10 seahs, 1 qab (see ISAP1026)
22.	2441 = JA153 palimpsest	14 Elul, 16 [Artaxerxes III] db	Sept. 4, 343		Suaydu o ss Baalgur	Samitu	wheat: 9 seahs, 5 qabs
23.	1233 = SL3	27 Sivan db	—		Abdsidq	Samitu	semolina: 9 seahs
24.	1630 = OG32	16 Marcheshvan db	—		Nugayu	Samitu	BALES: 4
25.	230 = IA11774 = Naveh 621	— nd	—		Laytha	Samitu	wheat: 17 seahs <i>and</i> <i>a large seah</i> Qosyatha wrote
26.	1093 = L93 = Naveh 639 = IM94.38.40	— nd	—		Zaydil	Samitu	from the oil of the purchase: oil: 5 seahs



27.	1089 = L89 = IM91.17.89	_____	nd	_____	Qosa	Samitu	[chaff]: 1 BALE
28.	1634 = OGx	_____	nd	_____	Qosghauth	Samitu	chaff: <i>x</i> BALE(S)
29.	1422 = AL310 = M130 = Naveh 616, 654	_____	nd	_____	Qosrim	Samitu	<i>x</i> : [...] 1 and [...] 10
30.	2573 = JA299	_____	nd	_____	Zabdi/ Zabdi[el]	Samitu	_____
31.	1269 = AL100 = JA278	24 Shebat, [y]	db	_____	Abdmilk/ Abdmaran	Qosnaqam [s] Samitu bh of [...]w	BUNDLES: [2] [joist/log]: 1
32.	2516 = JA235	26 Sivan, 5 [Artaxerxes III]	db	May 31, 354	1. Samitu 2. entry: Samitu	_____	to the storehouse: 1. wheat: <i>x</i> kor(s) 2. wheat: 9 seahs
33. 10.31	1306 = AL205 = M6	_____	nd	_____	Qoskahel & Samitu	_____	barley: 3 kors, 28 seahs, 4 qabs Zabdadah wrote
34.	1613 = AL196 = M421 = SM12	_____	nd	_____	Samitu	_____	flour: 8 seahs
35.	300 = IA11761	_____	nd	_____	Samitu	_____	beam ( <i>šry</i> )
36.	1457 = AL179 = M169	_____	nd	_____	from the account of Samitu	Naqru/ Naqdu	wheat: 1 kor
37. 3.17 5b	2558 = JA283	21 Tammuz, 6 [Artaxerxes III]	de	Aug. 3, 353	E Qosani s Samitu	_____	crushed/sifted grain: 1 seah, 3.5 qabs
38.	667 = Naveh E43	8 Elul, 6 [Artaxerxes III]	de	Sept. 18, 353	Saadu/Šamru & Samitu f ss Guru	_____	presented BALES: 4
39.	1589 = AL99 = M305	23 Elul	db	_____	Samitu	_____	from the grain of the storehouse: wheat: 5 seahs
40.	2532 = JA255	23 Tebeth, 6 [Artaxerxes III]	db	Jan. 29, 352	Samitu	bh PN	from the grain of the storehouse: wheat: 5 seahs, 4.5 qabs
41.	1253 = AL52	5 Sivan, 7 [Artaxerxes III]	db	June 8, 352	Samitu	bh Agra Maḥoza/ port	brought from the grain of Ramata: wheat: 16 seahs, 5 qabs
42.	1237 = AL54 = JA67	10 Sivan, 7 [Artaxerxes III]	db	June 13, 352	Samitu	_____	to the storehouse: wheat: 1 kor, 7 seahs, 4 qabs
43.	2431 = JA142	22 Elul, 7 [Artaxerxes III]	db	Sept. 22, 352	Samitu	_____	to the storehouse: barley: 1 kor, 5 seahs, 4 qabs e: wheat: 17 seahs, 5 qabs
44.	2479 = JA194	5 Tammuz	db	_____	Samitu	_____	chaff: <i>x</i> BUNDLES Qosmilk

45.	803 = GCh 3 = IA12186	7 Tishri db	_____	Samitu		from <i>m</i> [...] from his <i>buy</i> oil: 3 seahs, 1.5 qabs
46.	1435 = EN70 = AL59 = M147	22 Sivan, 10 [Artaxerxes III] db	<i>June 21,</i> <i>349</i>	Samitu	_____	barley: 1 seah
47.	2540 = JA263	14 Ab, 3 [Artaxerxes III] accounts db	<i>Aug. 28,</i> <i>356</i>	1. Adarani 2. Haggagu 3. Laadarel 4. Lubayu 5. Samitu	_____	1. wheat: <i>x</i> seahs, 2 qabs 2. wheat: 14 seahs 3. wheat: 15 seahs 4. wheat: 10 seahs 5. wheat: 10[+?] seahs
48.	1676 = AL207 = M424	accounts nd		1. Abba s Ghauthi 2. Aydan/ Ghayran 3. Anael	1. _____ 2. Anael 3. Samitu	[...]
49.	1932 = EN141 (BLM677)	accounts nd		1. Qoskahel 2. Samitu 3. Q[...]		1. 10 shekels, 1.5 maahs 2. 30 shekels 3. 10 shekels
50.	357 = IA11833	jar inscription		Samitu		

Table 12. The Dossier of Ḥalfat and Baalghayr (362-350)

Order of numbers in col. 1: serial number (1, 2, 3 etc.), table number of cross-listing (e.g. 2.5), figure number (*italics*).

Abbreviations: bh = by hand of; db = date at beginning; de = date at end; dm = date in the middle; nd = no date; s = son of; sc = scribe.

Nos. 1-16: Ḥalfat to Baalghayr (years 43, 45-46 [Artaxerxes II; 362, 360-359], 2, 4, 6 [Artaxerxes III; 357, 355, 353]).

Nos. 17-35: Ḥalfat to no named recipient: (years 43 [Artaxerxes II; 361], 1-2, 4 [Artaxerxes III; 358-357, 355/354]).

Nos. 36-41: Ḥalfat to PN (years 44, 46 [Artaxerxes II; 361, 359]).

Nos. 42-46: Zabdi to Baalghayr (year 43 [Artaxerxes II; 362]).

Nos. 47-50: PN to Baalghayr (year 4 [Artaxerxes II; 355]).

Nos. 51-54: Baalghayr to Qoskahel and Samitu (year 43 [Artaxerxes II; 362/361]).

Nos. 55-58: Baalghayr to no named recipient (years 43 [Artaxerxes II; 362/361], 6 [Artaxerxes III; 353]).

Note 17 intersections with commodity dossiers (**bold**).

Nos. 59-66: miscellaneous.

No. 67: Ḥalfat as agent (year 9 [Artaxerxes III; 350]).

No.	ISAP	Babylonian Date	Julian Date	sc	Payer	Payee	Commodity
1. 2.4 <i>1a</i>	1293 = AL108	30 Iyyar, [43 Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	May 25, 362	A	Ḥalfat	Baalghayr	<i>barley groats</i> : 4 seahs, 1 qab
2. 1.1 <i>1b</i>	1290 = AL109 = B5, Zd, = JA501	7 Sivan, [43 Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	June 1, 362	A	Ḥalfat	Baalghayr	semolina: [1 seah], 4 qabs; flour: 1 seah, 5 qabs
3. 2.29 4.14	1801 = EN1	2 Iyyar, 45 [Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> db	May 4, 360	A	Ḥalfat	Baalghayr s Ḥori for the animals	brought from the grinding of Mšby of Natanbaal: <i>barley groats</i> : 2 seahs, 3 qabs <i>Yazidu</i>
4. 2.31	57 = Shod.7	15 Adar II, 45 [Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> db	April 7, 359	A	Ḥalfat	Baalghayr	<i>barley groats</i> : 3 seahs
5. 1.5	1803 = EN3	22 Sivan, 46 [Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> db	July 12, 359	B	Ḥalfat	Baalghayr s Ḥori	semolina: 2 seahs; flour: 2 seahs, 1 qab <i>Yazidu</i>
6. 3.5 4.17	1804 = EN4	6 Tammuz, 46 [Artaxerxes II] db	July 25, 359	B	Ḥalfat	Baalghayr s Ḥori	from the later grinding: <i>crushed/sifted grain</i> : 3 seahs, 3 qabs
7. 1.11 4.18	1805 = EN5	19 Tammuz, 46 [Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> db	Aug. 7, 359	B	Ḥalfat	Baalghayr	from the later grinding: semolina: 1 seah, 2 qabs; flour: 1 seah, 2 qabs <i>Yazidu</i>

8.	1809 = EN9	4 Sivan, 2 [Artaxerxes III] db	June 1, 357	Ḥalfat	Baalghayr	from Makkedah barley: 1 kor, 26 seahs, 5 qabs
9.	59	4 Tammuz, [4?] [Artaxerxes III] db	July 9, 355	Ḥalfat	Baalghayr	chaff: 4 BALES
10.	1814 = EN14	22 Tammuz, 4 [Artaxerxes III] db	July 27, 355	Ḥalfat	Baalghayr	barley: 15 seahs [...]
11.	1292 = AL46	3 Ab, 6 [Artaxerxes III] archaic <i>aleph</i> db	Aug. 14, 353	Ḥalfat	Baalghayr	jars: 2
12. 3.18	1013 = L13 = IM91.16.17	9 Ab, 6 [Artaxerxes III] de	Aug. 20, 353	Ḥalfat	Baalghayr	<i>crushed/sifted grain:</i> 2 seahs
13.	1818 = EN18	—	—	Ḥalfat	Baalghayr	BALES: 2
14.	1825 = EN25	—	—	Ḥalfat	Baalghayr s Ḥori	wood: 1 load
15.	1366 = AL191	26 <i>x</i> db	—	Ḥalfat	Baalghayr bh Zabdi	wheat: 16 seahs, 1 qab
16.	1821 = EN21	— nd	—	Ḥalfat	Baalghayr	[...]
17.	1828 = EN28	15 Adar, II [43 Artaxerxes II] de	March 30, 361	Ḥalfat	—	pegs: 50 Saadel
18. 1.13	1806 = EN6	4 Elul, 1 [Artaxerxes III] db	Sept. 10, 358	Ḥalfat	—	semolina: 5.75 qabs; flour: 2 seahs, 2 qabs Saadel
19. 1.14	1807 = EN7	11 Elul, 1 [Artaxerxes III] [...?] db	Sept. 17, 358	Ḥalfat	—	semolina: 5 qabs; flour: 1 seah, 2 qabs Zabdiel
20.	1808 = EN8	23 Elul, 1 [Artaxerxes III] db	Sept. 29, 358	Ḥalfat	—	wheat: 4 seahs, 3.5 qabs
21. 1.17	1826 = EN26	— nd	—	Ḥalfat	—	delivered from <i>Makkedah</i> semolina: 1[+?] seahs; flour: [...]
22. 1.18	1830 = EN30	— nd	—	Ḥalfat	—	semolina: 1.5 qab; flour: 2 qabs
23.	1812 = EN12	22 Sivan, 2 [Artaxerxes III] de	June 19, 357	Ḥalfat	—	wheat: 2 seahs, 2 qabs
24.	1810 = EN10	24 Ab, 2 [Artaxerxes III] db	Aug. 19, 357	Ḥalfat	—	wheat/barley: 6 seahs, half qab; Zabdiel
25.	1811 = EN11	25 Adar II, 2 [Artaxerxes III] de	April 14, 356	Ḥalfat s Sammuk	—	oil: 2 qabs, 2 quar- ters, 1 eighth
26.	1833 = EN33	15 Sivan, - [Artaxerxes III] archaic <i>aleph?</i> dm	—	Ḥalfat	—	brought barley: 2 kors, 4 seahs Zaydu
27.	1813 = EN13	16 Tammuz, 4 Artaxerxes [III] db	July 21, 355	Ḥalfat	—	brought wheat: 1 kor, 5 seahs, 4 qabs; barley: 1 kor, 12 seahs, 4 qabs

28.	1829 = EN29	— nd	—		Ḥalfat	—	wheat: 2 seahs; barley: 3 kors, 2 seahs Qosyatha
29.	1835 = EN35	3 Tammuz db	—		1. Ḥalfat  2. Zubaydu	—	1. brought the wheat: 3 kors, 2 seahs, 1 qab 2. cha[ff]
30.	1831 = EN31	4 Ab db	—		Ḥalfat	—	wheat: 20 seahs; barley: 29 seahs, 5 qabs
31.	1815 = EN15	4 Shebat, 4 Artaxerxes [III] db	Feb. 1, 354		Ḥalfat	—	from Makkedah: wheat: 12 seahs, 1 qab Qos[...]
32.	1817 = EN17	25 Shebat, 4 Artaxerxes [III] db	Feb. 22, 354		Ḥalfat	—	oil: 1 eighth
33.	1832 = EN32	— nd	—		Ḥalfat	—	oil: 1 seah, 1 qab, half
34.	1316 = M16 = AL321	— nd	—		Ḥalfat	—	animal skin[...]
35.	1827 = EN27	— nd	—		Ḥalfat	—	brought g[...]
36. 2.26	41 (GB?)	4 Tishri, 44 [Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> db	Oct. 12, 361	A	Ḥalfat	Al(i)qos	<i>barley groats</i> : 3 seahs, 4 qabs
37.	1802 = EN2	20 Tammuz, 46 [Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> db	Aug. 8, 359		Ḥalfat	female camels which are in Makkedah	chaff: 1 BALE Saadel
38.	1816 = EN16	28 Kislev db	—		Ḥalfat	Yehoanah	gave 8 maahs = price of wine
39.	1288 = AL202 = JA499	20 de	—		Ḥalfat	Palaqos	barley: 16 seahs, 4 qabs, half
40.	1834 = EN34	— nd	—		Ḥalfat	Ab(i)yatha bh PN	brought in from Makkedah: wheat: 2 kors, x seahs, 3 qabs; barley: 6 kors
41.	1291 = AL294 = B6 = JA502	— diagonal line nd	—		[Ḥal]fat	Abiam	barley: 1 kor
42.	1838 = EN38	13 Sivan, [43 Artaxerxes II] de	June 7, 362		Zabdi	Baalghayr	from Makkedah: BALES: 2
43.	1819 = EN19	10 Elul, [43 Artaxerxes II] de	Aug. 31, 362		Zabdi	Baalghayr	BALE: 1
44.	1822 = EN22	30 Marcheshvan, [43 Artaxerxes II] de	Nov. 18, 362	K	Zabdi	Baalghayr	<i>grgm</i> : 14
45.	1820 = EN20	— nd	—	K	Zabdi	Baalghayr	BALE: 1
46.	1823 = EN23	— nd	—	K	Zabdi	Baalghayr	BALES: 2

47. 11.20	1856 = EN57	29 Ab, 4 [Artaxerxes III] <i>beth</i> de	Sept. 2, 355		Nugayu	Baalghayr	jars: 5  Abdmilk
48.	1236 = AL41	6 Tishri, 4 [Artaxerxes III] db	Oct. 8, 355		Othni	Baalghayr bh Abdelbaali	chaff: 3 BALES
49.	1837 = EN37	20 Ab de	—		Abdi	Baalghayr bh Amittai	BUNDLES: 1.5
50.	1122 = L122 = IM91.16.78	20 Ab dm	—		Qanael	Baal[ghay]r bh PN	oil: 2 seahs
51. 2.7 4.4 10.2	823 = IA12206 = GCh23	22 Sivan, [43 Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	June 16, 362	A	Baalghayr	Qoskahel	grinding of Iyyar and Sivan: <i>barley groats</i> : 1 seah, 3 qabs
52.2.6 4.3 11.2	804 = GCh4	22 Sivan, [43 Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	June 16, 362	A	Baalghayr	Samitu	of Iyyar and Sivan: <i>barley groats</i> : 1 seah
53. 2.11 10.6 1d	1001 = L1 = IM91.16.76	27 Ab, 43 [Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	Aug. 13, 362	A	1. Gar(a)pi 2. Baalghayr	1. Abdel 2. Qoskahel	<i>barley groats</i> : 1 kor, 4 qabs
54. 4.9 11.10	2519 = JA239	13 Adar, [43 Artaxerxes II] archaic <i>aleph</i> de	Feb. 28, 361	A	Baalghayr	Samitu	from <the grinding> of Nisan: 1 seah, 3 qabs
55.	239 = IA11810	15 x, [43 Artaxerxes II] de	362/361		Baalghayr	—	wheat: 8 seahs, 3 qabs
56.	206 = IA11787	17 x db	—		Baalghayr	—	wheat: 10 seahs
57.	2443 = JA155	29 Sivan, 6 [Artaxerxes III] db	July 12, 353		Baalghayr	—	barley: 4 kors, 3 seahs, 5 qabs
58.	1824 = EN24	25 db 26 dm	—		1. Haniel 2. Baalghayr	—	1. BUNDLES: 12 2. BUNDLES: 8
59.	2434 = JA145	land description	—		plot of Baalghayr	—	3 seahs, 3 qabs
60.	291 = IA11760	fragmentary list?	—		1. [...]milk 2. Baalghayr	—	—
61.	1958 = EN178 = JA147	list: 10 names	—		1. Ubaydu 2. Hanina 3. Qoshanan 4. Adarbaal 5. Halfat 6. Zubaydu	—	—
62.	1703 = ChM3 = EYH1 = JA507	unclear (list?) (letter?)	—		1. Qosyinqom 2. s Naḥum 3. Halfat & Maršidq	—	—
63.	877 = GCh77 = EYH1 = JA463	1 Tebeth accounts db	—		1. Qosbayyun 2. Baalghayr 3. Ammiqos	—	oil: 1. 5 qabs 2. 5 qabs 3. 5 qabs
64.	115 = IA11891	accounts	—		1. Maš(i)ku 2. Halfat	—	1. barley: 1 kor [...] 2. barley [...]
65.	1954 = EN174	disbursement of wheat? 11 entries	—		... 3. Baalghayr & Hazael 4. Othni	—	3. 4 seahs, 3.75 qabs 4. 6 seahs, 3 qabs



66.	1653+1623 = OG19+11	record of barley debt: 12 entries		1-3. 4. Qosdakar & Baalghayr 11. Othni	—	4. barley: 15 seahs 11. barley: 2 seahs
67.	271 = IA11733	25 Tammuz, 9 [Artaxerxes III]	Aug. 5, 350	Qo[s...]	PN bh Ḥalfat	barley: 23 seahs, 3 qabs

## Footbaths: Secular, Ritual and Symbolic

Kay Prag

During work on the final report on the excavation of Kenyon's Site S.II in Jerusalem (1968, 102-5; 1974, 115-116, 121, 221; Prag forthcoming), four rather small fragments of the vessels variously described as basins, footbaths, hearths or braziers emerged from well-stratified Iron Age II contexts and triggered an investigation of their distribution and function (Fig. 1). They are distinctive items which stand out from the usual range of ceramics of this period in Jerusalem. The Jerusalem Iron Age II ceramics offer considerable variety, including: rare finds of really beautiful, burnished and sometimes painted, sometimes very thin, luxury wares, probably imported to Jerusalem for elite use; the standard, presumably local, good quality production of domestic wares of varied appearance, often with pinkish-red slip and burnish, sometimes with a glossy dark red slip; large, thin-walled, hard-fired pithoi; and miscellaneous items such as these very crude handmade basins, the fabric of which is sometimes little better than that of a clay oven.

*The basins: context and nature.*

### *Jerusalem*

Four fragments of basins were found in Kenyon's Jerusalem Site S.II, which is located south of the Haram, adjacent to the road from St. Stephen's Gate to the Dung Gate, overlooking the Kidron Valley. The site was included in the much larger area excavated by B. Mazar and E. Mazar in the following decades (see Mazar and Mazar 1989: 9, Plans 2 and 7, Photo 11), and thus adjacent to structures which have since been identified by them as a public building and a city gate in use during the eighth century BCE. These fragments from Site S.II were distinguished by the crudity of their straw-tempered, thick, low-fired and crumbly pink fabric with massive grey cores, and were undoubtedly of local manufacture.

1. A fragment of a large, flat-rimmed basin in straw-tempered, grey-cored, pink fabric, with white plaster covering walls and rim. There were traces of a broken attachment or unevenness on the lower exterior wall. The rim diameter of this small fragment is 32 cm., but if the vessel was oval, that measurement is not a real indication of size. From context S.103.50, S.II, Phase 18a (ninth-eighth centuries BCE) (Fig. 1:1).

Context S.103.50 was a light brown clay, slopewash near bedrock.

2. A fragment of a straight-sided vessel, with flat, slightly everted rim (RD. *c.* 30 cm., but if the basin was oval, this rim measurement is not a real indication of size). There is a broken but rough base and traces of a short ledge against the inner rim at the top of the wall. The fabric is very light in weight, pink with light grey core, fine dolomite clay; the temper is calcite and straw. The latter is still visible, confirming the very low firing. From S.112.19, S.II, Phase 17 (late eighth/seventh centuries BCE) (Fig. 1:2).

Context S.112.19 is a grey-brown silt, built up against a wall.

3. A plain, slightly rounded rim fragment (too small to measure the diameter), with a short ledge attached to the wall about two centimetres below the rim on one side, and white plaster on other side. The fabric is heavy, pink with thick dark grey core. The temper includes calcite, straw and shell. Possibly from the same vessel as No. 4. From context S.112.33, S.II, Phase 17 (late eighth/seventh centuries BCE) (Fig. 1:3). Context S.112.33 is ashy debris, near bedrock, built up against a wall.

4. A knobbed, arched fragment with the identical fabric in the same context (S.112.33) which does not join, but should belong to No. 3. The fabric is heavy, pink, with thick dark grey core, and the temper includes calcite and straw. It may have been a foot, suggesting the basin was raised above the floor; but when the vessels from Samaria (No. 12, below), Megiddo (No. 22, below) and from Nasbeh (No. 25, below) are considered, perhaps it formed part of an arched footrest within a basin. The arch springs from a heavy flat fragment which may well be part of the base rather than the wall. There are possible traces of burning on the fragment, either from the underside of the base or the inner side of the wall, depending on how the fragment was used, or its post-use history. The context is the same as for No. 3 (S.II, Phase 17, late eighth/seventh centuries BCE) (Fig. 1:4).

The contexts of nos. 2–4 were probably rubbish deposited after 701 BCE. All the contexts were associated with the Iron Age II walls excavated in Site S.II (see Prag forthcoming).

One nearly complete and one to two large fragments were found in Jerusalem Site A.XXIV, located *c.* 150 m. south-west of Site S.II, near the top of the slope above the Gihon spring (Steiner 2001, Fig. 1.1).

5. An almost complete basin from Site A, context AA.305.2, appears to have an almost identical fabric to the fragments from Site S.II (Steiner 2001: 97, Fig. 6.52:6; Expedition Reg. No. 7082; now in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Reg. No. D.1968.13). It is *c.* 60 cm. in length, handmade, of drab red fabric with grey core, apparently slightly better fired than the fragments from Site S.II, but with much straw and fine white temper. This vessel had white wash or plaster on the exterior, and further traces of plaster or thick white slip on the rim and interior. It appears to have had five lugs or ledges on the inner wall, one of which was complete, and the others fragmentary. The lugs are not directly opposed on the long sides, but those on the short sides are opposed. Most

of the base and fragments of the walls were missing, so it is not known whether there were internal pillars as on the Lachish basin (see below, No. 8).

6. A second fragment from Site A, context AA.305.9, was registered as No. 7083, but it is not otherwise described in the register, allocated to the Department of Antiquities of Jordan in 1966, and is in the IAA store room in Jerusalem.
7. Another fragment described as a footbath is mentioned in Kenyon's pottery notes from AA.305.10, but it seems not to have been kept.

These three fragments came from contexts in Site A.XXIV, Area 28, spread through but in a thick layer of debris overlying the floor in Building VII. Building VII itself was attributed to the seventh/sixth centuries BCE (Steiner 2001: 6, 94). The debris also contained pithoi and an object identified as a stone lavatory seat (reg. No. 6900, from context AA.305.9, Steiner 1991: Fig. 6.51). The debris in which all these items were found was attributed to Phase A3 by Steiner, occupation to 587 BCE. However, these contexts were high in the debris above the floor of Area 28, and may have fallen from higher up the slope during the 587 BCE destruction. Thus the fragments themselves may be a little earlier than the context date in which they were found, and their primary context is uncertain. Like the fragments in Site S.II, the date of manufacture/use may well be eighth century BCE.

### *Lachish*

8. A basin was found at the inner threshold of the inner gatehouse in Lachish Level III, destroyed in 701 BCE. This one was also oval, c. 45 cm. in length, is restored as having six internal lugs or ledges (of which one was complete, four fragmentary and the sixth missing) with two internal pillars or supports on the long axis. The pillars were aligned with the ledges at both ends, and with the ledges on the long sides, which were set in opposed pairs (Ussishkin 2004: II. 641, IV. Figs. 26.2: 4, 26.60: 6).
9. A fragment of a second basin was found in the same locus 4013 at the inner threshold of the inner gate (Ussishkin 2004: II. 518, IV.1903). Ussishkin (2004: II. 641, IV. Figs. 26.2: 4, 26.60: 6) concluded that the basins were probably brought to the gate passage right at the end of Level III when the passage was blocked during the siege at the end of the eighth century. The find spot was adjacent to the north-east chamber of the inner gate, which contained a stone board game (Ussishkin 2004: II. 690-694) and a pithos (Locus 4010, Ussishkin 2004: IV. Fig. 26.1:8). At the back of the same chamber were two small, rather roughly built compartments, constructed of stone and plastered, identified as a water installation (Locus 4018). One of the compartments contained a large chalk block with a deep depression in the top (cf. the stone lavatory seat in Site A, Jerusalem. The Jerusalem object was perforated, the Lachish one apparently not. If the function is correctly surmised, could the Lachish stone have held a chamber-pot?).

*Beersheba*

10. A ceramic basin was found in the Stratum II 'storehouse' at Beersheba (Aharoni 1973: Pls. 10:1, 63: 138). Thus, it has a similar date and was also associated with a 'public' or 'administration' building. This oval basin, which appears to be nearly 80 cm. in length, with a flat base, had a central pillar with incised cross, and eight lugs or ledges around the inner rim.
11. In the same building, but from a different locus, was what appears to be a stone version of one of these vessels. It has an irregular rounded shape, with an off-centre knob which might have served as a pillar. It has no lugs around the inner rim, and is *c.* 70 cm. in length (Aharoni 1973: Pl. 63:137).

*Samaria*

At least ten fragments of similar basins, all with flattish rims and flat bases, were recovered by the Joint Expedition to Samaria.

12. C 234. Oval, *c.* 61 cm. in length, *c.* 40 cm. wide, with central bar supported by two pillars, four internal ledges or lugs at the rim. Notably, as well as the bar support, this basin had a drainage spout near the base at one end. Coarse greyish-buff fabric, grey-black at the break, with a lightly burnished but worn red slip. This basin makes the description of footbath fairly obvious. Context: from Tomb 103.6 "one of the Israelite tomb pits on the west of the Stadium, among a mass of pottery of about the VIIIth and IXth century, B.C." (Crowfoot 1932: 179, Fig. 1; Crowfoot *et al.* 1957: 185, Fig. 29:1).
13. C 1300. Very similar to No. 12, *c.* 56 cm. in length, but with a single pillar at the centre. Not complete, so the presence of a spout is possible. Fabric buff. Context: from E 207 (Crowfoot *et al.* 1957: 185, Fig. 29:2).
14. C 1087. A rim to base fragment only. Fabric grey to reddish, traces of slip. Context: from E 207 (Crowfoot *et al.* 1957: 185, Fig. 29:3).
15. C 827. A rim fragment with one internal lug, which was also decorated with knobs. Fabric coarse, greyish, with red slip. Context: from E 207 (Crowfoot *et al.* 1957: 185, Fig. 29:4).
16. C 342. Rim to base fragment with a inner lug or ledge. Fabric coarse, buff, red slip. Context: from Tomb 108 (Crowfoot *et al.* 1957: 185, Fig. 29:5).
17. C 1120. Probably oval, with an inner lug or ledge handle, knobs on the rim and perforated near the base. Fabric coarse buff, grey at break, with chopped straw temper, red slip. Context: from E 207 (Crowfoot *et al.* 1957: 187, Fig. 29:6).
18. C1301. Oval basin with central pillar support. Fabric buff. Context: from E 207 (Crowfoot *et al.* 1957: 187, Fig. 29:7).
19. Fragment from Z deep pit, Stratum III (Crowfoot *et al.* 1957: 187).
20. Fragments from Qn and Qd, Stratum VI (Crowfoot *et al.* 1957: 187).

21. Fragment from the trench above the Israelite wall in Z (Crowfoot et al. 1957: 187).

Five of these basins from Samaria, including some of the larger fragments, came from E 207, two from tombs, and smaller fragments from other contexts. Grace Crowfoot (1932: 179-180) noted that the context E 207 was “a great rock trench full of Israelite pottery, probably remains of tomb offerings, below the hill on the east side of the village above the path leading to Nakura.” However in the final report on Samaria (Crowfoot et al. 1957: 137-138), E 207 was regarded as a cult centre, an interpretation with which Eshel (Eshel and Prag 1995: 22-23) concurred. The provenance of the majority of the basins suggests a ritual connotation, and their presence in tombs need not contradict this if they were used in funerary ritual ablution.

Kenyon’s identification of these vessels as footbaths related not just to their attributes (which included three fragments with central supports and three with drainage holes), but was also based on the ethnographic work of Grace Crowfoot (1932: 179-180, Pl. I, Figs. 1-3). Crowfoot interpreted the lugs on the inside of the rim as handles so that the heavy basins could be lifted by two people. She compared the basin with a modern vessel, a *wadu*’ (according to G. Crowfoot) or *Umm Sal* (according to Kenyon, Crowfoot et al. 1957: 187), produced in the 1930s in the village of Sinjil (20 miles from Nablus), the purpose of which was for the ritual washing of feet before prayer. In the modern parallel, the foot was placed on the pillar support and the water poured over it. Similar items were produced in the Palestinian villages of Jeba and Yabed.

### *Megiddo*

22. A basin from Megiddo is slightly different (Lamon and Shipton 1939: Pl. 43:14). It is described as a “basket” or a “bird bath(?)”. It is oval, appears to be c. 50 cm. in length, is made of “coarse green-brown ware, sepia core, traces of light red wash, handmade.” The basic shape is familiar, but instead of lugs and central pillars, it has basket-like struts or loop handles springing from the rim crossing the basin at either end, and what look like pillars against the walls (two or four?). This shape could function as a footbath in the same way as the others described above.
23. A pillar from another basin is also illustrated (Lamon and Shipton 1939: Pl. 43:10). The fabric is identical to that of No. 22, and may therefore come from the same basin.
24. There appear to have been sherds of other such basins. Sherds are noted from Loci 300, 1284, S=1553, S=1618 (Lamon and Shipton 1939: 123, 127, 136, 140, Figs. 71, 72).

All the Megiddo examples come from Stratum III (eighth to mid-seventh century BCE). All the loci are rooms (Locus 300 is described as a storeroom) in large houses distributed right across St. III, Areas A and C, suggesting a relatively wealthy domestic context.

*Tell en-Nasbeh*

25. A complete but broken example was found at Tell en-Nasbeh (McCown 1947: 302, Pl. 92:7; Wampler 1947, Pl. 84:3). This is another oval, flat-based vessel which appears to be c. 55 cm. in length. It has yet another variation on the central support, a triangular shape supported on tripod feet. There are no lugs on the inside.
26. Several other examples are published from the site (Wampler 1947: No. 1790: R.371. S22, I x 8). The most complete example is handmade, and it was described as a “foot pan”. The fabric is hard, coarse, dull red-brown with a thick dark gray core and large to small white and gray grits. Length 43+ cm. Another (No. 1791) is white-washed inside and out, as is No. 1792 which may also have interior lugs and an exterior handle.

The more than 26 fragments listed above do not pretend to be an exhaustive list of these basins. Two other stone basins were found at Beersheba, and more were found at Timnah (Tel Batash). Other uses suggested there include food preparation, dyeing, laundry or small animal troughs (Panitz-Cohen 2005, 149 with references).

*Associated finds**Asymmetrical bowls*

Ussishkin (2004: IV. 1903) noted that the only other pottery vessels found with the basins in the Lachish Level III gate passage were a number of ‘asymmetrical bowls’ (see Ussishkin 2004: IV. Fig. 26.1:1). Virtually their entire distribution at Lachish, as with the basins, was in and around the inner gateway in Level III (Ussishkin 2004: II. 517, IV. Ch. 26, Appendix, and for distribution, see Fig. 26.67). This is another unusual vessel form, the date, distribution and function of which has been studied by Gitin (1993), who assumed they were food scoops, used as measures, or for pouring. At Lachish in 701 BCE, food rationing or distribution during the siege would not be unexpected, but why around the gate? As Ussishkin (2004: IV.1904) writes, the gate was not a place where food distribution would have taken place.

In the Late Bronze Age at Lachish, asymmetrical bowls or ‘bent bowls’ were found in a potters’ workshop, but otherwise only in Fosse Temple III in a ritual context (“it has been suggested that these were intended to catch the blood from the necks of animals for sacrifice,” Tufnell et al. 1940: 41, Pl. XXXIX:66); while the Iron Age II occurrence of the bowls appears to be secular. The asymmetrical bowls also appear to be much more popular at Lachish than elsewhere in the country. Ussishkin (2004: 1904) rejected the association with food, and he appears to consider that the bowls were thrown against the enemy, presumably in the final stages of a last desperate battle to repel the Assyrian attack. But surely they were not made for this purpose.



In Jerusalem asymmetrical bowls do not appear to be common, but as most of the ceramics were recovered as small fragments, their presence may not always have been noted. There is one asymmetrical bowl with two handles in locus 86/80 of the Mazar excavations, in the fill of the upper IA II floor in Area D (in the public building adjacent to the city gate), thus very close to Site S.II (Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 18:22, Reg. No. 839/1). None were recovered from Site S.II itself.

### *Function*

#### *Braziers or hearths*

There is almost no sign of burning on the basin fragments from S.II, and none is described in the publication of basins from other sites. The lugs and pillars could support a pottery or metal vessel for heating water if the basin was used as a hearth. However, some of the basins might have functioned as floor supports for portable braziers, so the combustible materials would not be in contact with the basins. This latter function is suggested by the coarse nature of the fabric, which does not suggest good water holding characteristics, despite the occasional presence of white plaster or burnished slip. If the brazier interpretation is preferred, the type may be ancestral to the stoves dating from the second century BCE to the first century CE found in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem and at other sites (Reich in Geva 2003: II.292-295). Although there is no trace of soot, charcoal and very rarely evidence of burning, the uneven base and the weight would be appropriate for an item standing on a floor, on which a metal or pottery vessel burning charcoal for warmth or incense for ritual, could be set. However the curved central supports, especially the basket handles of the Megiddo basin (No. 22) preclude this explanation.

#### *Footbaths*

Ussishkin (2004: IV.1903, note 3) writes that the context of the basins at Lachish does not support Kenyon's identification of the basins as footbaths. However, this does not seem to be a conclusive argument to set against the nature of the basins. He noted that these vessels might already have been in the gatehouse before the siege and the blockade. A facility for washing the feet of royal messengers or indeed official travellers of any kind might well be associated with a gatehouse, both in Jerusalem Site S.II adjacent to Mazar's proposed Iron Age II gate house, as well as in the Lachish gate, and indeed at the Beersheba 'store house'. The occurrence in tombs in Samaria could be interpreted as connected with funerary ablutions. Only the Megiddo, and perhaps the Site A Jerusalem examples may have a clear domestic context.

### *Discussion*

#### *A ritual function*

Is a ritual interpretation to be considered? At Lachish, during the Late Bronze Age in Fosse Temple III, it seems certain that 'bent bowls' had a ritual function, whether for ablution, blood libation or other activity. If the ritual associations of the asymmetrical bowls in Fosse Temple III are significant, a completely different interpretation could be considered for the basins and asymmetrical bowls at a later date. In Level III at Lachish, the basins and the asymmetrical bowls were found solely in the vicinity of the gate tower and adjacent walls (Ussishkin 2004: 1901). The gateway was a public secular installation, though such gateways sometimes had ritual or cult associations. A number of cult installations have been found associated with gateways in Iron Age II contexts, notably at Megiddo, Dan and Bethsaida, and perhaps in the Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem (for references, see Geva 2003: 16). Ussishkin concluded that the bowls had some function in the gate complex during the Assyrian siege, and suggested they were here because the bowls were thrown against the enemy, presumably in a large desperate battle to repel the Assyrian attack. Perhaps instead, they were appropriate vessels from which to pour libations for divine protection (in Canaanite style, from the top of the tower), perhaps even before the siege, for Ussishkin conceded that as some were found outside the gate, the related activity may have taken place before the gate was blocked (Ussishkin 2004: II. 518). Such ritual may have become desperate during the siege itself.

If a ritual function is to be considered, the basins, and indeed the plastered installation in the inner north chamber of the gate at Lachish, could have been used for ritual ablution, or, if the function of the basins was braziers, they could have been used not just for secular warmth for the guards in the gateway, but to support containers to burn incense.

#### *A secular function*

If E. Mazar has correctly identified the structure to the south of Jerusalem Site S.II as a major gateway belonging to the Iron Age II town, then both at Lachish and Jerusalem we have 'footbaths' associated with gateways, a place where care and cleaning of the feet might be important.

The water installation in the former gate chamber at Lachish had plaster. The walls of two basins (nos. 2, 4) found in Site S.II in Jerusalem and the vessel from Site A in Jerusalem described above (No. 5), as well as fragments from Tell en-Nasbeh (No. 26) had thick white slip or plaster. Plaster or burnish would provide some temporary water proofing of the coarse fabric, and either surface treatment make cleaning easier. The drainage holes in the Samaria basins tend to support the association with water. The Megiddo basin, with its raised rounded 'basket' handles, is unlikely to have supported

a vessel in the way suggested for a brazier or hearth, but the rounded bars would have been suitable as foot-rests. The Megiddo basins appear to be from domestic contexts.

Are asymmetrical bowls related to the basins? They appear to have a width of c. 23 cm. which could provide a fine fall of liquid for either secular or ritual ablution, which could readily be contained within the length of the basins (c. 45-60 cm.). The pillars in the basins would provide a clean support not just for washing, but also for drying the feet. The basin would prevent the used water from wetting the surroundings, but the coarse heavy container would be rather difficult to empty, unless, as at Samaria, it was provided with drainage holes. On the other hand, the water could be removed without muddying the floor, and even recycled (for washing or flushing surfaces, watering plants or animals?). The possible association between basins and asymmetrical bowls for secular ablution is perhaps also strengthened by the presence of one, perhaps two, stone lavatory seats (from Site A in Jerusalem, and possibly at Lachish).

Footbaths and basins were certainly known in the region in the Iron Age. The Old Testament describes the washing of feet in both secular and ritual circumstances, in the offering of water to guests so they could wash their feet (Gen. 18:4; Judges 19:21), as an expression of humility, as in the symbolism of a slave washing his lord's feet (I Sam. 25:41), and also the command to wash feet and hands to avoid ritual defilement (Ex. 30:20; Lev. 8:6; Num. 8:21), when indeed the basin could be of bronze or consecrated. It is of course tempting to see this vessel as the symbolic washpot or washbasin that was Moab, especially as the psalmist follows "Moab is my washpot" by "I fling my shoes at Edom" (Psalm 60:8; 108:9).

None of the evidence is conclusive, and in true archaeological style, unless several different interpretations can be wrung from the evidence, insufficient scholarly effort has been expended. This fraction is a tribute to the work of Eliezer Oren.

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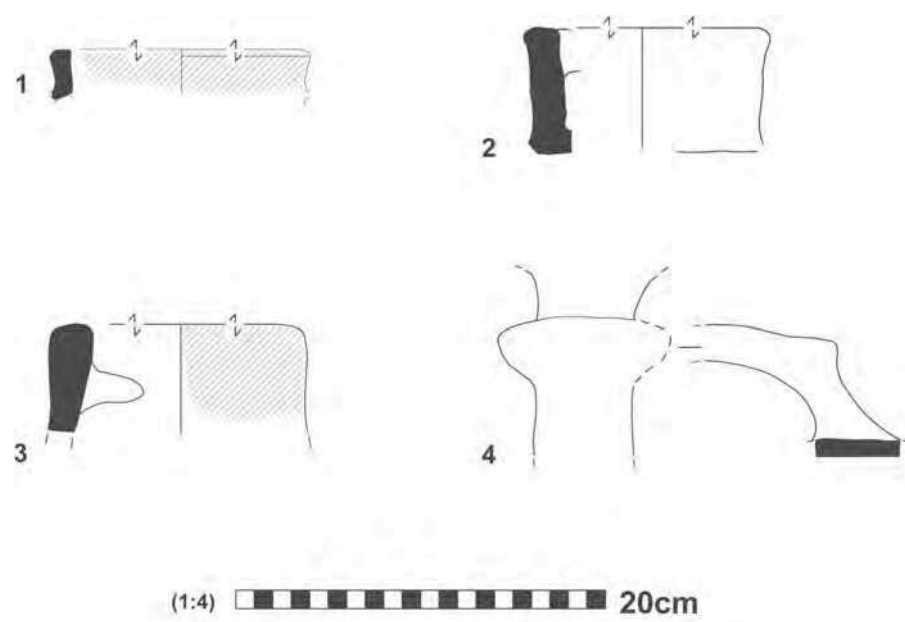


Fig. 1



## Divisions in Monumental Texts and their Images: The Issue of Kadesh and Megiddo

Anthony J. Spalinger

Sir Alan Gardiner's introduction to his translation edition of 1960 highlighted the problems with earlier classifications of the Kadesh inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> Referring to two magisterial studies by James Henry Breasted, Gardiner pointed out that the term Bulletin was not appropriate for the shorter description of the battle.<sup>2</sup> Breasted was the first to employ the term Record or Official Record, while it was the Vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé who, earlier, coined the word Bulletin, the designation later re-established by Charles Kuentz in 1928.<sup>3</sup> Gardiner further observed that this somewhat lengthy narrative account was a Report, and he emphasized that it was also an Official Report.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Alan Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-4.

<sup>3</sup> Full details of the earlier historiography of the terminology will be found in James Henry Breasted, *The Battle of Kadesh: A Study in the Earliest Known Military Strategy*, Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago V (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1903), 5-7, and later *Ancient Records of Egypt III* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906), *passim* but especially p. 125, note g. Charles Kuentz's analysis will be found in his *La bataille de Qadech: Les Textes – "Poème de Pentaour" et "Bulletin de Qadech" – et les bas-reliefs I* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1928-34) *passim*, but especially pp. iv-v.

I shall not enter into a lengthy historiographic account of this issue but indicate that the term Poem comes from Champollion and his work with P Sallier III. Breasted (*The Battle of Kadesh*, p. 6, n. 5) maintained that it was Emmanuel de Rougé who first used the term Bulletin. Although Breasted gave no reference, the conclusion is accurate.

For the data, see de Rougé, "Le Poème de Pentaour: nouvelle traduction," *RT* 1 (1870) 3, and earlier, *Le poème de Pen-ta-our: extrait d'un mémoire sur les campagnes de Ramsès II (Sésostris), lu dans la séance annuelle de cinq académies, le 14 août 1856* (Paris: Didot, 1856). The study is reprinted in his *Oeuvres diverses III* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910), and the reference will be found on page 354: "le bulletin officiel de la campagne." De Rougé considered the Poem to be an epic, a "forme toute homérique" ("Le poème de Pentaour," 2) or a "fragment épique" (*Le poème de Pen-ta-our*, 354), and in 1856 he used the then available traces of the monumental version at Karnak with P. Sallier III.

Soon thereafter François Joseph Chabas did the same: "Traduction et analyse de l'inscription hiéroglyphique d'Ibsamboul contenant le récit d'un épisode de la guerre de Ramsès II contre le confédération des H'itas," in François Chabas, *Oeuvres diverses II* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1902), 6 (quoting de Rougé's earlier term "bulletins officiels"). Chabas' work was originally published in *Revue archéologique* 15 (1859) 573-88 and 701-36.



Of course, these are mere words over which one is squabbling. Despite common opinion, words by themselves should not hurt.<sup>4</sup> Yet for Egyptologists they sometimes do, and it is useful to outline these interpretations because they indicate some disagreement with respect to the given written evidence. In any case, Gardiner came out with a radically new perspective on the organization of the total scenario, texts and pictures, one that contradicted previous scholarship.

It was his new bipartite division of the Kadesh material that surprised many. Hitherto, it was relatively easy to separate the pictorial account from the textual, and within the latter to subdivide the inscriptions into three categories: Poem, Bulletin, and the remaining material, the Reliefs. By and large, one overlooked the latter, the captions to the images. They were tiny and often so banal in their standard presentation as to render them worthless for examination, or at least literary criticism. Moreover, the captions, even including the famous R 11 one – the arrival of the Na'arn<sup>5</sup> – identify small portions of the global scene, but they are not separated from the image so efficiently and effectively as are the Bulletin and Poem. These small texts are identifying labels, which do not presuppose any exact historical setting.<sup>6</sup> A

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Heinrich Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens unter den Pharaonen nach den Denkmälern* (Leipzig: Hinrichs; 1877), 496, referred to the Bulletin as “Eine weniger dichterisch ausgeschmückte Darstellung der grossen Begabenheit” while Alfred Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte* (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1884), 433-5 listed the three main sources which, for him, were the pictorial evidence (“die Abbildungen der Hauptepisoden des Kampfes in Basreliefs”), the Poem (“vielbehandelte poetische Beschreibung der persönlichen Thaten Ramses’ II.”) and the Bulletin (“Beschreibung der Hauptschlacht”). In addition, Wiedemann referenced Chabas’s 1859 article but not de Rougé’s earlier study. Wiedemann also based his analysis upon Willem Pleyte, “De veldslag van Ramses den Groote tegen de Cheta,” *Theologisch tijdschrift* 3 (1869) 221-44.

<sup>4</sup> An apt quote is useful to insert at this point: “These are stern words, but be not alarmed. They are only words”: Raymond Chandler, *The Simple Art of Murder*.

<sup>5</sup> A commentary on this relief is presented by Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, 37. The reader should note that I am not discussing the historical events of the battle, and therefore I will omit most references to that subject.

An excellent summary will be found in Kenneth A. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated. Notes and Comments II* (Oxford and Malden: Blackwell, 1999), 3-55. The specific designations of the sources will be found on pages 5 (the Poem, but he prefers the term Literary Record, following Gardiner, a most apt designation), 7-8 (the Bulletin, where he disagrees with Gardiner and adds many useful criticisms), and 8 (the Reliefs, which are, as he maintains, “label-texts”).

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Von der Way returned to the tripartite division of Poem, Record, and Reliefs in his literary analysis, *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses’ II. zur Qadeš-Schlacht* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberger Verlag, 1984), 26-34. On the other hand, in his review of Gardiner’s work, Edward Wente felt that Gardiner had “shattered the tripartite division of Poem, Record, and Reliefs” (*JNES* 22 [1963] 204). Note the avoidance of the term Bulletin.

Günter Burkard and Heinz J. Thissen, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte II* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2007) do not include the Poem in their compendium. Their definition of “literature” remains very conservative. Christopher J. Eyre, on the contrary, insured that Ramesses at Kadesh would be covered: “Is Egyptian historical Literature ‘Historical’ or

horse is a horse, even if named;<sup>7</sup> likewise the city of Kadesh. These captions aid the interpretation of the given scene but, by themselves, they are isolated descriptions.

The Bulletin, on the other hand, is dated, a point to which we shall return later, and it has different versions. The latter aspect can be seen in the original Luxor version (Lp) which continues beyond the other two accounts in the same temple (L1 and L2). Hence, by its additional and variant material, one can argue that the "Bulletin" was a somewhat lengthy account, in narrative format, that could be compressed yet, by itself, was qualitatively and quantitatively different from the captions of the Reliefs. It should not be overlooked that William Murnane had discovered an additional Bulletin, later erased, on the south sidewall of the Hypostyle Hall.<sup>8</sup> This text, which will be published by Peter Brand, differs from the other versions present at Luxor (1 and L2), Abu Simbel, and the Ramesseum with its two exemplars (R1 and R2).<sup>9</sup>

For the moment, let us return to Gardiner's analysis. He felt that the Bulletin was a description of the battle that was shorter than the Poem. "Pharaoh, seated on his throne outside his camp in course of being pitched," Gardiner wrote, received the false information concerning the Hittite location from spies.<sup>10</sup> This description is not related by the Poem. Evidently, it was felt different enough from a rather heroic account of battle to be omitted there. However, his conclusion, though reasonable, did not focus upon the narra-

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'Literary'?, in Antonio Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: Brill, 1996), 427-8. Finally, in the context of these Kadesh inscriptions, Miriam Lichtheim's brief comment, "how tentative, uncertain, and incomplete is our grasp of ancient Egyptian styles and literary forms," has much of value. She also remarked that the Poem and Bulletin "each had a purpose and complemented each other" (*Ancient Egyptian Literature II* [Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1976]) 58-9 for both quotes).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Aïman Eshmawy, "Names of Horses in Ancient Egypt," in Jean-Claude Goyon and Christine Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists I* (Leuven, Paris, and Dudley: Peeters, 2007), 665-76. Earlier, Laurence Caritoux, "Les chevaux de Pharaon," *Égypte: Afrique et Orient* 11 (1998) 21-6 had covered this issue. This study was also based upon his M.A. thesis: *Le nom des attelages royaux au Nouvel Empire* (Montpellier: University of Montpellier, 1996). I must thank Laurence Caritoux for his kind assistance in sending to me a copy of his work. Nonetheless, we can add Henry Fischer, "More Ancient Egyptian Names for Dogs and Animals," *MMJ* 12 (1977) 177-8. See now Pascal Vernus, "Réception linguistique et idéologique d'une nouvelle technologie: le cheval dans la civilisation paraonique," in Myriam Wissa (ed.), *The Knowledge Economy and Technological Capabilities: Egypt, the Near East and the Mediterranean 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C.-1<sup>st</sup> millennium A.D.* (Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 2009), 1-46.

<sup>8</sup> This I refer to in my *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative: P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 173-4, n. 31. I express my gratitude to Bill Murnane who sent to me his hand copies of the new text. Dr. Peter Brand has taken up the fallen banner and will publish this information in the near future.

<sup>9</sup> The few extant signs present in the Abydos version do not allow for any comparison.

<sup>10</sup> *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, 3.

tive aspects of the Bulletin. To Gardiner, nonetheless, and he italicized his words for emphasis, the Report, as he called the Bulletin, was “clearly no more than one of those legends which served to explain the accompanying reliefs.”<sup>11</sup>

In the past, Gardiner admitted, he was always “puzzled” that the Battle of Kadesh should have been described by two separate accounts or forms, Bulletin and Poem. Actually, this assertion is not exact. The Bulletin does not describe the battle; nor does it present the background to the fateful event in the pharaoh’s camp. Yet in support of his new interpretation, Gardiner noted that Luxor and the Ramesseum have the Poem and Bulletin, a duality probably present at Abydos and Karnak. Then too, the sharp eyes of this great Egyptologist saw that the Poem regularly was carved separate from the images. It was thus easy to conclude that the lengthier narrative presentation remained independent from the accompanying pictorial evidence, a point that is confirmed by the later hieratic copies of the Poem, if only because they provide welcome evidence of the independent literary narrative. In conclusion, Gardiner combined the Bulletin with the Reliefs and so reset the scholarly terminology for the Battle of Kadesh to be the Pictorial Record (Bulletin and Reliefs) and the Literary Record (Poem). According to him, the latter differed from the shorter and independently written one, the Literary Record, and only the Poem could be subsumed under this new designation.

This position radically differed from that of Breasted, for example, who maintained his original tripartite analysis in his monumental *Ancient Records of Egypt*: Poem, Official Record (called Record), and Reliefs.<sup>12</sup> Fully aware that the Poem (or Poem of Pentaweret) was not poetical, at least in its entirety, Breasted observed that the Bulletin “narrates fully the inside history which led to Ramses’ incautious advance to the north of Kadesh ... . Of all this the Poem says nothing.”<sup>13</sup> Thus even in 1906, but three years earlier in his *Battle of Kadesh: A Study in the Earliest Known Military Strategy*, Breasted recognized the temporal – and thus narrative-historical – difference between the Poem and the Bulletin. While one must disagree with his description of the shorter account as being merely “appended” to the wall depictions, his stress on the striking differences in content and method of approach between the Poem and the Bulletin cannot be overlooked.

The two main written presentations focus upon different facets of the Kadesh diamond. The Poem is a complete literary presentation, whose aim is to describe a successful military action. We (and Ramesses) commence at home, and we end with the king’s return to his Delta Residence. Unlike the Bulletin, the Poem is given an official designation right at the start, and it is overtly based upon the royal army diaries of the king for much of the first third of the composition. Various subsections of the Poem can be identified,

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> His analyses are referred to in note 3 above.

<sup>13</sup> *Ancient Records of Egypt* III, 143.

such as the opening eulogistic passages as well as the background portion that covers the origin and preparations of the march north. It is dated, and that remark is located at a point just before the king is to depart from his fortress at Sile (P 29). One immediately sees the parallel between this text and the reliefs of Seti I. The date is the second month of harvest (*shemu*), day nineteen. Only the hieratic account of the Poem in P. Chester Beatty III reveals that this was the king's "second campaign of victory." No more dates are given.

The Bulletin, on the other hand, places the date right at the beginning: "Year five, third month of summer (*shemu*), day nine." Immediately, therefore, we are placed in Djahy by the use of the particle *jst*, and during "his second campaign of victory." (Once more note that this reference is absent in the Poem.) The first thing told is the king's awakening in the morning. At the minimum, then, we can say that the Bulletin fixed one in time and place. It is even more specific than the Poem at this point because it includes the actual morning rise of pharaoh and his quick march to Shabtuna where the two Shasu came to tell falsehood to Ramesses. Conversation then ensues, an approach that the Poem eschews unless we include the pharaoh's pleas to his father Amun. The orientation of the Bulletin is to provide a strongly authoritative coloring wherein the monarch is seen to be demonstrative, quarrelsome, inquiring, and "human." There is far less of the heroic character of pharaoh given in the shorter narrative. That was best suited to his lengthy war record. Here, on the other hand, the aim is considerably different, indeed narrower.

There is then presented a reflection of the narrator – an unusual circumstance to say the least – in which we learn that the Shasu had lied. Ramesses then proceeded further north expecting that the large Hittite army would not be present at Kadesh. He reached a pitching site northwest of Kadesh, and he made camp. An Egyptian scout then returned with two Hittite scouts, and he informed the king that the opposite was true. The enemy was located just behind the city of Kadesh at the northeast.

Ramesses had advanced north on false advice. B 52, commencing with the literary 'h'.n sdm.n=f, signposts yet a further change of narrative presentation. This is the first and only time that this simple literary formation is employed in the Bulletin account. We cannot disregard this written marker as it provides the reader with the following scenario: Ramesses called in his high military officials, and he blamed, not himself, but the local kinglets of Asia as well as his governors of Egyptian territories (B 65-6). As I am not interested in the emotional rationale behind the Kadesh account, I shall sidestep this thematic aspect and turn to the response of the king's military men. Two speeches punctuate the core of the Bulletin's narrative. In the first speech the king tells his officers what is really the truth. In the second speech the officers answer the king. Note the arrangement: king first, officials second. Or to put it into a more literary way: blame first, combat afterwards.

The remaining part of the Bulletin reveals the vizier's race southwards to call upon necessary support from the following divisions, the attack of the enemy, its repulse by the pharaoh, and the push of Ramesses into the Hittite chariots, which had attacked his camp. Yet this is very abbreviated. It is specifically noted that while the pharaoh was still discussing the matter, the enemy had reached him. The final portion of the Bulletin commences once more with a simple literary verbal formation, in a more traditional form at Luxor (in B 104),<sup>14</sup> and we read of the final battlefield victory at the river Orontes. The text allows for one final remark on the part of the king. Ramesses insured that his complaints would be read over and over. Here he stated that his army had abandoned him. The second self-presentation conveniently rationalizes the historical cause of the sudden surprise in the king's camp. There is no discussion of what occurred on day two, as the Poem, perhaps not with much sobriety, narrates. Nor is there any scenic detail concerning his army or, in fact, himself, returning to the camp in the early evening. Ramesses swears an oath, the inclusion of which, as we shall outline later, is a significant literary fact. Its function is not merely to attest to veracity or historical accuracy. Then the Bulletin ceases.

In his brief section concerning the mode of composition as well as authorship, Gardiner stated that the Poem ably handled the emotional and conceptual plane of the account. I would narrow this overview by emphasizing its traditional mode of presentation, the use of rhetoric, especially within the opening eulogies, the presence of the non-royal Menna, and the like. Most assuredly, following Jan Assmann, a further dimension of religion, or to be more specific, pietistic behavior, can be added to those previously attributed.<sup>15</sup> We are nevertheless faced with a narrative military tale which follows various strands of literary choice. The use of the army's ephemerides, for example can be set in antithesis to the very heroic, freer flowing, historical progression at the point when Ramesses entered the fray. The Poem is, in fact, an Egyptian record of the king's departure and return to Egypt, with key sections concerned with Ramesses' enraged chariot attack into, not merely "against," the enemy. The latter is the major episode, traditional in aspect and presentation though it was. The accompanying images, as they always do, reflect and emphasize this interpretation.

The reliefs avoid other traditional events that often could be carved in battle accounts. Here, I am referring to the departure from Egypt, the battlefield presentation of spoils, and the pharaoh's successful return home and, in any case, the presentation of the war booty to his deities. All of those expected depictions have been jettisoned for the main event, the melee in which the king as hero fights the Hittites. As I do not want to overextend this discussion

<sup>14</sup> The two Ramesseum accounts, R1 and R2, employ the contemporary Non-Initial Main Sentence; see *KRI* II 122.11-15.

<sup>15</sup> Jan Assmann, "Krieg und Frieden im alten Ägypten. Ramses II. und die Schlacht bei Kadesh": *Mannheimer Forum*, 1983/84 (1984) 175-231.

by providing a detailed analysis of those images, let me declare that in this Egyptian visual account Kadesh is the crucial point of the battle and little else, excluding the Bulletin and its accompanying images. (This ought to alert one to the different arrangements and goals of the two main narratives in the whole account.)

I am less worried about the incompleteness of the historical account of the Poem, than was Gardiner. Quite to the contrary, the king's fighting alone, deserted by his troops, as he himself declares in his own words, is what mattered. Drama is thus not developed in the pictorial representations as it is in the Poem. The latter moves quickly to the climax: the counterattack. The Bulletin, on the other hand, spills little ink over the heroic deed of Ramesses. Instead, the drama consists of the king's conference and the words of pharaoh and army leaders. Therefore, this written presentation does not really interweave its facts with the Poem. It stands as a separate literary unit, evidently dependent upon a different mode of written presentation. Yet, as seen earlier, it is no mere extended caption for a pictorial record.

I also part company with Gardiner who claimed that the Kadesh reliefs and texts created a new technique of historical narration.<sup>16</sup> Unlike Gardiner, I find that the entire story is based on tried and true images and written material. With regard to the former, the basic scene of king in battle was commonplace within the military decorative program of the Ramesside age. True, the camp depiction as well as the diminutive representations of vizier and royal children hastily departing from the camp are keenly and successfully integrated into the very large battle scene. The camp is separated from the latter image, and here the relaxed and peaceful setting, praised by many owing to its detail, cleverly depicts the immediate Hittite attack with the separately located arrival of the Na'arn division. In some cases a battlefield presentation was added. See, for example, K2, and L3 and the Abu Simbel version if not also Abydos. Yet it was not always the case to include this expected scene. Though standard but not always required elsewhere, it could easily be omitted. Likewise, the return of Ramesses to Egypt, briefly recounted in the Poem, is not present.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, 46-7 and 53-4. Gardiner observed that the pictorial account presents the tried and true image of pharaoh in chariot. A useful summary of the narrative art of the Battle of Kadesh is by G. A. Gaballa, *Narrative in Egyptian Art* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1976), 113-19. We are also fortunate to have the major work of Susanne Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches: Eine Bildanalyse* (Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001). Her approach is different from the one I have followed in this study.

<sup>17</sup> Gaballa, *Narrative in Egyptian Art*, 119, felt that the panoramic nature of the pictures overweighs the superhuman figure of pharaoh in chariot. I cannot agree with this assertion. Ramesses is still the common "king in battle," and that, as well, is the one major theme of the Poem.



The Bulletin, since it ceases after the king's decision to enter the fray and his victory, cannot relate such ancillary events.<sup>18</sup> This written account is not geared to an advance to Kadesh or the return home. Similarly, it purposely avoids any of the detailed elements that the Poem provides. Instead, the following characteristics determine its outlook:<sup>19</sup>

1. Dated opening.
2. Royal sitting; setting of a passive nature.
3. Conference or discussion; two voices are heard: king and officials.
4. Heroic core.
5. Result: victory, though abbreviated considerably.
6. Oath.

Pictorially, the Bulletin is represented by a sitting king. Ramesses is not ready to fight. He is presented by a royal conference mode, and he hears the new information, gets angry, and accuses his own people of malfeasance.<sup>20</sup> It is true that one must read the text of the Bulletin in order to understand the scenes. Yet the same can be said in reverse. It should not surprise us that sections 4–6 above are not included within the pictorial accompaniment to the Bulletin. Only the first three are presented, and if one adds the beating of the spies and the like, all of them constituted the dramatic core of the event that was carved, the center of which is the royal conference. The effective drama of the written Bulletin and its accompanying image must therefore lie in the discussion and the king's reactions. Hence, there was no need for yet another pictorial account that showed the later attack. After all, it was effectively rendered in the large image of the king in battle.

We therefore concur with Thomas Von der Way who retained the older designation of the Record, first argued by Breasted.<sup>21</sup> Von der Way also followed Kitchen in locating the Bulletin scene plus text at Abydos, the Ramesseum (R1 and R2), Abu Simbel, and possibly at Luxor and Karnak. He made a strong point for the independent nature of the Bulletin when he turning to its location on the north wall of the Abu Simbel temple.<sup>22</sup> Always flush with the camp scene – it had to be, only because the event was located in the Egyptian bivouac – the Bulletin depiction is nonetheless adjacent and not integrated into the picture of the relaxed and peaceful situation of the army.

<sup>18</sup> Thus I find Gardiner's remark that the Bulletin reflected a "literary expression," which the pictorial account could not, is very suggestive but needed expansion (*The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, 47). On the same page he further drew together the differing temporal strands of the Bulletin and the Poem.

<sup>19</sup> Conveniently, see *KRI II*, 102–24.

<sup>20</sup> In *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative*, Chapter III, I followed earlier work of Jan Assmann in relation to the various strands of royal denunciation and "who was to blame?" (See note 15 above.)

<sup>21</sup> *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses' II.*, 33–4; see also page 88.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.



But to conclude that Poem and Bulletin, – the latter just a picture and report of a conference – are totally separate, does not resolve anything except to demonstrate the varying methods of visual and written presentation.

Von der Way also considered the problematic situation of the *Kriegsrat* of Ramesses.<sup>23</sup> Adhering to the footsteps of older Egyptological scholarship, he avoided the somewhat thorny issue of who was to blame. I am specifically referring to his overview of the Bulletin: image and text. But when Von der Way discussed the historical veracity of such conferences – i.e., whether or not there was a “true” debate – I must differ with his conclusions. The Thutmose III battlefield discussion was taken on its face value as providing “truth.” Can we be sure? Must the apparently more egalitarian and freer aspect of the XVIIIth Dynasty monarch, in comparison to Ramesses, appeal to use just when an autocratic presentation is avoided? However, if this query sidesteps the issue, let me respond by referring the historical dilemma into which literary practitioners step; namely, the absence of an understanding of history.

Ramesses was fighting for his life. Thutmose was not. The former fell into a trap while the latter was trapping his opponents, The XIXth Dynasty ruler was forced into the defensive; his predecessor was proactive. That is what I can glean from the available evidence without, I believe, much bias on my part. There is not a smidgeon of literary appreciation that should focus upon Ramesses’ fateful dilemma. One, Kadesh, was an immediate life or death situation, the other was not. Hence, it should be impossible to argue that Thutmose III’s Annals were in any way more truthful, with respect to his war conference, than Ramesses’ account. To contrast both is fruitless. The Queens of Spades lay at Kadesh, not at Megiddo or even Yehem, and that card was shown to Ramesses. His hand contained the sign of death. If the young warrior pharaoh appears to be too much of an egotistical dictator to modern sensibilities, what else could he have been? Just as we should end the futile debate of which battle was the most important – Kadesh or Megiddo – we need to avoid an interpretation based on truth or falsehood. Thutmose’s account never presumes that he was in mortal danger. His conference at Yehem concerned strategy and tactics, not life and death.

A literary methodology basic on pragmatics has difficulty succeeding in the historical arena. However, it is more difficult to deny the presence of a *Königsnovelle* format for the Bulletin.<sup>24</sup> On the contrary, this inscription is the *Königsnovelle* of Kadesh.<sup>25</sup> This we shall now prove, hoping that the

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 267-9.

<sup>24</sup> The two seminal studies on the *Königsnovelle* remain those of Alfred Hermann and Antonio Loprieno. They will be referred to later. Neither discussed the Kadesh Bulletin.

<sup>25</sup> At this junction I shall cite two compendia that cover the situation of the *Königsnovelle*: Irene Shirun-Grumach, *Offenbarung, Orakel und Königsnovelle* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993); and Beate Hofmann, *Die Königsnovelle: “Strukturanalyse am Einzelwerk”* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005). Both operate within the tried and true manner of describing, and then concluding from their collection what was the format.

reader has followed the previous argument closely. The following outline, even if it may be more of a skeleton than a fully trussed and edible turkey, nevertheless presents the major parameters of the format that Egyptologists label *Königsnovelle*. The eleven aspects listed below are not meant to be carved in stone, yet they indicate its one salient aspect; namely the role of performance.<sup>26</sup> It should come as no surprise that originally, and for the most part through its development over time, this means of written presentation, text with or without picture, was a snapshot of one event in which the king acted. The *Königsnovelle* allowed only one occurrence, the royal “conference.”<sup>27</sup>

It is true that discussions between pharaoh and court, war leader and army officials, were not simple matters, which allowed a high degree of independence, at least on the non-royal side. The written speeches on the part of the non-royals tended to be eulogies, praises by the elite to their monarch. And yes, the king’s plans, even if at odds with accepted strategy, were always successful. If they were not, then there would have been no report. Some may interpret the disagreements at Kadesh, or at Thebes during the time of Kamose, as remarkable examples of speaking freely. I wonder. Was not Kamose’s entourage merely given a role as the courtly opponent of the virile pharaoh, and hence artificial? In equal fashion, did Thutmose III’s generals and subalterns truly oppose him, or did they only offer these routes to Megiddo as possibilities without disagreement? Had some of the officers in mind the strategy of Thutmose? Whether either counter-interpretation is chosen, or none, one still has to view such conferences as the dramatic core of the narrative. After all, when the king’s plan is set in motion we hear little of it until its completion. Then, at a briefly recounted ceremony, a well may be consecrated (Quban Stela and parallel) or the temple construction begun (Berlin Leather Roll). Otherwise, little historical development is narrated. In fact, the *Königsnovelle* allowed little, if any, resultant dramatic tension; the king’s decision was the climax.

By means of this format, and the *Königsnovelle* was assuredly no genre, attention was paid to the meeting and the decision. Once the latter was achieved, all rolled ahead. Yes, it does sound autocratic and managerial, but that was its intention. Benefits flow from a decisive and powerful pharaoh.

1. There is usually a date.
2. There is an address by pharaoh.
3. There may be one response by his officials.

<sup>26</sup> For the basis of the following discussion see my “*Königsnovelle* and Performance,” a study now in press (Festschrift for Miroslav Verner). The work relies upon the “netting episode” of King Sahure; see now the volume of Tarek El Awady cited in note 41 below for the final edition.

<sup>27</sup> In “*Königsnovelle* and Performance” I argue that the Old Kingdom format was picture plus small text. If questioned further, I believe that at an earlier date the event was pictorially recorded.

4. Eulogies are standard; they are recited by the king's officials.
5. The setting is clear. As time is given so is place.
6. The king remains as the *primum mobile* of the entire account.
7. The decision of the pharaoh need not be presumed before the action starts. It is, however, rendered.
8. The king's command is carried out. Details are lacking as they are not necessary.
9. The final result is presented in a very abbreviated format.
10. The event is set at one place; the functions of all participants are performative.
11. There is basically only one snapshot, narratively speaking.

In an earlier discussion of the formal origins of this written presentation, I felt that a royal performance, call it ritual if you will, lay at its inception. That is to say, whether or not an image is included with the text – and this is not really the case with self-standing stelae – then one should assume that a specific moment in time was frozen, photographed, so to speak, and its negative reproduced positively on stone. The *Königsnovelle* was, as Antonio Loprieno stressed, a highly organized literary account.<sup>28</sup> It was not a caption to a large picture. Nor was it integrated into other concurrent or overlapping historical events. It should be both outside of time and at the same time temporally determinate. The date gives everything away. Why include it at the very beginning of the Bulletin? After all, is it not in the Poem? Here, we can now see the answer. pharaoh's decision has to be fixed. Enshrined, therefore, was the royal dated promulgation, spoken from the very mouth of the ruler himself. And it is worthy of note that Kitchen placed the Bulletin and connected scene into his Theme I of the battle.<sup>29</sup> We are in the middle of an event, exactly what the opening lines of a *Königsnovelle* account contribute.

The locations of the Kadesh Bulletin can now be described with some precision.<sup>30</sup> The K1 exemplar is in need of a final publication, yet from the original work of Ludwig Borchardt, later improved by Murnane and to be published by Brand, it is evident that the scene flanked the battle to its rear.<sup>31</sup>

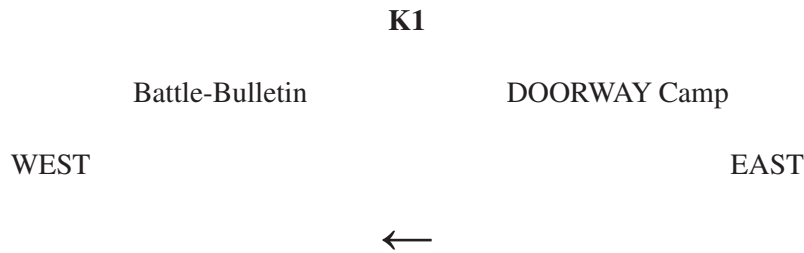
<sup>28</sup> Loprieno, "The 'King's Novel'," in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, 277-95.

<sup>29</sup> *KRI* II 125-8. These are superlative plans, if only because they are three-dimensional, unlike those of Porter and Moss.

<sup>30</sup> Henceforth, I will follow the terminology that Kitchen employs in his *KRI* II plans referred to in the previous note.

<sup>31</sup> For Murnane and Brand's contributions, see note 8 above. Ludwig Borchardt's discovery was first discussed by Breasted in his *The Battle of Kadesh*, 45-6 and Plate VII. Subsequently, see Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech* I, 47 and III, Plate XXVI; Walter Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte II* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1935, Pl. 57; and Anthony J. Spalinger, "Notes on the Reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh," in Hans Goedicke (ed.), *Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh* (Baltimore: Halgo, 1985), 1-42. This material will be published by Brand.

Located on the south façade or exterior wall of the Hypostyle hall, it was placed immediately west of the major doorway that conveniently separates two major snapshot events of the battle. Across the doorway and further east is the camp, and here one ought to have expected the Bulletin. Nonetheless, observe the clear-cut separation from the war reliefs (Phase II of Kitchen). The Bulletin stands on its own in this order:



I have some difficulties in interpreting Event IV of Kitchen in this exemplar, and I prefer to leave to the side any discussion of this original group of depictions and texts.<sup>32</sup> As it stands, one moves to the front of the temple from the eastern wall or approach. Thus the spoils to the god are correctly placed in antithesis to the war; the king marches out but returns (in his case to the east or right) with his prisoners. The Poem and the presentation depiction *to the gods* can be found to the rear or east of the transverse wall and around the corner:



The Poem was carved in a large blank portion underneath the royal sons where it could fit. Its exact placement within the entire scenario of the Battle of Kadesh was less integrated into the battle than the Bulletin. Indeed, the Poem is located at the extreme rear of the entire scenario.

In K2, neatly placed between Pylons IX and X, Von der Way was cautious in relying upon Kitchen's reconstruction although I see no difficulty at this juncture.<sup>33</sup> The Bulletin again is separated from the battle, and a transverse doorway cuts it out of any direct contact with the battle. This is most definitely as it should be. In fact, we immediately see that the movement in time is to the south, and thus the ordering of scenic events runs as follows: camp

<sup>32</sup> I am referring to the row of princes with prisoners that is located above the Poem behind or to the right (east) of the east transverse wall (east approach) leading to Luxor. There is a useful sketch of the scene in *KRI* II 125, following Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech* III, Pl. XXV.

<sup>33</sup> *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses' II.*, 33.

plus Bulletin with the Na'arn separate, to the rear. The direction of narrative is to the south, away from the core axis of Karnak. (X marks the doorways.)

## K2

Na'arn-Camp-Bulletin X Battle-Battlefield Presentation-Poem X Blank

NORTH

SOUTH



It can be argued that the final theme of decoration, the presentation of the spoils to Amun or other divinities, was never completed because the workmen had been assigned to do their duties elsewhere. Observe that the Poem is carved near the end of the account, and thus parallel to K1. The direction of the narrative is to the south, and thus away from the entrance to the major procession way of Karnak. Once more, we move back along the temple wall. Finally, the Poem is placed at a distance, presently at the end, so to speak, of the account.

## L1

East Wing of Façade

West Wing of Façade

TOP

Battle

Spies-Camp-Na'arn

EAST

WEST



In this exemplar the two external sides of the pylon easily and effectively split the division of themes. The Bulletin is not contained in this section of the façades, though the pictorial evidence indicates that it normally would have been located on the extreme western side. (There one finds the accompanying conference scene.) It was placed below the scenes, however, as was the Poem. The former covered the eastern wing because the poem, commencing on the West Wing was quite long and, in fact, carried over to the east.

The directions need to be explicated. On the west wing the pictorial action is to the left or to the gate. Below, the Poem is to be read in the same manner. Note that it continues onto the east wing. The Bulletin, next to it on the eastern side, follows the same direction. Above the latter will be found the camp scene, etc. The action continues, as now expected, to the left or east. Thus a relatively effective temporal presentation of the battle can be understood without entailing any complexity. But the Bulletin, now sundered from its picture, is also located at a distance – indeed on the far eastern wing of the pylon. Yet it still maintains an identity of its own.

## L2

Only the Poem and Bulletin were carved; no relief was even attempted. I believe it self evident that the workmen, assigned for the task, were sent elsewhere at Luxor or possibly to Karnak. The area is the court of Ramesses II at Luxor, and the outer face on the east wall. Next to the doorway or gate was planned the entire series of Kadesh reliefs. The Poem and the accompanying Bulletin lie to the south of that entrance. To the immediate rear, or further south, is a lengthy bank wall. Both the Poem and the Bulletin run around, so to speak, the corner to the uncarved sections. The latter area is the external portion of the Dynasty XVIII Colonnade. At a later date, but still during Ramesses' life, a series of additional battle reliefs were placed to the immediate north of the eastern doorway, thereby indicating that the southern sector was still reserved for possible decoration of the Battle of Kadesh.<sup>34</sup> It is clear that if the "normal" arrangement is followed, the interrogation of the spies followed by the camp scene and then, in turn, by the battle, should have occupied the exterior face of the Colonnade, and that the direction of movement would have been south or, as is normal, *away* from the doorway. The facts of the independent location of the Bulletin and its juxtaposition to the Poem are fortunately evident. The larger account concludes on the southeast wall and the Bulletin then "takes over." Both are to be read to the left, that is to say, in a backward direction. Hence, the movement of the viewer was directed to the rear of the temple or to the south.

## L3

L3 at Luxor occupies the west faces and the linking wall of two colonnades. As a unit, the composition also wraps itself around the older portions of the temple, covering the Amunhotep III sector as well as the later one of

<sup>34</sup> Once more Kitchen supplied a handy three-dimensional diagram in *KRI* II 179. The editio princeps of the non-dated war scenes on the east wall of the Luxor forecourt was also by Kitchen. See his "Some New Light on the Asiatic Wars of Ramesses II," *JEA* 50 (1964) 47-70.

Tutankhamun. The bottom levels enable one to restore the sequence and placement of the snapshot themes as well as the main texts. Here, I follow Kitchen's useful diagram to a tee. One moves to the front or north, and the Poem remains totally separate from the scenes, as is to be expected. The Bulletin retains its expected location with the first theme, next to that of the camp. Although no evidence survives of that important depiction, it is clear that the eye movement or narrative progression is once more directed to the rear of the Luxor temple.

Na'arn-Camp-Bulletin Battle  
Spies

Battlefield Presentation Poem-?

NORTH

SOUTH



### R1

This exemplar is a typical pylon one; note the omission of the Poem owing to space constraints. The planning seems less effective than that on the north face or façade of the Luxor temple.<sup>35</sup> One also progresses to the south as with L2 and L3. The account is carved on the rear of the first pylon while at Luxor (L1) it was placed on the front of the first pylon.

North Wing

South Wing

Na'arn-Camp-Bulletin  
Spies

Battle



### R2

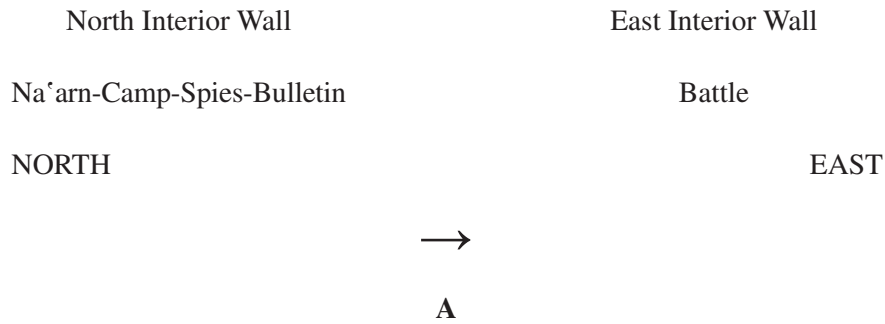
This is impossible to reconstruct. It appears that there was no Poem carved, but the Bulletin, as Kitchen (following Kuentz) has seen, would have been included next to the camps and spy scene on the interior north wall of the second court.<sup>36</sup> (The exemplar is located in the second court on the north and

<sup>35</sup> Yet the presence of the Year Eight reliefs on the extreme left (facing the gateway) and in the middle to lower portion of the north wing cannot be ignored; cf. *KRI* II 148. This "addition" cannot be overlooked as it implies that there was some blank space available, but not enough, it would appear, to have included the Poem.

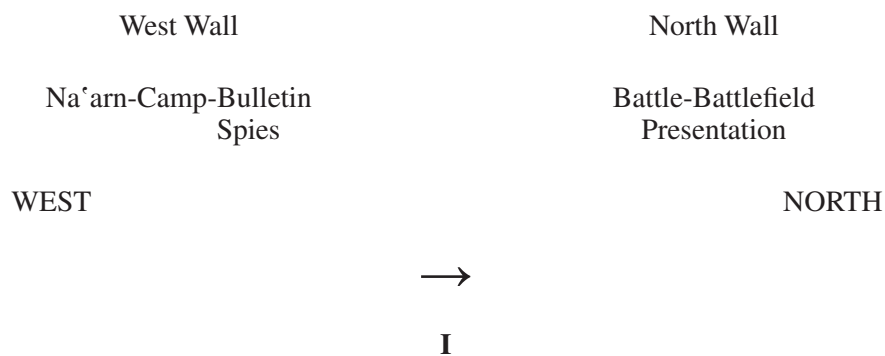
<sup>36</sup> *KRI* II 127 with Kuentz, *La Bataille de Qadech* III, Pl. XVI.



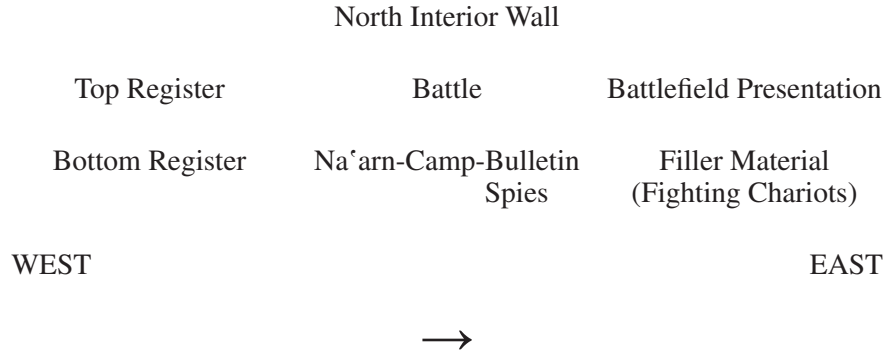
east walls.) Only the first and second themes seem to have been planned. One can argue for limitations of space having been the major constraint in the rendition of the battle. The direction of the narrative is to the rear of the temple.



Commencing on the exterior west wall and then moving to the north exterior side, this lengthy pictorial and textual account swings around the northwest corner. The doorway on the latter side cuts the pictorial evidence from the Poem. Here again, we see that the Poem was placed in an independent location, usually located after one has "read" off the images: it was independently situated beyond the doorway. There is a presentation scene (Theme III) at the end of the images, located just before the doorway. The Bulletin was carved next to the camp scene, but in this case separate from the arrival of the relief troops. Nevertheless, although intimately linked with the pictorial theme of the king's bivouac, it still has an existence independent of the pitched and unsuspecting camp.



The entire series of events was located in one sole area, the north interior wall of the Great Pillared Hall. Two registers were chosen for this, a purposely-designed solution owing to the cramped space. The Poem was jet-tisoned as a result.



It is not difficult to highlight the immediate visual aspects of the Bulletin and the Poem. The latter is definitely placed apart from the visual accounts. True, one can argue that this lengthy narrative can be read as a unit. Thus it was best placed after the viewer had perused the scenes of war. Nevertheless, the Poem maintained its independent aspect, as it also did through various hieratic copies. Indeed, there is no doubt that the hieratic exemplars did not depend upon any presumed wall inscription; they must have been copied from papyri or leather roll records. Thus the Poem existed, separate from the temple accounts, in “soft copy,” so to speak, thereby reinforcing for us its self-standing nature as a literary composition separate from the pictorial account of the Kadesh battle.

The Bulletin is somewhat more difficult to analyze, but the existence of variants should alert us once more to its importance separate from the captions. This is to say that the Bulletin was likewise a literary account containing its own data and topographic reference points. In essence, as we observed above, this composition is concerned with the king’s speech to his officials. The concluding attack upon the enemy was given very little space. Moreover, its location, though integrated into the pictorial record – in Kitchen’s format it belongs to Theme I – could be altered, and the evidence from The Luxor Pylon is decisive in this matter. Otherwise, the Bulletin is joined with an accompanying scene of king plus spies, one that was perfectly integrated into the written account.

The Bulletin therefore presents, as the originals of the *Königsnovelle* did, an image plus text.<sup>37</sup> At Abydos, for example, it probably occupied a relatively large amount of wall space, but in one Ramesseum case (R1) it was circumscribed and placed above the accompanying scene. Yet following the master’s orders, its required location, flanking the camp image

<sup>37</sup> Our conclusion renders nugatory Van der Way’s conclusions. If the Bulletin is in the *Königsnovelle* format, then it could never attempt to delineate the actual fighting of pharaoh. It may dovetail with the Poem, but its aim was different from the narrative contained in the Poem. Therefore, I find it uninformative to attempt a historical reconstruction in which Poem and Bulletin sit comfortably side-by-side.

and above that of the spies/conference, was attempted at all costs. We have argued elsewhere that this combination of image and text was the original format in which subsequent hieroglyphic copies, albeit without a picture, were derived.<sup>38</sup> Yet the reasons for the regular absence of a picture are easy to explain. Most *Königsnovelle* accounts were not too long and thus easily transferred to free-standing stelae whose space limitations (and purpose) indicated that only a written account would be presented. Naturally, we are ignorant of the original of the Berlin Leather Roll, but subsequent examples from Neferhotep I of Dynasty XIII down to the New Kingdom reveal the spatial limitations. These literary presentations could, nonetheless, include pictures if there was a large wall to be carved. Here, the Kadesh exemplars come to mind as well as Hatshepsut's Punt account. But when a small object, such as Ahmose's stela at Abydos, needed to be set up to describe the chapel of his grandmother, Tetishery, except for the lunette, the remaining space was left aside for the written narrative.

Loprieno posited the thesis that the *Königsnovelle* was a literary narrative of one episode in the king's life.<sup>39</sup> While adhering to his basic interpretation, I added, in a study devoted to its origins, that one could see a further dimension of the format.<sup>40</sup> It was set within a defined temporal framework and assumed some type of royal order. Whether or not there was a counterplan to the king's interests can be left aside. Yet, the existence of a viewpoint differing from pharaoh's was not an essential ingredient in the narrative. That there was a pictorial equivalent, or at least that the "King's Novel" allowed for an accompanying image, seems to me to be self-evident. The discovery of an early Old Kingdom example from Sahure's Causeway clinches the case, his "netting episode."<sup>41</sup> That depiction provides the fundamental conception of the format. There was a *visual* setting and a small written description of the event, both of which presented a royal setting in which the king and some official spoke to each other. After the pharaoh's determination to inaugurate a policy, he then concluded his speech with an oath and the policy or ritual act was carried out. The historical episode recounted was, as Loprieno indicated, "used as a dramatic symbol of the king's accomplishments,"<sup>42</sup> but it also served as a public "White Paper," whose purpose was to set on stone pharaoh's new and successful policy. The *Königsnovelle*, being a form and not a genre, was also fluid. By this I mean that it could be employed within various written accounts, not merely temporal or spatial, but also historical. If the king was the object of literary reception, as Loprieno has shown, then the *Königsnovelle* had to focus upon his deeds. But more than that, it demanded

<sup>38</sup> See my "*Königsnovelle* and Performance," referred to in note 26 above.

<sup>39</sup> "The 'King's Novel'," 294.

<sup>40</sup> "*Königsnovelle* and Performance."

<sup>41</sup> Tarek El Awady, *Sahure – The Pyramid Causeway: History and Decoration Program in the Old Kingdom* (Prague: Charles University in Prague, 2009), 215–28.

<sup>42</sup> "The 'King's Novel'," 288.

a regularity of presentation. Above all, it provided a means of heightening dramatic tension by relating the commencement of a royal decision.

This standardization is one means by which we can determine when a given portion of a lengthy written narrative account could be derived, both transmitted and transmuted, from the basic format. As a fitting conclusion, let us examine the case of Thutmose III at Megiddo.<sup>43</sup> At a certain point in the king's description of the Megiddo campaign he arrived at Yehem. The well-known conference with his high military officials then took place. The format of the *Königsnovelle* is readily apparent at this point, and we must thank Adriaan de Buck as well as Alfred Hermann for elucidating the episode. Purely from internal criteria we can see this form in action even though it is contained in a wider setting.<sup>44</sup>

1. The narrative suddenly switches from a third person account to the first person.<sup>45</sup> After the dramatic tension of Thutmose's council is finished, the historical record then moves back to the third person.<sup>46</sup> Thus we are in the *Königsnovelle*. Pharaoh must speak to his advisors and they, in turn, have to respond. Since there is dialogue with the monarch, the account has suddenly diverged from its basic narrative approach where the march of the army, the time frame (dates), and localities are given.
2. A full date is given. This was the norm for a *Königsnovelle* account even if, in Thutmose's Annals, it also was a presupposed means of identifying the temporal and spatial events, all based on the war diary.
3. There is an oath. This is very significant. The pharaoh ought to proclaim his intent but, as well, indicate the truth of his words and the desire to

<sup>43</sup> For the historical background, see Donald Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 18-20, where he attempts to solve the change in orientation of the narrative.

<sup>44</sup> Adriaan De Buck, *Het Typische en het Individuele bij den Egyptenaren* (Leiden: E. Ijdo, 1929); and Alfred Hermann, *Die ägyptische Königsnovelle* (Glückstadt, Hamburg and New York, 1938).

<sup>45</sup> One thinks immediately of the Nebhepetre Montuhotep Ballas Inscription which is also in the first person: Henry Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome: Dynasties VI-XI* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1964), 112-18. Cf. Anthony J. Spalinger, "Chauvinism in the First Intermediate Period," in Hana Vymazalová and Miroslav Bárta (eds.), *Chronology and Archaeology in Ancient Egypt (The Third Millennium B.C.)* (Prague: Charles University in Prague, 2008), 240-43; and John Darnell, "The Eleventh Dynasty Royal Inscription from Deir el-Ballas," *RdE* 59 (2008) 81-110.

<sup>46</sup> The key passage is *Urk.* IV 649.3-12; the return to the third person runs to *Urk.* IV 652.11. At *Urk.* IV 652.13 comes the second first person narrative with Re-Harachty and Amun. It lasts till *Urk.* IV 653.3, but it is short.

Even Wente noted that "there is actually very little duplication between the two accounts" of the Poem and Bulletin (review of Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, *JNES* 22 [1963] 204). Gaballa could not fail to see that the Bulletin (or Official Report as he calls it) gives more details than the Poem with regard to the battle (*Narrative in Egyptian Art*, 114). This is not at all correct. The Bulletin shuns any *description* of the actual military encounter. That is left for the pictorial representations and the Poem. He, too, followed Gardiner's bipartite suggestion.

carry them out. In the Sahure Causeway episode – the “netting episode” – this is also prominent, and located, as here, at the end.

4. The text turns immediately back to the third person but, three days later, at Yehem, it returns to the king’s own words. In this small coda there is rhetoric.
5. The move away from the sober narrative presentation is seen no more clearly than in the following words. Amun is the support of Thutmose. Furthermore, a few subsequent, unfortunately broken, passages refer to the support given to “my majesty” by Re-Harachty and Amun.

The small subsection never reappears, in style or content, within a different perspective. Only at the conference do we see these five factors at work. I cannot but conclude that the *Königsnovelle* was imbedded into the narratively progressive, step-by-step, presentation of the Megiddo story. Most important, I feel, is its use and transformation. Both indicate that the author of the Megiddo campaign had recourse to this format when he, or more likely his king, saw the necessity. Just as the Bulletin provides an independently dated and somewhat lengthy written account (and includes an image), so too does the conference at Yehem overtly separate itself from the main narrative. In the latter case, the Bulletin-*Königsnovelle* and Poem present two separate narratives. In contrast, the Annals of Thutmose III include the literary narrative with the King’s Novel. These are but two of the possibilities that were used within historical accounts. The Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II, for example, integrates the *Königsnovelle* format into its text only at the beginning.

Thus the significance of the original Egyptian tripartite literary presentation of the Battle of Kadesh resides in two different approaches taken to history by the Egyptians. Whereas the pictorial representations reveal the common pharaoh as hero in battle as their main focus, the Poem and the Bulletin provide additional and varying perspectives. The lengthy written narrative of the Poem covers Ramesses’ trip to Kadesh, the ensuing battle, and the return home. Supplementary data are included that cover the failure of tactics, based on the deceptive information given to the monarch. The Bulletin dramatically highlights, in a matter independent of the Poem, a separate event that took place during the campaign. In written as well as in visual format it focuses its close-up lens upon the conference of Ramesses.<sup>47</sup> The unfolding of the truth, and not merely the statement of falsehood, highlights the dilemma into which the pharaoh found himself. This the Bulletin supplies. While the Poem moves to the personal piety of Ramesses – I follow Assmann at this juncture – and finally the king in battle, its written companion offers a different story.

The Bulletin recounts the king’s reaction in detail, and in none too pleasant terms. It concludes the camp meeting with his counterattack. This narrative is embedded, or literally carved in text and words, within the first theme

<sup>47</sup> The narrative sections of the Poem, up to around P 79, are more impersonal than the later narrative owing to their ephemerides basis.

of the entire composition. Hence, it has not been transformed and placed within a larger written framework, as was done in Thutmose III's Annals, or for that matter in other Egyptian historical hieroglyphic records such as the Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II. I believe that we now know why this was designed, and not merely what had been planned. In the concept of the Battle of Kadesh, the literary and pictorial artists included a written *Königsnovelle* account, similar to one that we would read on a few standing stela, for example. There was included an image of the conference that presented pharaoh on his throne at the meeting, close in style as well as arrangement to the format of the Sahure *Königsnovelle* "netting episode."

The two cases with which I have been concerned reveal, in a straightforward manner, the techniques that the ancients could employ when using the *Königsnovelle* within, and not independently from their written narratives. That is why it appears to be very plastic in use, a point that Loprieno made in connection to its historical and literary background. It is "elusive," he states, owing to this flexibility.<sup>48</sup> The original snapshot conception also could be contained within a greater framework, such as we can see in the opening section of the account of Kamose's war against the Hyksos. The "process of literarization of the royal figure," linked to his personality, emerged by means of these additional uses of the *Königsnovelle*, but the basic structure remained always present.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> "The 'King's Novel'," 282.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 285.





## Oil Lamps of the Early Roman Period Decorated with Patterns Copied from Funerary Art, Phoenician Wall Paintings and Sculptured Sarcophagi

Varda Sussman

This study concerns four complete mold made oil lamps of Phoenician origin. The first of these lamps (Fig. 1) was found at Deb'al near Tyre in southern Lebanon (Hajjar 1965: Deb'al; Pl. XX:F380); the second (Fig. 2) at Maresha-Bet Govrin in the Judean Shephelah (Oren and Rappaport 1984: Pl. 15: A Tomb N III); and the third (Fig. 3) at Sha'ar Ha'amaqim in the western part of the Jezreel Valley (Sussman 2007: 120:69). The fourth, from unknown provenance, is identical to the lamp from Deb'al (Fig. 1: Adler 2004, lamp 347). These four finds exhibit the cross-fertilization of artists using different media: in this case, a wall painting in a tomb near Tyre and oil lamps (Fig. 4) (Dunand 1965, Fig. 2 and others) and sculptured panels of a sarcophagus (Fig. 5) (Hajjar 1965: Deb'al, Pl. II & IV).

The three oil lamps differ typologically. The nozzles of three lamps (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2 and the fourth – not illustrated) are wide and end in a fan shaped tip close to a triangular; the nozzle of the third lamp (Fig. 3) is narrow and ends in a rounded tip; the nozzle of the first lamp (Fig. 1) is flanked by the classic volutes, the second (Fig. 2) is without volutes, and the third (Fig. 3) exhibits virtual volutes clinging to the sides and waist of the nozzle. The lamps have a narrow flattened discus of small (Fig. 1) to medium width (Fig. 3). The discus was found broken in the lamps (Fig. 2). The filling hole is wide in two lamps (Figs. 2 and 3) and narrow in one lamp (Fig. 1). The lamps stand on ring bases. The short and narrow pierced lug handles starting at the rim that surrounds the discus do not reach the circumference. The wick hole is circular narrow to slightly wider in one lamp (Fig. 2).

All four nozzles are identically decorated with a short tripartite pattern, which consists of a pair of branches with narrow feathered leaves along the curve of the volutes flanking a wide pointed leaf at the center, which stems from the bar/bars across the nozzle below the wick hole (when the lamp is held with the nozzle away from the holder). Unlike any other oil lamps, the shoulders of our lamps are densely decorated with a floral pattern in a rather high and full relief, almost three dimensional, which looks like a conglomeration of globules.

In order to see the picture depicted on the shoulders of the lamp (Fig. 2), we suggest holding the lamp with the nozzle facing to the left or to the right

as one would look at a frieze. The four lamps were probably made under the same influence. However, the result was slightly different for each of them.

As for the decoration, all four oil lamps feature a heavy garland, which grows from both sides of the handle and bears clusters of large round fruits. Dunand identified these fruits as pomegranates, but they could also be poppies. So far this decoration has been found only on these four examples dated to the Early Roman Period.

The first lamp to attract my attention was the one from Maresha-Bet Govrin (Fig. 2) where I suggest the identification of two human figures depicted *en face* on either side of the shoulder between the nozzle and the discus and divided by the central pointed leaf of the tripartite pattern as if reflected by a mirror. The figure on the left side of the central leaf is better executed. It exhibits a large circular head with a short beard (?) and short curly hair, eyes, nose and mouth, a heavy chest, a marked waist from which drops a long skirt and sunken depression above the short legs. Moreover, the arms cling to the chest, so that it seems that the figure is holding a pointed instrument in his left hand – a dagger or torch (?). The figure on the right side may be identical to the left figure, or it could represent a female figure. Only the eyes are visible. Unlike the figures depicted on the late Hellenistic lamps identified as Erotes, the figures are not winged. The lamp from Deb'al (Fig. 1) is similarly decorated, but the identification of figures resembling large fruits is doubtful. The decoration on the lamp from Sha'ar Ha'amaqim (Fig. 3) closely resembles the lamp from Deb'al (Fig. 1). Whether or not our identification of human figures on a lamp (Fig. 2) is correct, there is no doubt that all three lamps represent scenes. They appear to be copies or replicas, probably made at the same time, by a Phoenician artist or artists, who were inspired and impressed by the colored wall paintings of the tomb near Tyre and the sarcophagi. Alternatively, all these lamps were copied from a third source (Fig. 7) (Sichtermann 1970: 214, Figs. 14 and 15) from Rome decorated with Erotes/Cupids holding the same wreath carrying other mythological figures, dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE called "Girlandensarkophage mit Meerwesen."

The exceptional painted tomb was covered with several wall paintings including figures depicted among and above the garlands. The figures derive from Greek mythology, and they depict Alkestis, Tantalus, Herakles, and the Sirens. All of the depictions are clearly rooted in the artistic traditions of Hellenistic and Early Roman works of East Mediterranean provenance. In the paintings the names of the figures are written in Greek letters (Dunand 1965: Figs. 2, 3, 7). Undoubtedly, these wall paintings were made by artists, who were inspired by other paintings. Perhaps the Greek captions naming the persons/deities depicted in the paintings may indicate that the population of the region was not altogether familiar with the aforementioned characters from Greek mythology. Some of the figures on the wall painting are depicted within floral backgrounds. Thus, Tantalus appears in an olive grove above a garland similar to those depicted on the lamps. Within the garlands are round ball shaped fruits and a mask. Dunand provides an extensive account

of the legends behind the figures on the wall paintings and their origin in earlier Mesopotamian and Greek mythology. Later, these figures were adopted by the Romans, who believed that these figures, employed in funerary art, could protect a person both during life and after death. Among the examples Dunand cites is the early Sidonian tomb of the Hellenistic period at Maresha (Peters and Thiersche 1905; Goodenough 1953: Figs. 11-13), which is also adorned with garlands. As noted above, the ball-shaped fruits were identified by Dunand as pomegranates. Olives and pomegranates are among the valuable agricultural produce of Syria-Palestine, and both had played a role in depictions of the underworld since the Persian period. Wall paintings, foreign to the Eastern world, were introduced by the Romans, who were masters of wall paintings, typified by those at Herculaneum. The garlands are common in the funerary art of Roman Phoenicia under Alexandrian influence. The figures are represented *en face*. The Erotes woven within the garlands play only a second role in the iconography of the scene. The suggested date is the second century CE, slightly before the time of Severus (Dunand 1965: 21-22). That date fits our dating of these types of lamps found in the region of Tyre and in the Holy Land.

The depiction on the oil lamp should be read like a frieze drawn on walls. Thus the figures are part or the end of the band/frieze, as in many Hellenistic oil lamps. We suggest that a mask is depicted in the center of the garland of the lamp (Fig. 2). Similar garlands are also found in Pergamon and Delos on lamps with heart-shaped projections, where Erotes are depicted on the rear of the lamp among a pattern loaded with flowers. On two oil lamps of the Ephesus type from Delos we find similar garlands and masks depicted on their nozzles. Around the shoulders of one of the lamps a battle of gladiators is depicted (Bruneau 1965: 70, Pl. 17:2921, 2922 and Fig. 5; see also Schaefer 1968, Pl. 67; concerning Erotes against a floral background see Bruneau 1965: Pl. 16:2915, 2920). Bruneau assumes that the potter was viewing a “frise linéaire qu’il a ensuite adaptée à la forme circulaire de sa lampe,” dated to the second century BCE and made under the influence of Pergamon.

Human figures, mainly heads, depicted on the nozzles are common in Asia Minor on the Ephesus type of lamps (Bruneau 1965: Delos, Pl. 16:2914), which are known also from Maresha-Bet Govrin (Oren and Rappaport 1984: 130-131, Pl. 16:C). Seventeen oil lamps decorated with figures were published recently by Ambar-Armon (see article in this volume). In Group 5d of these lamps, among the figures are women and others of a theatrical nature, regarded as locally made and dating to the late Hellenistic period [second century BCE] (Ambar-Armon 2008: 35.2.1.1). A human figure standing along the elongated nozzle is also depicted on a lamp from Cyprus (Qziol 1977: Salamine Pl. 9:150-151). A lamp found in Egypt portrays within the discus a figure that lights the lamp. There, too, we have also to hold the lamp horizontally (Hayes 1980: Pl. 18:178). On a Roman type lamp with a double nozzle and a triangular projection at the rear, draped male figures,

possibly herms, are depicted along both nozzles (Bailey 1980, Pl. 26:Q994 of unknown provenance).

The date: Mid-second century CE. lamps of this type are common in Phoenicia in burials dated from the mid-first century to 136 CE according to dated coins (Hajjar 1965: Deb'al; Sussman 2007: lamp 68)

Summary: The finding of such a lamp at Maresha-Bet Govrin does not surprise us. It merely provides further evidence of the close renewed<sup>1\*</sup> cultural connections between Tyre and the Holy land in the second century CE as well. The region of Maresha-Bet Govrin had been populated by pagans since the Hellenistic period, and lamps of Phoenician origin were still found in the region during the Roman Period (Gophna and Sussman 1974: Tel Halif, Fig. 4:9). Sha'ar Ha'amaqim is situated at the eastern border of southern Phoenicia.

Another important point is that the lamps were surely made and decorated with knowledge that their final role would be at the side of the dead. Decoration with garlands in which figures are entwined was also used in Tyre to decorate stone sarcophagi found in the same burials as our lamp (Dunand 1965: Pls. II & IV).

It is quite difficult to engrave such an elaborate scene into molds for oil lamps. Thus they again demonstrate the artistic ability of the Phoenician craftsmen, and their familiarity with western Roman and Asia Minor art, which they included in their catalogue of decorations.

The depiction of figures of all kinds or masks near the nozzle or on it indicates the great importance and role attached to the nozzle of the oil lamps during all periods (Sussman 2009). The artist may have turned the same fruits into a human figure. The common pattern of the three leaves on the nozzle, typical of Phoenician lamps, also embellishes architectural friezes and resembles the poppy plant (Conze 1913: Pl. 16:3 and Goodenough 1953: Figs. 21 and 23). The identification of the figure depicted on the lamp is problematic. One suggestion is that it represents Asclepiades, the Greek physician of the first century BCE. The latter physician believed that wine aids recovery from illness (Pearson 1993). However, the figure could equally as well be Erotes. However, any other identification is as good as this!

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<sup>1</sup> This oral remark was offered by Dalit Regev.

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Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3









Fig. 6



Fig. 7



## The Ethnic Diversity of the Northern Sinai from the 7<sup>th</sup> Century BCE until the 7<sup>th</sup> Century CE

Herbert Verreth

The northern Sinai was always a border region inhabited by Egyptians, Syrians and Arabs, but there is little information on the ethnic distribution of these groups. Elsewhere I have collected the written sources and the archaeological material known for each distinct location in the northern Sinai between the city of Raphia in Palestine and the city of Pelousion in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> In this article I will sketch a broader picture for the whole area from the Late until the Byzantine Period. The amount of useful information, however, is disappointingly small. Ancient geographers, toponymy and onomastics, texts found in situ, funerary habits, temples and shrines, all shed some light on the matter, but there are still wide gaps in our knowledge.

In the Late and Ptolemaic Periods the changing political borders in the area no doubt influenced the patterns of occupation. The natural eastern border for Egypt was the Pelousiac Nile branch, which separated the Delta from the desert more to the east. Immediately east of that Nile branch, some fortresses such as Migdol / Magdolos and Tcharou / Sele controlled the narrow entrance to the Delta that lay between the Pelousiac branch and the rocky desert area extending south till the Wadi Tumilat. Magdolos was in the Saite Period located at Tell Kedwa (site T21), but from the Persian Period on at Tell el-Heir. Tcharou, on the other hand, was situated at Habwa I in the Middle and New Kingdom and from the Persian Period on at Tell Abu Seifa. From the Ptolemaic Period on, the coastal road from Pelousion to Syria was guarded in Gerra (Mahammediya), some 15 km east of Pelousion. In general, one might suppose that the Egyptians controlled the area as far as Mount Kasion and the eastern end of Lake Serbonis. However, fixed settlements there were rare before the Roman Period, partially because of the military threat from the east, but mainly because the area was inhospitable, with huge sandy dunes lying next to the treacherous marshes of Lake Serbonis. In the early Roman Period when the lake started shrinking, the conditions changed

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<sup>1</sup> Herbert Verreth, *The northern Sinai from the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC till the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD: A Guide to the Sources*, Leuven, 2006 (available at <http://www.trismegistos.org/sinai/>). The references between square brackets quoted further on refer to the sources discussed in detail in this work. All the personal names related to the northern Sinai have been gathered there in the prosopographical chapter, p. 1147-1154. I would like to thank Willy Clarysse for his valuable suggestions.

for the better, and gradually more settlements and villages came into existence in the northern Sinai. In periods of political and military superiority such as the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE Egypt succeeded in occupying Palestine and southern Syria, which brought the whole northern Sinai under Egyptian control. By the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century the actual borderline between Egypt and Syria apparently shifted to the eastern end of the northern Sinai, at a point somewhat halfway between Rinokoloura (el-Arish) and Raphia. In the following centuries the borderline changed again, but certainly from 70 CE on the northeastern Sinai once more became the border area, which made most of the northern Sinai part of the Roman provincia Aegyptus.<sup>2</sup>

The eastern part of the northern Sinai has been ascribed to Phoenicia, Syria, Judaea, Arabia or Idumaea by different geographers and historians, and it is only in the Roman and Byzantine Periods that the name Palestine generally came into use for the province east of Egypt. There is little doubt that most of the people there originally spoke a Semitic language, but it is difficult to find out to what extent the designations of the classical authors correspond with actual differences in the field. A line can perhaps be drawn, however, between predominantly sedentary and more nomadic people, i.e. between Syrians (by lack of a better term) and Arabs. Because of the relative scarcity of fixed settlements in the northern Sinai before the Roman Period, the latter group was probably prominent in the earlier periods, with the Syrians perhaps limited to a few towns such as Ienysos and Bytl / Bitylon along the coast or near the main road between Egypt and Syria.

This theoretical distribution of Egyptians, Syrians and Arabs over the northern Sinai, however, was often broken by several factors. First, the Egyptian occupation of the eastern part of the northern Sinai introduced Egyptian elements in an otherwise Semitic environment. Secondly, the Arab merchants obtained a bridgehead in the northwestern Sinai with the city of Qasr Ghet, but they also moved further east in the Wadi Tumilat and in the eastern Delta in general. Thirdly, the Egyptian fortresses and garrisons were manned by a mixture of Egyptian, Greek, Carian, Phoenician and Jewish soldiers, while in later periods also Roman officials or officers occasionally lived in the area. The pattern finally seems to end in a multi-ethnic population for the whole area between Pelousion and Raphia.

In the next sections I will bring together some of the elements that possibly illustrate the patterns of occupation I just described. I will pay special attention to the etymology of the toponyms in the area, to anthroponymy, to the inscriptions and other texts found in situ and to the presence of temples and shrines in the area.

<sup>2</sup> For more details, cf. Herbert Verreth, *The Border between Egypt and Syria from the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. until the 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D.*, in Peter Van Nuffelen (ed.), *Faces of Hellenism* (Studia Hellenistica, 48) 2009, 199-216.



*Egyptians*

There are only a few toponyms in the northern Sinai for which an Egyptian origin can be ascertained. There is no consensus about the etymology of the name Tcharou / Sele, which is attested from the Middle Kingdom till the Graeco-Roman Period. Although also Semitic interpretations for the name have been suggested, an Egyptian origin seems most likely. As the Semitic loan word Migdol / Magdolos, 'tower', was already well integrated in the Egyptian vocabulary since the New Kingdom, there is no doubt that the place was an Egyptian foundation. Since the name of Lake Serbonis is only attested in Greek and Latin sources, its etymology is unknown, but sometimes an Egyptian origin has been suggested. While Egyptian names are more or less expected in the western part of the northern Sinai, the unidentified Egyptian toponym *P3-s3-nfr* ('the beautiful / good son'?) attested near Bytl / Bitylion in 217 BCE, is an indication that such names also existed in the eastern part. The case of Rinokoloura is puzzling: the etymology of the name points to the Greek word for 'cutting off noses', while its (mythical?) foundation is ascribed by Diodorus and Strabo to the unknown Ethiopian king Aktisanes and by Seneca to a nameless Persian king (Rinokoloura [1/5, 8, 11]); Seneca's story seems to be somewhat more trustworthy, but the doubt about Rinokoloura's origin remains.

If we exclude the Egyptian soldiers stationed in the northern Sinai, who might originate from any place in Egypt, surprisingly few personal names reveal an Egyptian background. Near Tell Abu Seifa (Tcharou) three Ptolemaic (?) sarcophagi were found that belong to Henyt(?) son of Phimenis and Taiasi(?), to Peteamenophis son of Henyt(?) and *T3-n.t-immn.t-iy.ty*(?), and to Phimenis son of Taeris (Tell Abu Seifa [3-5]). The Egyptians Nektanebis son of Peteamounis from Sebennytyos in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE and Pichaas son of *P3-km* from Tanis in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE also had a close relationship with the city of Tcharou, but they probably did not live there (Tcharou [1, 10]). A Ptolemaic Aramaic ostrakon found in Tell Temilat near Bitylion perhaps mentions 'Horos and Nouby son of Horos' (Tell Temilat [1]), which might illustrate the Egyptian presence in the eastern part of the northern Sinai. The Egyptian priest Horos son of Horos Kasiotes active on Delos possibly in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE apparently came from Kasion (Kasion [11-14]). Aurelius Psenkonchos son of Poseidonios is a former pantarchos and epimeletes of the praetorium of Gerra in the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century CE (Gerra [12]). On an ostrakon of the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE found in Qasr Ghet perhaps *Ps.iom.iasis*(?) son (?) of Phaiesis and brother of Azazios(?) can be read (Qasr Ghet [26]). On some ostraca from the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE found in Tell el-Heir (Magdolos) the Egyptian names Petesonsis, Orsenouphis (twice), Sone[ ], Pihathres and Psaoos occur (Tell el-Heir [4, 5, 8, 15]). A third Orsenouphis was buried in el-Khuinat near Ostrakine in the Byzantine Period, while on another stele from that place the woman's name Thenbotas also occurs (el-Khuinat [7, 9]).

It is difficult to find any general tendencies in this relatively small corpus of Egyptian names.

Although the Egyptian presence in the northwestern Sinai must have been substantial, only a few Egyptian inscriptions have been found in the area. The three sarcophagi of Tell Abu Seifa have already been mentioned. Two New Kingdom monuments of Sethos I and Ramses II from the 'old' Tcharou at Habwa I seem to have been re-erected in the 'new' Tcharou at Tell Abu Seifa. Tell el-Heir (Magdolos) yielded a hieroglyphic stele and at least seven Ptolemaic demotic ostraca.<sup>3</sup> In el-Arish (Rinokoloura) a damaged Coptic funerary stele has been found (el-Arish [11]), while the use of Egyptian month names and of the era of Diocletianus in some Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine Period from the same area also illustrates the 'Egyptianization' of the northeastern Sinai (el-Arish [4, 5?, 6-7]). The naos of the 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty found on the same spot was brought there at an unknown period from the temple of Pr-Spdw, the modern Saft el-Henna in the eastern Delta, and there does not seem to be a religious link between Rinokoloura and the hieroglyphic text on the naos (el-Arish [1]).

Excavations in Tell Kedwa (Saite Magdolos) and Tell el-Heir (Persian and Graeco-Roman Magdolos) yielded common Egyptian ware, but also a very large proportion of imported Greek and Phoenician pottery, which probably reflects the ethnic composition of those military camps. Also in el-Qels (Kasion) Greek and Phoenician material from the Persian Period has been found, which can perhaps be linked with a trade route across the northern Sinai. Near Tell Kedwa, at site T73, a cemetery was found with cremation burials. The remains were deposited in Egyptian jars, accompanied by east-Greek pottery. This cremation practice was clearly introduced by the Greek population occupying the Saite fortress. The cemetery T47 near Tell el-Heir, on the other hand, yielded a lot of funerary masks in a composite Greek-Cypriot-Egyptian style, to be dated from the late 6<sup>th</sup> to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BCE. These masks nicely illustrate the cultural adaptation of the foreign mercenaries to their new environment. More common Egyptian funerary masks found near Tell Abu Seifa can probably be dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries CE.

The major god of the New Kingdom city of Tcharou and of the eastern border nome in general was Horos Lord of Mesen, who is often described as Lord of Tcharou. The New Kingdom monuments found in Tell Abu Seifa mention his name, and the god apparently had a temple named Pr-Hr, 'House of Horos', in old Tcharou (Habwa I). In the legend of the winged disk, written on the walls of Edfu, Horos of Behdet fights the followers of the god Seth, who have fled to the marshes and hills of Tcharou in the east; after his victory he receives the name of Horos of Mesen (Tcharou [40]). When in

<sup>3</sup> The demotic ostraca are published in Dominique Valbelle (ed.), *Tell el-Herr. Les niveaux hellénistiques et du Haut-Empire*, Paris, 2007, but I was unfortunately not yet able to incorporate the new information in this article.



the Late Period a new city of Tcharou is founded at Tell Abu Seifa, the same Horos of Mesen is worshipped there. The priestly titles on the three sarcophagi imply the existence of a temple for this god also in the new Tcharou; this was probably located near the spot where the New Kingdom monuments were found, although no further archaeological remains are known. Horos of Mesen and Tcharou also had an important temple in Tanis, a place that seems to have had special links with Tcharou (Tcharou [2, 5, 10]). In other inscriptions, and especially in the temple texts of Edfu and Dendera, Tcharou is also linked with other Egyptian gods such as Isis, Mout-weret, Osiris, Sobek, Min, Khenty-Iabtet, Nebet-Hetepet and Ra of Heliopolis (Tcharou [3, 4, 6, 12, 16, 18, 42 and *passim*]).

Herodotus briefly mentions that Typhon, the Egyptian god Seth, is hidden in Lake Serbonis, and later authors combine this account with the fight of the Greek mythological monster Typhon against the Olympian gods (Lake Serbonis [2, 5, 6, 41, 43]). The presence of Seth in the area recalls the legend of the winged disk, but there are significant differences: in the legend Horos of Behdet fights the followers of Seth, not Seth himself, and no mention is made of any opponent hiding in the area.

In the so-called Invocation of Isis, possibly composed in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, a list of places is linked with a specific name of Isis, although the link between the names and the places often seems vague or even fictitious. In Pelousion, Isis is the one 'who brings to harbor', at the Kasion she is 'Tachnepsis', at the Ekregma or outlet of Lake Serbonis she is 'preserver' and in Rinokoloura she is 'all-seeing' (Kasion [79]; Lake Serbonis [51]; Rinokoloura [17]). The relationship between Tachnepsis and Kasion is confirmed by an inscription from Delos where an inhabitant of Kasion worships the Egyptian goddess Tachnepsis (Kasion [13-14]). With respect to Ekregma and Rinokoloura other information about the presence of an Isis cult is lacking.

### *Syrians*

According to Herodotus the Palestinian Syrians lived in the eastern part of the northern Sinai that extended as far as Lake Serbonis, except for the emporia along the coast between Kadytis (Gaza) and the unidentified city of Ienysos, which were controlled by the Arabs (Ienysos [1]). The etymology of the name Ienysos is unknown, but a Semitic origin seems most likely. Also the town of Bytl / Bitylion (Tell el-Sheikh) in the area between Rinokoloura and Raphia has a Semitic name. The place Bethaphou ('House of the apple-tree'), some 21 km south of Raphia, should probably be identified with the road station Boutaphios ('Burial place of the cow / bull'); the latter might be a Greek pseudo-etymological interpretation of the original Semitic name.

Tell el-Sheikh yielded a fragmentary Phoenician inscription on a marble slab (Tell el-Sheikh [7]). At the nearby Tell Temilat three Aramaic ostraca of the Ptolemaic Period were excavated and two Phoenician (?) amphora

stamps (Tell Temilat [1-3, 30-31]). The Syro-Palestinian and Phoenician presence in the western part of the northern Sinai is illustrated by imported pottery in Tell Kedwa (old Magdolos), Tell el-Heir (new Magdolos), site T4 and el-Qels (Kasion) (including an amphora stamp with possibly three Phoenician characters (el-Qels [3]) and by a granite weight with two Phoenician characters found in Mahammediya (Gerra) (Mahammediya [1]). Jewish presence in Magdolos in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE is confirmed by the prophet Jeremiah (Migdol / Magdolos [24-25]). In the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE Osea son of Pete[ ] and his son Shelomam were apparently mercenaries of Jewish origin in Magdolos; Osea's patronymic looks Egyptian and most likely the family had already been living in Egypt for some time (Migdol / Magdolos [50]). Jewish coins of the period 67-69 CE were found in Tell el-Heir and Qasr Ghet. In the fortified settlement of the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE at Qasr Ghet some lamps were decorated in relief with Jewish symbols such as the menorah. Even in the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century CE people from Tyros, possibly oil merchants, were still residing in Pelousion and the nearby village of Thylax (Thylax [1-2]).

Isaiah (19:18) prophesies that five towns in Egypt will speak the language of Canaan and pledge themselves to Yahweh. These towns have been located by some Christian authors of the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries CE in the northern Sinai, and Hieronymus specifies that Ostrakine and other cities in the neighborhood of Rinokoloura and Kasion are the sites referred to there. He states that still in his own time people in that part of Egypt speak Syriac, i.e. a Christian dialect of Aramaic, and he adds that according to some authors Syrians and Arabs from the neighborhood were settled in that region by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (Ostrakine [27]). Because the northeastern Sinai before the late 1<sup>st</sup> century CE was only sporadically under Egyptian control, a Syrian and Arab presence is not surprising, but maybe people living in the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE felt the need to explain the use of the Syriac language in Egypt and therefore made up the story about the Babylonian deportation. A part of the population in the northeastern Sinai, therefore, possibly spoke Syrian, while there are also a few other indications that the northeastern Sinai had close links with its eastern neighbors. About 512 CE two men from Nessana in Palestine were apparently living near Rinokoloura (Rinokoloura [96]), and in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century CE inhabitants of Phakidia, a hamlet of Rinokoloura, presented offerings to a monastery in Nessana (Phakidia [2-5]).

#### *Arabs*<sup>4</sup>

With regard to the Arab presence in the northern Sinai again only scattered pieces of information are available. In 671 and 525 BCE Arabs took care of

<sup>4</sup> For further information on the Arabs in the region in general, cf. Israel Eph'al, *The ancient Arabs. Nomads on the borders of the fertile crescent 9<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.*, Jerusalem/Leiden, 1982; Aryeh Kasher, *Jews, Idumaeans, and ancient Arabs. Relations of the Jews*

the water supply across the northern Sinai for the Assyrian and the Persian armies respectively. Even though Herodotus ascribes to them only the hegemony over the coastal emporia between Kadytis (Gaza) and Ienysos (Ienysos [1]), it is clear that they had unhindered access to the whole northern Sinai. This situation probably continued in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods.

A Northwest-Arabian Thamudic inscription on a vessel contains a dedication by a certain Hadad son of Masik to the Arab deity Marna, who was worshipped in Gaza from the Persian Period onwards; the name Masik is Arabic, the name Hadad common Semitic. The vessel was found between Bir el-Abd and Bir Salamana in the central northern Sinai and is perhaps dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, although a date in the 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century BCE has also been suggested. Because the archaeological context is lacking, this isolated find is difficult to interpret (Bir Salamana [1]).

According to the geographer Strabo Egypt was bordered by 'the Arabia of the Nabataeans' and in another context he located the (Nabataean) Idumaeans in the southern part of Judaea near Mount Kasion (Kasion [42]). Nabataean presence in the northern Sinai is confirmed by archaeological finds. In the northeastern Sinai near Sadot and near el-Kharruba a large and a small Nabataean caravanserai were found, while the sites of Tell el-Eqneiyin, el-Arish and Bir el-Mazar yielded Nabataean pottery. The major Nabataean settlement in the northern Sinai, however, is Qasr Ghet, which probably served as a logistic, commercial and religious center from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE for Nabataean merchants and tribes crossing the isthmus and the Sinai peninsula. The central site at Qasr Ghet contains a temenos with two monumental temples, which stayed in use till the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE. The smaller temple (12.7 x 5.7 m.), constructed in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, contained a Nabataean dedication from Huwairu son of Grm to the goddess al-Kutba' (Qasr Ghet [1]). The other temple (19 x 19 m.), built in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, was perhaps dedicated to the goddess al-'Uzza, who is sometimes linked with al-Kutba'. One of the minor sites in the immediate neighborhood probably also had a smaller local Nabataean sanctuary. The Nabataean temples of Qasr Ghet have a lot of Egyptian features, but it is difficult to determine whether these result from the close relationship of the place with Egypt or are inherent to the Nabataean architecture, which generally shows Egyptian influences. The goddess al-Kutba' was also worshipped in Tell el-Shuqafiya in the Wadi Tumilat as shown by a Nabataean

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*in Eretz-Israel with the nations of the frontier and the desert during the Hellenistic and Roman Era (332 BCE – 70 CE)* (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum, 18), Tübingen, 1988; Javier Teixidor, *Les Nabatéens du Sinaï*, in Dominique Valbelle and Charles Bonnet (eds.), *Le Sinaï durant l'Antiquité et le Moyen Age. 4000 ans d'histoire pour un désert. Actes du colloque 'Sinaï' qui s'est tenu à l'UNESCO du 19 au 21 septembre 1997*, Paris, 1998, 83-87; Sylvie Honigman, Les divers sens de l'ethnique "Aray dans les sources documentaires grecques d'Égypte", in *AncSoc*, 32 (2002) 43-72; Günter Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend* (Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt, 97), Mainz am Rhein, 2003, 180-193.

inscription found there. This text of 54 BCE also refers to the (Nabataean?) toponym Awiti, a place that cannot be identified with certainty. However, it may perhaps be linked to the Arab or Nabataean tribe of the Autaioi, which lived in the area between Pelousion and the Red Sea in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE (Awiti [1]; Autaioi [2/5]).

A man named Saeibas from Skenai ektos Gerrous is involved in a financial transaction about 314-318 CE between a man from Eleutheropolis (a city between Gaza and Jerusalem) and another man from Boubastis in the Delta; the name Saeibas is not known elsewhere, and perhaps this man originated from Syria or the Arab world (Skenai [ektos Gerrous] [1]). In Rinokoloura a bishop and a priest with the name Alpheios, which is probably Arabic, are attested in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE (Rinokoloura [150]), and a third Alpheios is buried in el-Khuinat in the Byzantine Period (el-Khuinat [1]). The soldier Flavius Ausos son of Abraham from Nessana lived in Rinokoloura in 512 CE; the name Ausos is Arabic (Rinokoloura [96]). A certain Stephanos son of Golot was possibly buried in the neighborhood of el-Arish in 670 CE; the patronymic Golot is probably an Arabic name (el-Arish [4]).

In the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE a raid of 'Saracens' or Arabs, possibly coming from the central Sinai, looted the area of Rinokoloura and such attacks apparently occurred quite often (Rinokoloura [76]).

Some elements, therefore, confirm an Arab presence in the northern Sinai. However, except for the Nabataeans, who seem to be present in the late Ptolemaic and the early Roman Period, it is almost impossible to determine accurately the distribution of the Arab groups in the area.

### *Greeks and Romans*

Most of the geographical names in the northern Sinai seem to be Greek. The names Ostrakine ('(The city) of sherds'), Barathra ('Pits'), Ekregma ('Outlet'), Pentaschoinon ('(The place) at five schoinoi'), Gerra ('Barracks'), Skenai ektos Gerrous ('Tents outside of Gerra'), Chabriou Charax ('Chabrias' Camp'), Castra Alexandri ('Alexander's Camp'), and Ptolemais ('(The city?) of Ptolemaios') are all Greek, and the same probably goes for the names Rinokoloura (cf. ρίς and κολούω, 'cutting off noses'), Phakidia (cf. φακός, 'lentil'), Aphnaion (?), Lychnos (cf. λύχνος, 'lamp') and Thylax (cf. θύλαξ / θύλακος, 'sack'). In the few instances in which these places are mentioned in Coptic texts, the Greek name is transliterated, and no original Egyptian name is used. Perhaps the original Egyptian or Syrian names of some of these places have been lost, but this can hardly account for every place in the northern Sinai. Apparently there was an important Greek influence in the region, which might be due to several factors. In the Late Period the Egyptian and the Persian armies made extensive use of Greek mercenaries, who were more or less permanently stationed in the area. Also in the early Ptolemaic Period the army mainly consisted of Greeks and Macedonians. Per-

haps, Hegesandros son of Artemidoros, buried in el-Shoada (near Rumani) in the late 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE, was one of them (el-Shoada [1]). Later on, the ethnic composition of the army units stationed in the northern Sinai was certainly mixed, although the common language no doubt remained Greek and – to a minor extent – Latin. Two military documents illustrate the onomastic diversity: about 193-196 CE (the Egyptian) Pathermouthis son of Ptolemaios from Heliou Polis, P...unus son of Phleus from Antaiou Polis and a certain Iu[ ] were stationed along the main road between Egypt and Syria (Rinokoloura [20]; Ostrakine [11]; Gerra [9]), and the thirty-nine soldiers garrisoned in Skenai *ektos Gerrous* in the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE had Greek and Egyptian names (Skenai [*ektos Gerrous*] [2]). In the Roman and especially the Byzantine Period the region flourished, probably because of the international traffic between Egypt and Syria along the coastal road. Again, Greek seems to have been the ‘lingua franca’. In this respect it might be significant that the majority of the inscriptions and ostraca found in the region were written in Greek and occasionally in Latin (Tell Abu Seifa [1]; el-Qels [2]) while no bilinguals are attested.

Mount Kasion is most likely named after the Syrian Mount Kasion; the latter mount was called Špn or Saphon in Ugaritic and Canaanite texts, Ḫaz(z)i in Akkadian and Hittite texts, and the latter name was rendered as Kasion in Greek. The Egyptian Kasion, however, is only referred to by its Greek name, and there are no reasons to suppose that one of the older Semitic names ever applied to the Egyptian hill. Both the Syrian and the Egyptian Mount Kasion are closely linked with Zeus Kasios, who is apparently the Greek transposition of the Semitic god Baal-Saphon, worshipped in Syria as a weather god and as a protector of sailors. Although Baal-Saphon is attested in the eastern Delta from the Second Intermediate Period on, there are no explicit links with the northern Sinai and there is no reason to assume that Baal-Saphon was ever worshipped under that name at the Egyptian Mount Kasion. The little hill in the northern Sinai on the shore of the Mediterranean was probably a landmark for sailors. However, at the same time, it was a dangerous spot because of the shallow coast in front of it. Thus the mountain might have been dedicated to the Syrian Zeus Kasios, protector of seamen, and may have been named after the Syrian mountain at some point before the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. A temple of Zeus Kasios at Mount Kasion is attested from the early 1<sup>st</sup> century CE until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE (Kasion [41, 63, 65, 82]). However, the god was already worshipped in Egypt from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE onward (Kasion [174]). The temple at the Kasion, which has not been identified by archaeological surveys, is therefore more likely a Graeco-Egyptian than a Phoenician creation, as has often been maintained. Zeus Kasios was also especially popular in Pelousion, where a temple was certainly dedicated to him in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. The name Kasios seems to be quite popular in the region: we know a Kasis son of Kasios Kasiotes in 142 CE (Kasion [80]); a Kasios son (?) of Kasios in Mahammediya (Gerra) in the Roman Period (Mahammediya [4]); an Aurelius Sarapion son of Kasios, an Aurelius

Kasios and an Aurelius Philadelphos son of Kasios in Gerra ca. 250-325 CE (Gerra [12]); and a [ ]oros son of Kasios from Ostrakine in the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE (Ostrakine [20]). This name might reflect the local cult of Zeus Kasios, but an influence of the Latin name Cassius cannot be excluded.

Little can be deduced from the relatively small corpus of personal names. Many of the names attested in the Roman and Byzantine Period are Greek, but it is impossible to say anything for certain about the ethnic origin of the person bearing the name.<sup>5</sup> The Latin names Quintus, Marius, Petronius and Romanus have little ethnic relevance in the 4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. The biblical names Abraham (four times), Ioannes, Manouelios, Maria (twice), Paulos, Solomon (twice) and perhaps also Mouse(s) (Moyses?) reflect Christian influence. Zoilos, buried in the neighborhood of el-Arish in the Byzantine Period, was possibly the superintendent of a palaistra or wrestling-school, which is a Greek element in Egyptian society (el-Arish [8]).

Some structures excavated in the northern Sinai have been identified as temples or shrines, but it is not always clear to which gods they were dedicated. In Tell Temilat a mudbrick fortress was built probably in the Assyrian Period in the 8<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, and one of its rooms was identified as a temple. The site also yielded some small stone incense altars from the Persian Period. In the northeastern corner of the oldest fortress of Tell el-Heir (Magdolos), which was certainly in use in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, an unidentified, probably oriental sanctuary with niches was excavated (ca. 6.5 x 6 m.). Near the southwestern corner of the second fortress a large mud brick building (25 x 20 m.) was in use from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE till the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE and has tentatively been identified as a temple dedicated to the royal cult; the plaster busts of a queen, a king (possibly Ptolemaios II) and a god with the head of a ram, and the terra cotta head of a man and other ex votos found in a cache probably belong to a foundation deposit. In Mahammediya (Gerra), near the Mediterranean, Clédat partially excavated a small (Roman?) tetrastyle temple of 9.6 x 6 m., constructed in gypsum, with the entrance on the eastern side. Also along the seaside were two large altars next to each other. In an inscription said to be found in Mahammediya the iuridicus Quintus Corvius Flaccus dedicates a throne and an altar to the god Pelousios in the year 4 BCE (Mahammediya [2]). Pelousios probably also occurs together with Zeus Kasios on some coins and gems and in other documents about the city of Pelousion. If the inscription really comes from Mahammediya and has not been transported from elsewhere,

<sup>5</sup> To this group of Greek or unidentified names belong Aias, Alypios, Anastous, Ariston(?), Di...s, Dio[ ] son of (?) [Philo]philos(?), Dionysios (twice?), Dioskoros son of Tebas(?), Elemon, Epimachos (twice), Eudaimon, Euzoios, Gregorios, Herakleides (twice), Heraklion, Hermanoubas son of Petronius, Hermogenes, Heron, Hierax, Hieron son of Neilos, Isidoros, Kosmias, Lampetios, Leontiskos son of Hermias, M[ ], Melas, Nestor, Nilammon, Ob[.]Jechia(?), Phileas, Pirozos (Pisozos), Polybios, Ptolemaios (twice), Sarapion (twice), Stephanos (three times), Themision, Theognios, Theoktistos, Zenobios, Zenon, Zoilos, [ ]os(?) son of Daimon grandson of Diokolles(?).



Pelousios might have had a sanctuary in Gerra, but it is impossible to link this cult with any of the archaeological remains known in Mahammediya. In el-Felusiyyat (Ostrakine) Clédat noticed the remains of a building some 30 to 40 m. long, preceded by a portico, some blocs in pink granite and numerous fragments of marble columns. He identified the construction as a Roman temple, but the place has not been excavated. In a Latin inscription found in Tell Abu Seifa the emperors Diocletianus and Maximianus dedicated the camp of the Ala I Thracum Mauretana in 288 CE to the deities Iuppiter, Hercules and Victoria, but no traces of a Roman sanctuary have been recorded (Tell Abu Seifa [1]).

### *Christianity*

Some places in the northern Sinai are linked with 'biblical' events by later Christian authors. Rinokoloura is said to be the place where Noah cast the lots to divide the earth among his sons (Rinokoloura [42]). The prophet Habakkuk is told to have fled to Ostrakine when Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judaea (Ostrakine [4-8]). The apostles and disciples 'Simon Ioudas', 'Ioudas Thaddaios' and 'Iakobos son of Alphaios' were allegedly crucified and buried in that same place (Ostrakine [45-48, 54]).

The first certain Christian presence in the northern Sinai is reflected in the mention of bishops who presided over seven places in the area. The oldest see is Rinokoloura, where some ten bishops are known from 339 to 615 CE. In Bitylion bishops are known from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century until 536 CE, in Ostrakine from 359 until 431 and in Gerra from 403 until 451. A bishop was active in Sele in 431, in Kasion ca. 431-432, and in Aphnaion ca. 431-451. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century, apparently the whole clergy of Rinokoloura lived and ate together in an episcopal dwelling, probably in the neighbourhood of the church. A sacristy, where in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE the sacred vessels were kept under the supervision of a deacon, may have been part of the same church (Rinokoloura [77, 97]). A deacon M[ ] was possibly buried in the neighborhood of el-Arish (Rinokoloura) in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE (el-Arish [7]). In Ostrakine 'oikonomoi' of the church were involved with the poor of the city (Ostrakine [37]). If on the Medeba mosaic the buildings with a door and a triangular roof represent churches, then there were two churches in Rinokoloura and one in Bitylion, in Ostrakine and in Kasion in the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. No church building is indicated on the mosaic for Pentaschoinon, which is indeed not known as a bishopric.

Excavations in el-Felusiyyat (Ostrakine) yielded three churches instead of the one shown on the Medeba mosaic, all of them characterized by rich marble decoration. The so-called large south church (62 x 22 m.) consists of a basilica with three naves and a narthex, an atrium and some chambers west of the atrium, including a cistern. Apparently, this church was in use in the late 5<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. Some 70 m. north of this church a



smaller basilica (33 x 20 m.) with three naves was found. The latter church had an atrium, but no narthex; it was probably built in the (early?) 5<sup>th</sup> century CE and destroyed by fire about 684 CE. Some 2 km. more to the north lies the so-called north church (35 x 11 m.), with three naves, a narthex and an atrium. The buildings west of the atrium have not been preserved. A synthronon, where a holy source or a relic could be visited, is situated along the continuation of the central apsis. This church also was possibly built in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE.

Other Christian buildings are also attested in the northern Sinai. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE there was a 'meditation school' (φροντιστήριον) led by Dionysios in the desert north of the city of Rinokoloura (Rinokoloura [77]). In 359 CE some monks lived in the desert in a cell (κελλίον) in Lychnos in the neighborhood of Pelousion (Lychnos [1-2]). In 403/404 CE the anchorite Nilammon lived in a dwelling (οἶκημα) near the city of Gerra (Gerra [20]). Bishop Theognios of Bitylion ca. 494-522 CE had a small cell (κέλλα) outside the city (Bitylion [5]). A monastery in Kasion, attested between 578 and 622 CE, was possibly founded by a certain Mar Romanus (Kasion [129, 131, 132, 150]).

In el-Felusiya (Ostrakine) two monasteries have been found. The first one was fortified by a pentagonal wall, flanked with towers. It had a maximum diameter of some 275 m. and was possibly built in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. For the other monastery details are lacking. In the nearby el-Khuinat a large construction was found with thick walls and arched ceilings, possibly a 'religious site' of the Byzantine Period. In Mahammediya (Gerra) probably a Byzantine monastery or church was discovered, but there are some inconsistencies in the archaeological reports, and more precise information is needed. At the same site a small Christian altar was found, decorated with a cross and used to burn incense. Excavations at el-Arish (Rinokoloura) revealed a limestone building with seven rooms and seventeen niches in the walls spread over six of these rooms; the most elaborated niche had Christian crosses on the pilasters.

An ostrakon of the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE found in Tell el-Heir has the Christian abbreviation Ch( ) M( ) G( ) in the first line (Tell el-Heir [7]). In the fortified settlement of the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE at Qasr Ghet some lamps were decorated in relief with Christian monogrammatic crosses. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE a blind woman from Phakidia went for a cure to Saint Hilarion in the neighborhood of Gaza (Phakidia [1]), and in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century CE the sick woman Anastous from Aphnaion visited the tomb of the martyrs Kyros and Ioannes in Alexandria (Aphnaion [11]). At about the same time inhabitants of Phakidia made offerings to the monastery of Saint Sergios in Nessana in Palestine (Phakidia [2-5]). The Christianization of the region is also clear from the funerary habits. Two cemeteries near Mahammediya are described as Christian; one of the graves yielded a carved stone cross and an oil lamp decorated with a cross in relief. In el-Khuinat some Christian funerary steles

were found, often decorated with monogrammatic, Maltese, Greek and other crosses (el-Khuinat [1-12]).

The Arab toponyms el-Kenisa, 'The church' (near Mahammediya), and Tell el-Kenisa, 'Hill of the church' (near Qatia) do not necessarily refer to an ancient Christian church, but might be an inappropriate local name for any kind of ruin. The toponym el-Shoada, 'The martyrs' (near Mahammediya), is only a recent creation, referring to casualties from the wars between Egypt and Israel since 1967.

While the northern Sinai in the Late Period seems to have been predominantly Egyptian in its western part and Syrian and Arab in its eastern part, the Egyptian influence over the whole area grew stronger from the Ptolemaic Period on and was made permanent by the location of the border between the provinciae Aegyptus and Palaestina at some 21 km southwest of Raphia. There is little doubt, however, that the Arabs always had unhindered access to the whole northern Sinai and could even infiltrate the eastern Delta. The abundance of Greek toponyms in the area might be explained by the presence of numerous Greek mercenaries in the region from the Saite Period on, but is certainly also caused by the fact that the area was only more densely settled from the early Roman Period on, when the geological conditions around Lake Serbonis had changed for the better.



## Cypriot Pottery from MB IIA Loci at Tel Megadim

Samuel R. Wolff and Celia Bergoffen<sup>1</sup>

The so-called “age of internationalism” in the eastern Mediterranean basin, which peaked in the Late Bronze Age, had its roots in the preceding Middle Bronze Age. Exchange in ceramic vessels between Cyprus and Levantine sites is well known for the MB IIB-C (using traditional terminology) but is rare for the MB IIA. This contribution presents new Cypriot material dating to a late phase of the MB IIA from the site of Tel Megadim, which suggests a more significant coastal distribution during this period than what was previously assumed.

### *Tel Megadim*

Tel Megadim<sup>2</sup> is located on the Carmel coast of Israel, c. 2 km north of Atlit and 11 km south of Tel Shiqmona (Haifa). The site has no port adjacent to it. Concentrations of anchors found offshore, however, provide tangible evidence that ships in antiquity anchored there and ferried cargo to the site on smaller craft. These anchored ships would have been protected from rough seas by a natural lagoon created by underwater kurkar ridges (Galili et al. 1993: 152 and Fig. 6, p. 138).

Excavations concentrating on the upper levels of the site, conducted in the late 1960's by Magen Broshi, revealed extensive remains dating to the Persian period along with later Byzantine period remains (Broshi 1993). However, evidence for Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age occupations was mentioned only in passing. In 1994, S. Wolff had the opportunity to section the tell in advance of the construction of a second railroad track. The first

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<sup>1</sup> It is a privilege for us to participate in this Festschrift in honor of Eliezer Oren. Wolff especially recalls fond memories of participating in the excavations directed by Eliezer at Tel Haror in 1990, while Bergoffen is grateful to Eliezer for supervising her dissertation, and for still acting as her mentor. She too has many fond memories: of the “peanuts place” as well as the excavations at Tel Haror. Our research benefited from a generous grant provided by the Shelby White-Leon Levy Program for Archaeological Publications. We are grateful to David Ilan and Ezra Marcus for confirming our dating of the local pottery assemblage discussed below. We also wish to thank Silvia Krapikow of the Israel Antiquities Authority for her assistance in the preparation of the illustrations.

<sup>2</sup> The official name of the site is Tel Sahar. The name Megadim, taken from the nearby moshav, was given to the site by its first excavator, Magen Broshi. This unofficial name is retained here to avoid confusion.

track cut through the tell in the late 1960's, without an official archaeological excavation having been conducted. Wolff's excavation revealed the entire occupational sequence of the site: Chalcolithic, EB IB, EB IV, MB II, LB I, Persian and Byzantine periods (Wolff 2008).

Due to the location of the area of excavation, on the artificially created western slope of the depression created by the railroad track, exposure of Middle Bronze Age remains was limited. The situation was such that when a depth of a meter was reached, the horizontal exposure was, more or less, also one meter. When two meters were excavated, the horizontal exposure was two meters. Maximum horizontal exposure of the MB remains never reached more than two squares (8 m). Had the first railroad ditch been excavated properly, the exposure of the MB remains would have been much more extensive.

Nevertheless, excavations succeeded in revealing architectural remains from the MB IIB period and burials from throughout the MB. For the latter, several individual cist tombs dating to the MB IIA were excavated, as well as two large masonry tombs for multiple burials, one dating to MB IIB, the other to MB IIC. Finally, several storage jar burials were revealed, probably dating to MB IIB. No Cypriot ceramic material was found in the MB IIA individual tombs or in the storage jar burials. A few whole and almost whole vessels, however, were found in the masonry tombs, including two complete vessels from the MB IIB tomb (one WP V eye-pitcher and one WP PLS jug), and two almost complete vessels from the MB IIC tomb (one WP V Tangent or Wavy Line style jug and one WP CLS juglet).

Scattered MB IIA remains were found outside the above-mentioned MB IIA tombs, but given the restricted excavation area and its disturbed location, it is impossible to reconstruct the settlement of this period. All one can say is that the settlement was larger than what the excavations revealed, if one assumes that the twelve MB IIA individual tombs were situated under structures (domestic?) which were quarried out by the train track operations prior to the excavations. One feature consisted of a massive fill of potsherds dating exclusively to this period (Figs. 1-2), so many potsherds, at the exclusion of other artifacts, that we concluded it must have been a pottery dump. This feature, (primarily Loci 2070 and 2106 below it), was excavated c. 3 m. in length (north-south) and 2 m. in width (east-west). Its western extent continues into the unexcavated west balk, while its eastern extent was cut by the ditch of the railroad tracks. The most diagnostic MB IIA forms from this feature are the red-slipped and burnished carinated bowls (Fig. 1:7-8) and the cross-decorated bowl (Fig. 1:9), the latter bridging the transition to MB IIB. Conspicuously absent are flaring rim carinated bowls, characteristic of MB IIB. C14 analysis of charcoal from the pottery dump yielded two calibrated dates: 1880-1680 BCE and 1690-1520 BCE. Thus, while the ceramics are remarkably homogeneous in date, the C14 analysis suggests some contamination.

Mixed together with the presumed local wares derived from this pottery dump was a collection of Middle Cypriot sherds, which is the subject of this article.

### *Cypriot Pottery*

Cypriot ceramic imports are fairly uncommon prior to MB IIB, and consist solely of WP wares. These have been found in MB IIA contexts dated to the latter part of the period at: Tell Beit Mirsim (one WP CLS sherd); Beth Shemesh (one WP PLS sherd); Tel Jerishe (nine sherds of WP PLS and/or indeterminate); Tel Nami (one WP PLS sherd and two of indeterminate style from secure MB IIA contexts and five others in Composite, WP CLS and indeterminate styles from fills probably originating in MB IIA); Ashkelon (six WP CLS and indeterminate style sherds from Phases 14 and 13 of the gateway, and a complete WP V amphora from a cemetery in the eastern part of the modern city), and Kafr Jatt in the western Galilee (two jugs, one WP CLS, the other, WP PLS, from a tomb (Johnson 1982: 63, Fig. 1:G1, Fig. 3:E1; Geva 1982: Fig. 31:5-8, 32:10-14; Artzy and Marcus 1992: 106-108, Fig. 4; Stager 2002: 357, 359, Fig. 20; Gershuny 2002: 187, Fig. 3; Getzov and Nagar 2002: 4-5, Fig. 4:3, 4). Artzy and Marcus (1992: 106-107) point out that material from Tel Akko derives from fills in the rampart fortifications whose MB IIA date is “tenuous”, while the contexts of other early occurrences at Dhahrat el-Humraiya, Ginnosar and Megiddo date to MB IIA-B.

In light of the quantitative distribution elsewhere in Canaan, the collection of sixteen Cypriot WP sherds from the MB IIA pottery dump at Tel Megadim is significant. Indeed, considering the limited exposure of Broshi's and Wolff's excavations, the total number of Middle Cypriot sherds recovered is impressive: the catalogue, still in preparation, so far includes some seventy-five sherds, and while this no doubt represents a smaller number of vessels, the sheer volume of the sherdage is noteworthy.

The colors of the fabrics, slips and paints vary within a narrow range. In the catalogue, the color names follow the Munsell system (with the exception of “dark reddish brown”), but without the numerical values, which are as follows. Fabrics are most often pink 5YR7/4 or 7.5YR7/4; light red 2.5YR6/6, or reddish yellow 5YR6/6; less frequently, very pale brown 10YR7/3, light brownish grey 10YR6/2, or reddish grey 5YR5/2. Slips are again usually pink 7.5YR7/4 or 5YR7/4, but light red 2.5YR6/6, white 10YR8/2, or very pale brown 10YR8/3 also occur. The paint is dark reddish brown 2.5YR3/4, reddish brown 5YR4/3, dark reddish brown 5YR3/2-2.5/2 (here called “very dark reddish brown”), red 10R5/6-5/8-4/6-4/8, dark red 10R3/6, or black 5YR2/5/1.

All but one of the sherds come from closed vessels, probably jugs. Seven are decorated in WP PLS and four in WP CLS. The motif of two parallel bands on No. 1 is often found just above the base of WP PLS jugs, as here,

or at the top of the shoulder, as on No. 2 (Kempinski, Gershuny and Scheftelowitz 2002: 171, Fig. 5.59, 9, Tomb 984; Courtois 1981: Fig. 2; Maguire 2009: 98, Fig. 27, DAB 30, DAB 36). The shoulder decoration of No. 12, similar to that on the restored jug from Tel Megadim MB IIC Tomb 574, may be classified as WP V Tangent or Wavy Line style (Schaeffer 1949: Figs. 107:28 and 108:23 both dated to Ugarit Moyen II; Courtois 1981: 13, Figs. 5:47-50; Kempinski, Gershuny and Scheftelowitz 2002: 171, Fig. 5.55:1, 9; Maguire 1987, Fig. 9:6 – identical; Wolff 2008: 1944, right; Maguire 2009: 133, Fig. 37, DAB 198). The Composite ware sherd was from a bowl decorated in WP CLS on the exterior and covered with black slip on the interior, now mostly worn off. As noted above, this style has been identified among what are probably MB IIA imports at Nami.

*Catalogue of Cypriot pottery (Fig. 3)*

- 1 WP PLS, body sherd with rounded base, probably from a jug; very hard, medium-grained pink fabric, minute black and white grits, traces of mica, 0.04-0.08 cm. thick; pink, lightly burnished slip; faintly lustrous dark reddish brown paint, four sets of pendent line groups and part of a fifth, two wider concentric bands above the base. L2078, B3270/1.
- 2 WP PLS body sherd from a closed vessel; very hard, fine to medium grained pink fabric, few minute black grits, traces of mica; light red burnished slip; lustrous red paint, a wavy band between line groups, with broad concentric bands crossing them. L2072, B3107/1.
- 3 WP PLS, five joining body sherds, probably from a jug; fine to medium grained pink fabric, minute white grits, traces of mica, 0.04 cm. thick; the surface is smoothed (self slipped); faintly lustrous red paint, alternating pendent line groups (one complete, one partial) and single pendent wavy lines, two preserved. L2078, B3258/9 + 3117 + 3263/3.
- 4 WP PLS, body sherd of a closed vessel; medium grained light red fabric, many minute black and white grits, 0.03-0.05 cm. thick; the surface is smoothed and lightly burnished; faintly lustrous red paint, pendent line group. L2070, B3193 + 3194/11.
- 5 WP PLS, body sherd from a closed vessel; fine to medium grained, hard pink fabric, minute black and white grits, micaceous, 0.04-0.05 cm. thick; smoothed, self-slipped surface; faintly lustrous, very dark reddish brown paint, pendent line group. L2070, B3115/1.
- 6 WP PLS, body sherd from a closed vessel; fine, hard reddish grey fabric, 0.03-0.05 cm. thick; white lightly burnished slip; reddish brown to dark reddish brown lustrous paint, pendent broad wavy band between line groups. L2070, B3183.



- 7 WP PLS, body sherd from a closed vessel; fine to medium grained, very hard reddish yellow fabric, 0.03-0.05 cm. thick; lightly burnished pink slip; lustrous red paint, broad pendent wavy band between one complete and one partial line group. L2078, B3268/1.
- 8 WP CLS, body sherd from a closed vessel; very hard, fine pink fabric, minute white grits, 0.05-0.08 cm. thick; lightly burnished very pale brown slip; very dark reddish brown to black faintly lustrous paint, crossing multiple line groups. L2060, B3102/1.
- 9 WP CLS, two joining body sherds, probably from a jug; fine, medium to hard, pink fabric, few minute black grits, traces of mica, 0.03-0.05 cm. thick; light red, lightly burnished slip; faintly lustrous red paint, one complete and three partial sets of crossing line groups. L2078, B3263/3+4 + 3270/2.
- 10 WP CLS, body sherd from a closed vessel; fine, hard pink fabric, 0.03-0.04 cm. thick; self slipped and burnished; lustrous very dark reddish brown paint, crossing line groups. L2078, B3262.
- 11 Composite Ware, WP CLS and Black Slip, body sherd from an open vessel; medium hard, fine light brownish grey fabric, few minute black and white grits, 0.04-0.05 cm. thick; the outer surface is smoothed and burnished, the inner has traces of black slip; lustrous black paint, two oblique line groups. L2070, B3178/11.
- 12 WP Tangent style, shoulder sherd of a closed vessel; very hard, medium grained reddish yellow fabric, many minute black and white grits, 0.05-1.0 cm. thick; pink lightly burnished slip; dark red to dark reddish brown faintly lustrous, cracked paint, two broad vertical bands next to four broad horizontal bands, with a wavy line below. L2070, B3150/1.
- 13 WP spout fragment; fine, hard, light grey fabric, 0.04 cm. thick; the surface is smoothed; cracked, black painted band on the inside of the rim; on the outside, narrow black painted band along the top of the rim, and a broad horizontal band on the side of the spout with an oblique band pendent from it. L2078, B3117/7.
- 14 WP body sherd from a closed vessel; fine to medium grained, hard pink fabric, 0.02-0.04 cm. thick; self slipped and faintly burnished; cracked, faintly lustrous very dark reddish brown paint, line group. L2070, B3169.
- 15 WP jug neck fragment, max. diam. ca. 5 cm.; very hard, medium grained light red fabric, minute black and white grits, 0.04-0.07 cm. thick; pink lightly burnished slip, mostly worn off; four horizontal, lustrous, red painted bands. L2106, B3342/6.

- 16 WP body sherd from a closed vessel; fine, hard, very pale brown fabric, few minute white grits, 0.03-0.04 cm. thick; self slipped and lightly burnished; cracked, faintly burnished black paint, part of two bands at right angles. L2070, B3109/1.

### *Conclusions*

The presence of Cypriot pottery in MB IIA Canaan, first mooted on the basis of the “stray sherd” from Tell Beit Mirsim and other finds from “insecure deposits” at Megiddo and Akko (Maguire 2009: 82; Åström 1972a: 264), may be accepted as established in light of the MC assemblage from Tel Megadim, in addition to the material adduced by Artzy and Marcus (1992) and the more recently published finds from Ashkelon and Kafr Jatt cited above. Most of the sherds whose style may be identified came from WP PLS or WP CLS jugs or juglets, but Composite and Tangent Line Styles are also attested in this earliest import horizon of Cypriot WP wares. To date, no Cypriot ceramic imports have been found in the earliest MB IIA contexts, but in every instance cited here, the local pottery indicates a date in the later MB IIA (cf. Cohen 2002: 130). By MB IIB, the same narrow repertoire of WP styles is found widely distributed from Syria to Egypt (Åström 1972a: 212-215, 217-225; Johnson 1982; Maguire 2009: 40-41, 49, Tables 2 and 3).

Outside of Canaan, other early exports of WP PLS vessels include a jug found in a MB IIA funerary context at the College Site in Sidon, dated ca. 1750 by the excavator (Doumet-Serhal 2008: 16). This would be roughly contemporary, using the Middle Chronology, with the juglet from Kültepe, Karum Ib that Merrillees (2002: 5) cited as among the first appearances of the ware abroad. By the Low Chronology, however, which Merrillees prefers, the Kültepe juglet would date to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (i.e. not later than the tenth year of Samsuiluna, ca. 1676/75, *ibid.*), making it contemporary – on the Low Chronology – with the purported WP PLS sherd ascribed by Woolley to Alalakh VIII that Merrillees equally cites as evidence for the earliest appearance of WP PLS abroad (Bergoffen 2005: 37, 68-70). Also belonging here is the earliest WP PLS from Ashkelon Phase 12, synchronized with Tell el-Dab’a Strata F-E/3 and therefore dated in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Bietak, Kopetzky, Stager and Voss 2008: 52). At Tell el Dab’a, Maguire (2009: 39-41) determined that WP PLS may have arrived “in levels possibly as early as stratum F” but actually listed an even earlier, single instance from Stratum G in her table. The latter would make the ware’s first appearance at Tell el-Dab’a as early as the second quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. contemporary with the Sidon jug and other late MB IIA imports in Canaan. Most of the well-dated WP PLS sherds from Tell el-Dab’a, however, came from Strata E/1 and D/3 (*ibid.*) and therefore belong, like most of the WP PLS from Canaan, to the late 17<sup>th</sup> to early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries (MB IIB-IIC).

WP CLS, which does not appear earlier than MC III, according to Åström (1972a: 197) actually has a slightly earlier chronological range than WP PLS both at Ashkelon, where it first appears in phase 14, and at Tell el-

Dab'a, where it occurs slightly later, in Stratum G1/3, which is synchronized with Ashkelon phases 14-13 to 13 and is dated in the mid-late 18<sup>th</sup> century (Bietak, Kopetzky, Stager and Voss 2008, 49, 52). Maguire argued, however, that because of regional differences in pottery production on Cyprus, it was not possible to determine if WP CLS in fact preceded WP PLS and, discounting the slight discrepancies of the wares' distribution at Tell el Dab'a, she concluded (2009: 86) that their "export horizon in Palestine and Egypt" was "roughly contemporary". This view agrees with the fact that both styles first arrived in late MB IIA Canaan, and are often found in the same contexts – as perhaps best illustrated by the assemblage from Tel Megadim. In general, the date of these foreign occurrences of WP PLS and WP CLS indicate that MC III must have begun before ca. 1750, as Merrilllees proposes (2002: 273), considerably earlier than Åström's date of ca. 1700 (1972a: 268, 273). Both WP CLS and WP PLS continue into LC IA, and while not well attested any longer at Tell el-Dab'a in Stratum D2 (mid 16<sup>th</sup> century), they are still prevalent in the contemporary Ashkelon phases 11 and 10, the latter ending ca. 1500 (Bietak, Kopetzky, Stager and Voss 2008: 52). There is therefore no evidence here on which to date the transition to LC IA, or its end, which need not have coincided with the start of the New Kingdom, as Merrilllees (2002: 6) suggests.

The coastal distribution of Middle Cypriot imports at Egyptian and Levantine sites (Tell el-Dab'a, Ashkelon, Tel Jerishe, Tel Nami, Tel Megadim, Ugarit-Ras Shamra), is coeval with what has been termed "the Byblos run" (e.g., Stager 2002: 359-60; Marcus 2007). One might surmise that the Cypriot material arrived at a port such as Ugarit-Ras Shamra, from which ships plying the Levantine coast picked it up as secondary cargo and offloaded it along their way towards the Egyptian Delta. The establishment of this international market became the *raison d'être* for the founding (or refounding) of Levantine coastal ports such as Tel Megadim in the late MB IIA.<sup>3</sup> The presence of Cypriot pottery described herein, along with a fine collection of Levantine Painted Ware (for two examples see Bagh 2000: Fig. 1:I left and 1:III left (= Fig. 114:a), and red-slipped and burnished jugs of probable Syrian origin, firmly places Tel Megadim into this international network.

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<sup>3</sup> For a recent discussion of these ports see Marcus 2007: 164-170.

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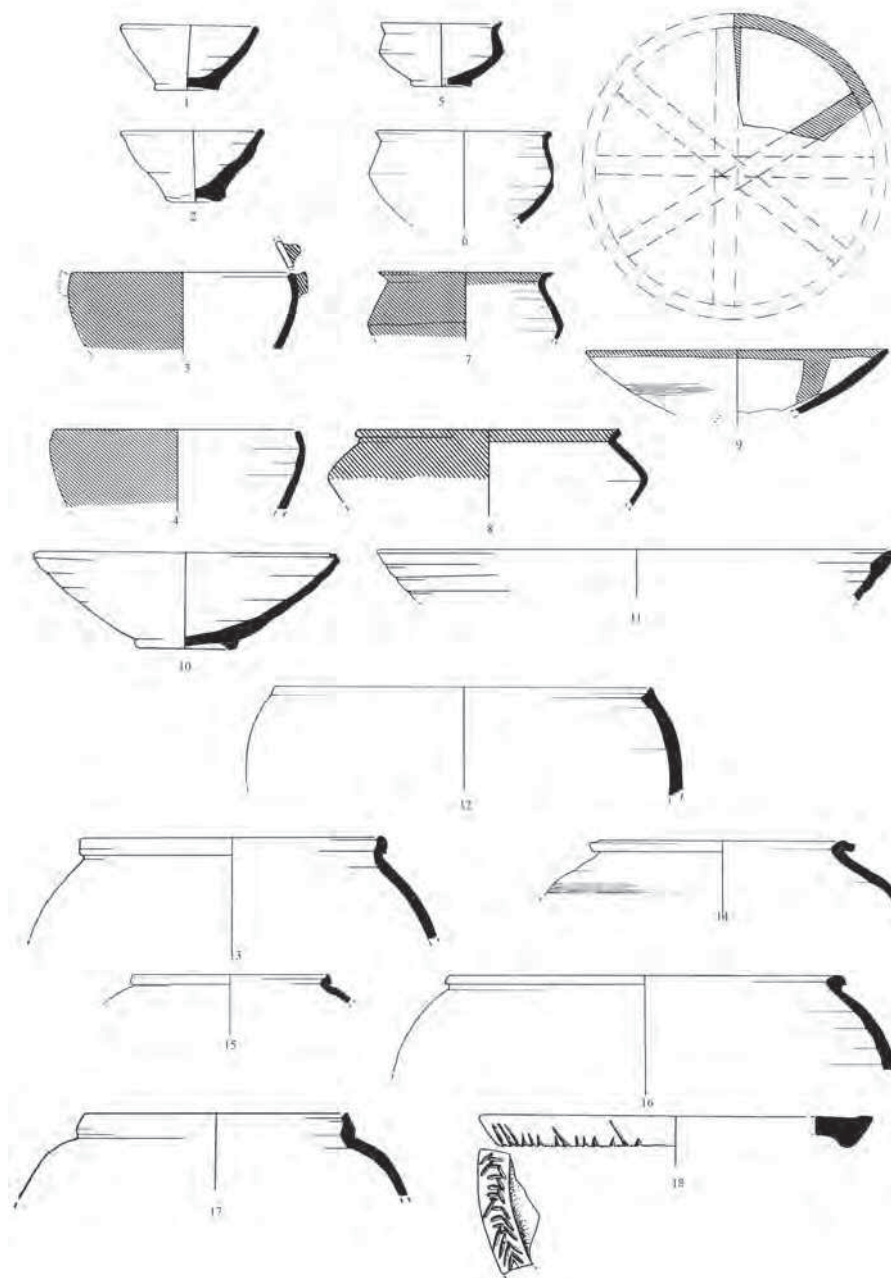


Fig. 1: Local MB IIA pottery from relevant loci

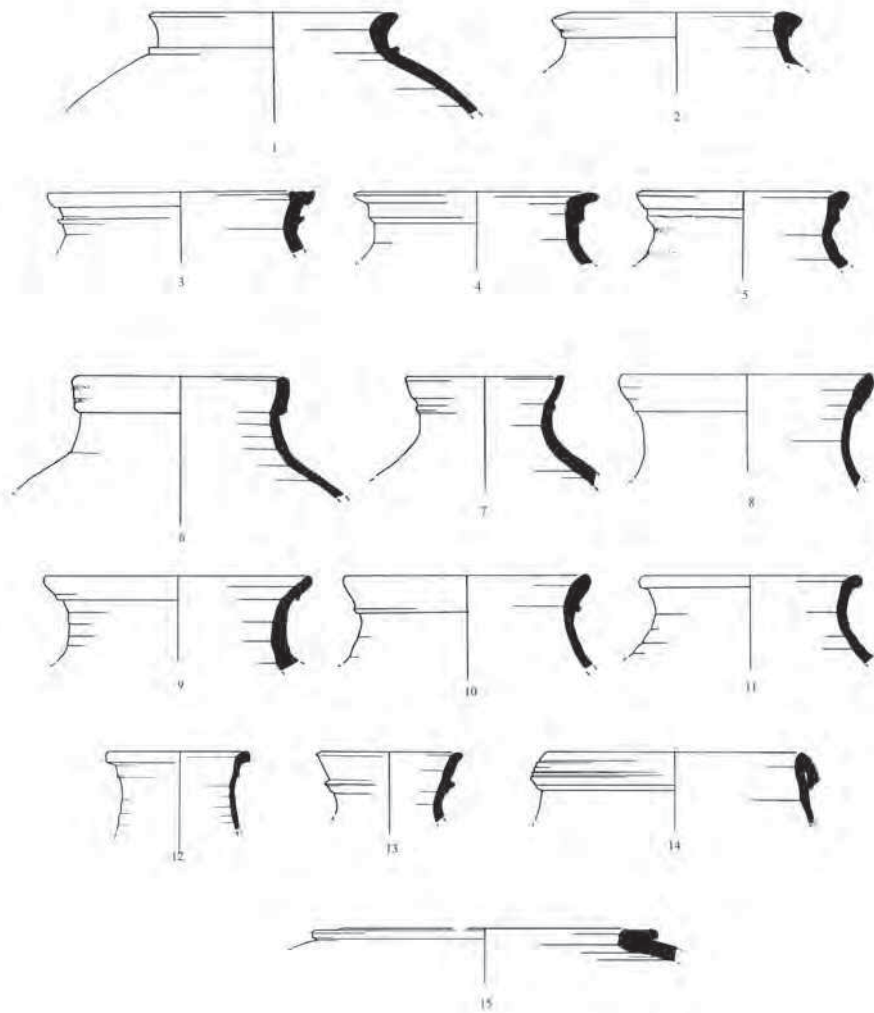


Fig. 2: Local MB IIA pottery from relevant loci



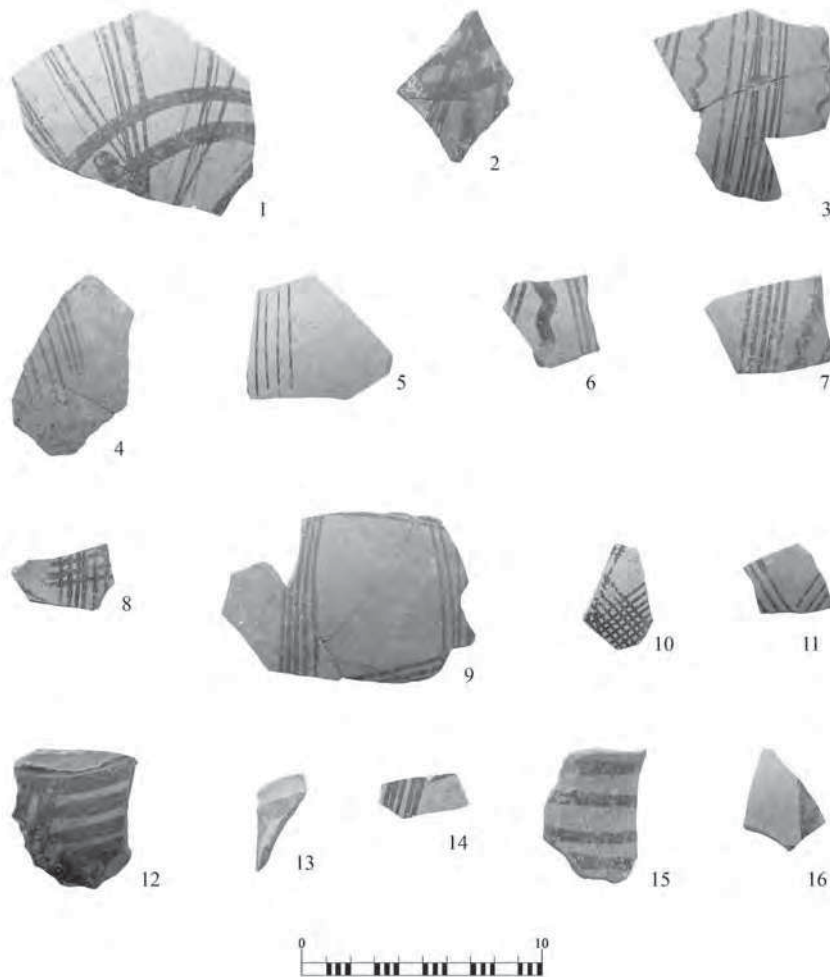


Fig. 3: Cypriot pottery from MB IIA loci

# The Nature of Symbolism in the Prehistoric Art of Anatolia

Jak Yakar<sup>1</sup>

The gradual adoption of cultivation by sedentarized hunter-gatherers provided them with an economic alternative that may have caused a progressive change in their social structure and performance of spiritual activities.<sup>2</sup> Despite the presumed socioeconomic changes, perhaps affecting also the organization of communal rituals of spiritual nature, it is argued here that the cosmic world order envisaged by prehistoric farmers would not have differed fundamentally from that perceived by hunter-gatherers. Animism, which seems to have been the prevailing belief among the sedentary hunter-gatherers, did not disappear entirely with the development of farming. The realms of the 'profane' and 'spiritual' or the 'living' and 'dead' would not have been understood or treated by farmers as two entirely disconnected and unbridgeable realms. This argument presupposes that behind the particular aesthetic effect of their respective art forms lay encoded expressions of ingrained beliefs, including those pertaining to concepts of the supernatural and the cosmos.<sup>3</sup>

It is still not very clear if certain notions concerning the 'supernatural' or 'universe' among the Neolithic farmers deviated significantly from the animistic foundations of hunter-gatherers' spiritualism. A comparative analysis of human and animal representations in the art of sedentary hunter-gatherers of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> millennia BCE, and farmers of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> millennia BCE reveal certain similarities in the spiritual concepts and symbolism of these

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<sup>1</sup> To Professor Eliezer Oren, an experienced, dedicated and admired scholar of East Mediterranean and Biblical Archaeology.

<sup>2</sup> Most settled hunter-gatherers neither cultivated food plants nor tried to domesticate animals, at least not as soon as they settled in permanent villages. While wild grain, almonds, and pistachio were among the plants consumed, wild cattle, gazelle, wild pig, and wild ass were among the animals hunted for their meat (Schmidt 2000a: 47-48). For J. Cauvin's view on the birth of Neolithic religions see his 1994 book.

<sup>3</sup> Clottes and Lewis-Williams argue that the way the shamanic cosmos is conceived is generated by the human nervous system rather than by intellectual speculation or detached observation of the environment (1998: 19). Among the socially less complex shamanistic societies, the cosmos is usually imagined to consist of three realms. These three realms are a) the realm of everyday life; b) a second realm, which lies above; and c) a third realm, which lies below. In such societies, the spirits of a given society and spirit-animals inhabit the realms above and below, respectively. See also Lewis-Williams and Pearce 2005.

two temporally distinct societies. New versions of already existing notions concerning founding ancestors, creation myths, or world order could have been created to further elaborate on the perceived links between mortals and the spirits of ancestors or immortal mythical creatures. As far as the expressions of these notions in art forms are concerned, the problem is how to distinguish between a multitude of encoded messages of spiritual nature and the symbolic expressions of such notions.

Since certain symbolic expressions encountered in the prehistoric art of Anatolia are seldom self-explicating, it is often necessary to refer to ethnographic variables to set the limits of tentative interpretations. The meaning of symbols in the spiritual art of shamanic native groups could go a long way in explaining some of the deep-rooted notions hidden in ornamental schemes based on human and animal figures. However, when it comes to differentiate between a multitude of encoded messages of a spiritual nature and symbolic expressions of simple notions, even ethnographic examples presumed relevant cannot be of much assistance.

The iconographic assemblages of Göbekli Tepe, Nevali Çori, Çatalhöyük East and Köşk Höyük provide material expressions of prevalent spiritual beliefs in the Pre-Pottery and Pottery Neolithic periods.

Göbekli Tepe with its outstanding stone architecture incorporating monumental T-shaped stone pillars is a remarkable Pre-Pottery Neolithic site (Schmidt 2006) (Fig. 1 a). Located on high terrain, the site was undoubtedly a spiritual center of interrelated communities of hunter-gatherers living in the area. The two main architectural layers produced evidence of activities in the consecutive PPNA and PPNB periods. The early layer (III) revealed large curvilinear stone enclosures with sunken floors (Fig. 1 b). The T-shaped ca. 3.5-5 m high stone pillars erected in these megalithic enclosures and arranged symmetrically, resemble abstract human forms (Peters and Schmidt 2004: 208, Figs. 3-5). These surrounded a set of two decorated and more imposing stone pillars, which were carefully shaped. Except for a few enigmatic motifs recalling the so-called pictograms of Jerf el-Ahmar, wild species from the local fauna were depicted in naturalistic style on decorated pillars. The megalithic enclosures of layer III were filled in with soil prior to their disuse (Schmidt 2000a: 46). Such 'ritual burial' of buildings with fixtures of cultic significance is known also at Çayönü, Nevali Çori and Çatalhöyük.<sup>4</sup> In enclosure A (the so-called 'Snake Pillar Building'), one of the decorated pillars (P1) depicts a group of five snakes in addition to a net holding snakes or snake-like figures, and a figure of ram. In the same enclosure

<sup>4</sup> This fill, brought over from a PPNA phase village, probably situated somewhere nearby, contained remains of wild cattle, wild ass, gazelle, and wild pig, but no bones of domesticated animals. As for the flora remains found in the same fill, they consist of wild food plant species such as almond, pistachio, wild grain and pulses. Both faunal and flora records suggest that this sacred site was frequented by hunter-gatherer groups from nearby localities.

a bull, fox, and crane are portrayed on a second pillar with a bucranium sign (Schmidt 1999). In the adjacent enclosure B (Schmidt 2000a: 50, Figs. 4, 7), each of the two central pillars (P 9-10) portrays a fox rendered in relief, while a third pillar (P 6) illustrates the figure of a snake. Enclosure C produced a number of decorated T-shaped pillars (P 11-13) (Schmidt 2000a: 50-51, Fig. 8). On the upper part of one of them (P 12), is a composition of five bird-like figures shown trapped in a net, and the shaft of the pillar decorated with a boar and a fox figures (Schmidt 2000b:13, Fig. 6) (Fig. I c). The fox at Göbekli Tepe appears on some pillars associated with other wild species, sometimes with ox and crane, or ox and snake, or a feline. In this particular enclosure, the wild boar figure appears on six pillars. In addition, the fill of this enclosure yielded three wild boar stone sculptures (Peters and Schmidt 2004: 184, Figs. 13-16). These were probably votive offerings deposited in the fill of the enclosure during the 'ritual burial'. As for bird representations, species such as falcons, eagles, cranes and others figure on some of the pillars (Peters and Schmidt 2004: 207). Crane representations are known at Bouqras in Syria (Clason 1989/1990) and Çatalhöyük in central Anatolia (Mellaart 1967). However, figures of vultures, which are represented later in the wall paintings of Çatalhöyük, do not appear on Göbekli Tepe's stone pillars, although the species is known to have existed in the vicinity according to faunal data. Nevertheless, a stone vulture figurine found buried in the fill of layer II (Peters and Schmidt 2004: 213, Fig. 23, Table 3), could attest to its symbolic importance in the local iconography.

At Göbekli Tepe snakes are often depicted in groups of three, four, or five, or sometimes in groups of 12 and more, and they are arranged in a wave-pattern, which indicates a downward movement. In one particular case (P3), a snake is depicted with two heads; one at each end of the body, and looking in opposite directions (Peters and Schmidt 2004: 183). The repeated occurrence of the snake motif on T-shaped pillars in the layer III enclosures, except in enclosure C, is rather significant. Presupposing its chthonic affiliation, it is tempting to speculate that rituals performed in enclosures A, B and D may have been associated with the 'domain of the dead' or 'underworld'.

Snake figures are also found arranged differently at Nevalı Çori (Hauptmann 1999: Fig. 10), Körtik Tepe (Özkaya and San 2003: Fig. 3; Peters and Schmidt 2004: 214), Jerf el-Ahmar (Cauvin 1997; Stordeur 1999), and Tel Qaramel (Mazurowski and Jamous 2001: Fig. 8). In central Anatolia, this motif resurfaces in the later phases of the Neolithic period (e.g. Çatalhöyük, and Köşk Höyük).

Other animals portrayed in the layer III enclosures at Göbekli Tepe include ungulate species such as gazelle, wild ass, and wild sheep (Peters and Schmidt 2004: 206, Figs. 12, 21). It is important to point out that these species also figure in the Neolithic iconography of central Anatolia.

Layer II cult structures of the PPNB phase at Göbekli Tepe have a different architecture and their pillars are also smaller than those of the earlier layer. The terrazzo floors of these units were not furnished with built-in fire-

places, ovens, or other domestic installations. A lion figure depicted on a T-shaped pillar in the 'Löwenpfeilergebäude' is one of the few examples of decorated pillars from this layer (Fig. I e). Not far from it, a figure of a naked woman carved on a stone-slab was found resting on the floor. Depicted in a sitting position with straddled legs, the figure appears to be menstruating or having a penis inserted into her vagina (Fig. I f).

At Nevali Çori, a temple-like stone building constructed a short distance from the domestic structures in the village went through a cycle of burial and rebuilding, no less than twice during the PPNB occupation (Hauptmann 1999) (Fig. I g-h). Limestone sculptures, mostly found in secondary contexts in this temple-like building, depict figures from the spiritual world of a sedentary hunter-gatherer community experimenting with cultivation.<sup>5</sup> Among the sculptures recovered, some broken, was a centrally placed T-shaped pillar decorated with abstract anthropomorphic features in low relief. An example of this pillar type was reportedly found at Göbekli Tepe. Some limestone fragments meticulously buried in the fill-in of this building apparently belonged to a totem-like sculpted pillar portraying human and bird features (Fig. I i). The symbolism of a bird perched upon the human head could have been of a spiritual nature.<sup>6</sup>

The symbolism of combining figures of humans and birds is wide open to interpretations. The portrayal of a mythical ancestor or a shaman in the process of transforming into a bird could be just two of the possible interpretations.

The rich iconographic repertory of Nevali Çori includes a limestone plaque engraved with human figures jumping in ecstasy, perhaps taking part in ritual dancing, and a limestone bowl decorated with reliefs (Hauptmann 1999: Fig. 16). The latter object portrays two probably masked pregnant humans, flanking a tortoise (Fig. I k). All three figures have raised hands indicating dancing or some other form of rhythmic movement. Although the meaning of this scene is difficult to decipher, the symbolism it portrayed might have been of a transcendental nature.

In the south-central Anatolian plateau, Çatalhöyük East with its rich iconographic repertory is an important source of information that allows limited insights into the spiritual beliefs of Neolithic farmers.<sup>7</sup> The absence of free-standing temple-like large communal buildings at this site could indicate that socioreligious activities with the participation of large congregations perhaps took place in open spaces. One of the numerous goals of the renewed

<sup>5</sup> At Nevali Çori, the late 9<sup>th</sup> and early/mid 8<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE community subsisted on hunting-gathering as well as on some cultivated food plants. Despite the relative abundance of wild food resources, the inhabitants could have started domesticating sheep and goat, or obtained them already in domesticated stage from another source (Hauptmann 1999: 78).

<sup>6</sup> Some bird of prey sculptures in the round could have been fastened into the interior walls (Hauptmann 1999: 76, Figs. 11-15).

<sup>7</sup> See Mellaart 1967; Yakar 1990: 310-336; Hodder 2006.

excavations at Çatalhöyük was to identify and record the repetitive renewal of floor and wall decorations in individual dwellings (Hodder 1999).<sup>8</sup> The significance of such frequent renovations of the house interiors and wall decorations could have been some form of a lifecycle belief. Mellaart's original distinction between domestic units and shrines (1967) has been long challenged by a different proposal. This presumes that the so-called shrines were probably 'memory houses' adorned with some non-domestic features, including wall paintings and molded figures. The painted and sculpted compositions and figures probably had social and spiritual meanings relating to individual family histories (Hodder 2006; Hodder and Cessford 2004). At Çatalhöyük, certain walls decorated with animals in relief (Fig. II g), including those depicted as quadruples with overstretched legs, are rather reminiscent of the much earlier predator representations of Göbekli Tepe. The rich repertory of wall fixtures include plastered heads of cattle, sheep, and goats, beaks of vultures, jaws of foxes and weasels, and tusks of wild boars (Fig. II d). The presence of such wild species rendered in naturalistic style and in various combinations in an era when hunting was no longer the principal source of subsistence is rather remarkable. It proves that the symbolic association of these representations with forces of nature and/or the supernatural as perceived by hunter-gatherers was fixed in the minds of central Anatolian farmers.

Water buffalos, lions, panthers, bears, wild boars, and birds of prey seem to be the principal figures in the iconography of Çatalhöyük. Painted compositions from this village often combine humans with wild animals and are of particular interest (Fig. II b-f). Some of these compositions depict hybrid figures, which combine human legs with the head and body of a vulture (Fig. II d). These figures may represent ancestors or shaman-like figures in the process of transforming into birds of prey by means of magico-ritual acts. Such compositions could provide an important insight into the imagery of prehistoric spiritualism, in this case of the Çatalhöyük farmers. They might reflect a belief in the ability of certain persons endowed with supernatural powers to acquire particular animal affinities, which humans lack.

One of the wall paintings illustrates humans and a variety of animals around a centrally placed but disproportionably large aurochs (Fig. II c). This painting probably portrays mythological animal and human ancestors appearing in spirit forms. Another painted scene illustrates a monster-like kneeling human figure, which faces three much smaller males showing signs of disquiet (Fig. II a). Such compositions, including those portraying dancing hunters experiencing an altered state of consciousness derived from a so-called spirit possession or a spirit loss might have conveyed mythical

<sup>8</sup> Excavators at Çatalhöyük reportedly observed that while in some buildings the usually littered living space was kept purposely clean following one of the periodic floor renewals, in others the transformation occurred in the opposite direction, in other words from 'clean' to 'dirty' floors (Boivin 2000: 384).



accounts involving distant ancestors or creation stories (Fig. II b). In addition to illustrations of ritual practitioners in action, some painted compositions perhaps depict magico-ritual acts of transforming an invisible spirit or an incomprehensible affliction into a comprehensible animal or human.<sup>9</sup> In other words, such painted compositions may reflect the existence of a perception among the Neolithic farmers of central Anatolia that invisible forces of nature presumed responsible for fateful events, if transformed into mentally manageable human and animal forms, would enable communication with them. It is rather obvious that the figurative and abstract art forms of Neolithic farmers reflect a thematic continuity pointing to the survival of certain spiritual concepts developed by hunter-gatherers. The latter also must have believed in a universe inhabited both by living creatures of nature and powerful spirits. These spirits would have included the spirits of their ancestors, mythical creatures, and supernatural forces that were believed to control the fate of the hunter-gatherers. On the basis of some published ethnographic records, it is possible to hypothesize that prehistoric shamanic groups also could have believed that the potency of a powerful animal could be drawn from its blood. Among the African San shamans this 'potency' was first transferred to antelope paintings drawn with a pigment mixed with the hunted animal's blood. Shamans considered such paintings not only sources of 'potency' transferred to them during a trance dance but also gateways into a 'spirit world'.<sup>10</sup>

The iconographic repertory of Neolithic Anatolia is also very rich in stone and clay figurines, which depict numerous fertility aspects of women. A clay figurine recently recovered in the fill of a burnt house at Çatalhöyük is quite remarkable because so far it is unlike anything known.<sup>11</sup> The front part of this figurine depicts a pregnant woman, while her back is shaped like a skeleton with clearly emphasized ribs, vertebrae, scapulae and the pelvic bones. This figurine strengthens the conviction that the Neolithic farmers of Anatolia believed in a life cycle of birth, death and rebirth, not only for plants, but also for humans. In fact, it corroborates Mellaart's original view that certain figurative wall compositions associated with forces of nature in combination with breast-like wall-fixtures incorporating the lower jaws of wild boar or beaks of vulture might have symbolized the perpetual lifecycle.

<sup>9</sup> Clottes and Lewis-Williams believe that "recent neuropsychological research on altered states of consciousness provides the principal access that we have to the mental and religious life of the people who lived in western Europe during the Upper Paleolithic, for they too were *Homo sapiens sapiens* and, we may confidently assume, they had the same nervous system as all people today" (1998: 12-13).

<sup>10</sup> Mentally in a state of trance caused by his rhythmic dance, the shaman could have imagined himself mingled with animated forms and entering the domain of spirits. South African San rock images depict shamans turned into antelopes (Clottes and Lewis-Williams 1998: 17, Fig. 10).

<sup>11</sup> See E2815 in [www.catalhöyük:figurines.stanford.edu](http://www.catalhöyük:figurines.stanford.edu).



At Köşk Höyük (Öztan 2002), the 6<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE village did not yet reveal sacred compounds or shrines. Nevertheless, some houses produced an impressive repertory of anthropomorphic vessels, female figurines, ceramic vessels decorated with bucrania, and animal and human figures (Fig. II k-p). These vessels clearly demonstrate the continued use of a broad range of symbols in warding off evil spirits and ensuring fecundity and abundance, and so on. However, by the mid or late 6<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE, they were no longer rendered on walls, but applied in relief on domestic vessels.

Based on the archaeological evidence just presented, which does not represent the complete range of archaeological data from the principal sites referred to above, one can provisionally conclude that:

Göbekli Tepe, the most prominent hilltop sanctuary with megalithic features excavated so far in the Urfa province was constructed in the relatively early phase of the PPNA, and remained in use undergoing substantial architectural modifications in the PPNB. A small and isolated band of hunter-gatherers living in a nearby village could not have constructed the PPNA sanctuary on their own. To build, rebuild and maintain the megalithic compounds would have required a certain level of social organization, specialization, and intergroup coordination. Such sites were probably sacral venues used to perform communal rituals of a socioreligious nature. These could have included rituals for the commemoration of ancestors or communion with the dead and so on. Moreover, the celebration of certain social events could have taken place in such venues. One may postulate that these could have included events devised to strengthen social bonds, or celebrate gender and age initiations, marriages, and other socioeconomic occasions. Such communally celebrated celebrations would have resulted in the acquisition of a larger group identity with a common values and beliefs.

The decorated enclosures with sunken floors perhaps symbolized the openings or passages to the realm of mythical ancestors, immortal forces of nature, and the like. If so, one could hypothesize that the freestanding T-shaped stone pillars in the Göbekli Tepe enclosures could have represented mythical founders of the community/tribe/people in question. As for the animal figures portrayed on some of these pillars, they may have symbolized particular affinities of deified forces of nature or mythical ancestors. These stone pillars could have served as media for the manifestation of ancestors' spirits and/or supernatural forces in nature. It is possible to speculate that shaman-like ritual practitioners could have called upon these 'spirits', who were believed to inhabit the domains below and above the world of the living. Indeed, the decorated stone pillars could have served a purpose similar to that of totems in some shamanic societies.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The word *totem* comes from a North-American Indian language, but it has been widely used to refer to animal or plant species and occasionally other things which are held in special regard by particular groups in a society. Among the Bantu peoples, totem is a little

The fact that sculptures of humans and animals, including those depicted on the T-shaped pillars, are mostly males (Peters and Schmidt 2004: 183-184, Table 2; 214), could suggest that hunter and gatherers initially associated fertility with the physical strength and virility of males and not with female attributes of reproduction. Predators, which symbolize ferociousness and untamed power, constituted attributes assigned to male ancestors and/or supernatural forces. Later, the Neolithic farmers seem to have assigned such attributes also to female personifications of nature's life cycle.

The persistence of the snake and bird motifs in the art of the Neolithic farmers of Anatolia could suggest that they too, like their predecessors, believed in some sort of a compartmental universe. The ethnography of shamanism indicates that in prehistoric communities too, snakes and certain birds of prey could have been perceived as agents of communication between the separate cosmic domains of the dead, legendary ancestors and supernatural beings. The snake could have represented a number of things, perhaps ranging from the manifestation of a particular chthonic force or spirit to the role of an intermediary capable of linking the domains of the living and the dead. Birds of prey, such as those painted on walls (e.g. Çatalhöyük East), on the other hand provided the link to the realm of the divine beings. One cannot rule out the possibility that sometimes they depicted the feeling of flight experienced by a shaman during a ritual performance in a state of self-induced trance.<sup>13</sup>

The symbolic nature of animal, human, and abstract forms in the prehistoric art of Anatolia could support the view that animism was at the core of the religious beliefs.

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more than a clan symbol or emblem; it is imbued with magical power capable to injure members of the totemic group who abuse it.

<sup>13</sup> For the Buryat of Siberia, for instance, the eagle is the prototype of the shaman (Clottes and Lewis-Williams 1998: 26).

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Fig. I c) Göbekli Tepe: decorated pillar from III C structure (after Peters and Schmidt 2004)



Fig. I d) Göbekli Tepe: III A structure with decorated pillars (after Peters and Schmidt 2004)



Fig. I e) Göbekli Tepe: pillar decorated with a lion figure from layer II "Löwenpfeilergebäude" (after Peters and Schmidt 2004)



Fig. I f) Göbekli Tepe: a naked woman figure carved on as tone slab from layer II "Löwenpfeilergebäude" (after Peters and Schmidt 2004)





Fig. I g) Nevalı Çori: cult building III (after Hauptmann 1999)

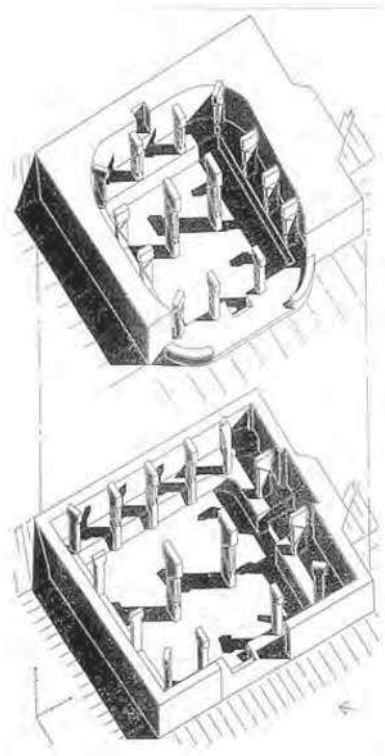


Fig. I h) Nevalı Çori: sequence of cult buildings III and II (bottom) (after Hauptmann 1999)

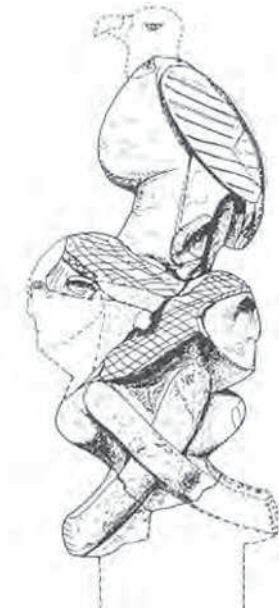


Fig. I j) Nevalı Çori: limestone pillar with a depiction of a stylized anthropomorphic figure (after Hauptmann 1999)



Fig. I i) Nevalı Çori: limestone composite figure fragment from the top of a totem-like sculpted pillar (after Hauptmann 1999)



Fig. I k) Nevalı Çori: limestone bowl depicting figures in motion (after Hauptmann 1999)





Fig. II a) Çatalhöyük East: a wall-painting depicting a kneeling human figure facing five smaller prostrating figures (after Mellaart 1967)



Fig. II b) Çatalhöyük: a wall-painting of dancing hunter figures (after Mellaart 1967)



Fig. II c) Çatalhöyük: a wall painting depicting an oversize aurochs surrounded by hunters (after Mellaart 1967; Yakar 1991)

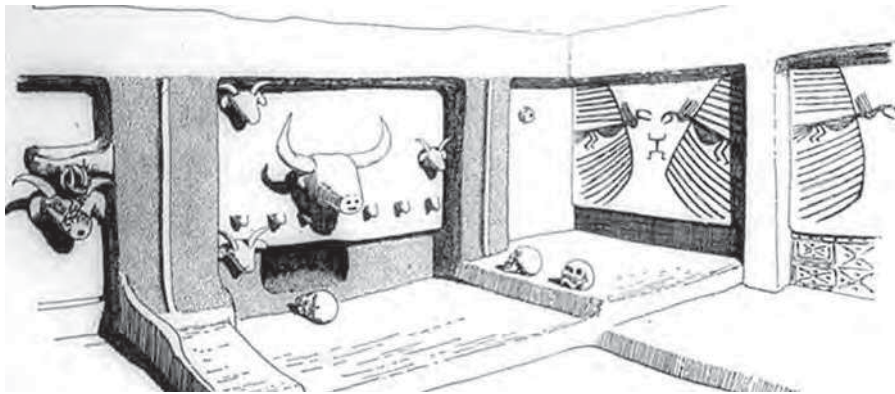


Fig. II d) Çatalhöyük: walls decorated with a painted composition depicting vultures and a human corpse, and plastered animal skulls affixed above a niche (after Mellaart 1967; Yakar 1991)

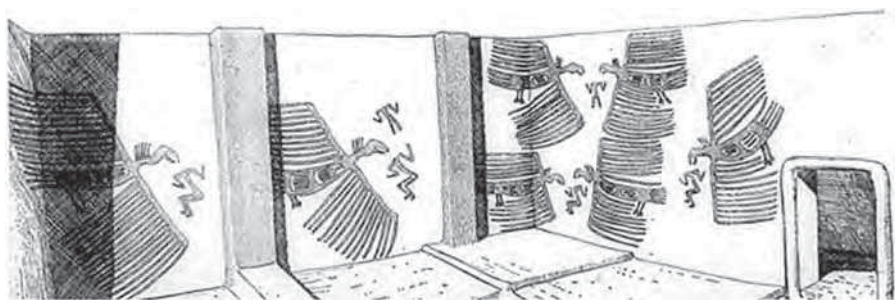


Fig. II e) Çatalhöyük: a wall-painting depicting vultures and human corpses (after Mellaart 1967; Yakar 1991)



Fig. II f) Çatalhöyük: wall-painting depicting onagers and large birds (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara)



Fig. II g) Çatalhöyük: a high-relief figure of a human (?) (Yakar 1991)





Fig. II h) Çatalhöyük East: unbaked clay seals or amulets from the upper levels (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara)



Fig. II i) Çatalhöyük: a goddess-like voluptuous figurine seated between two felines (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara)



Fig. II j) Çatalhöyük: the back and front of a female figurine perhaps depicting the life-cycle (?) (after [www.catalhöyük.com](http://www.catalhöyük.com))



Fig. II k) Köşk Höyük: fragment of a ceramic vessel decorated with an ox in relief (Öztan 2002)



Fig. II l) Köşk Höyük: fragment of a ceramic vessel decorated with a horned animal in relief (after Öztan 2002)



Fig. II m) Köşk Höyük: a clay figurine (after Öztan 2002)



Fig. II n) Köşk Höyük: relief decorated hole-mouth jar (after Öztan 2002)

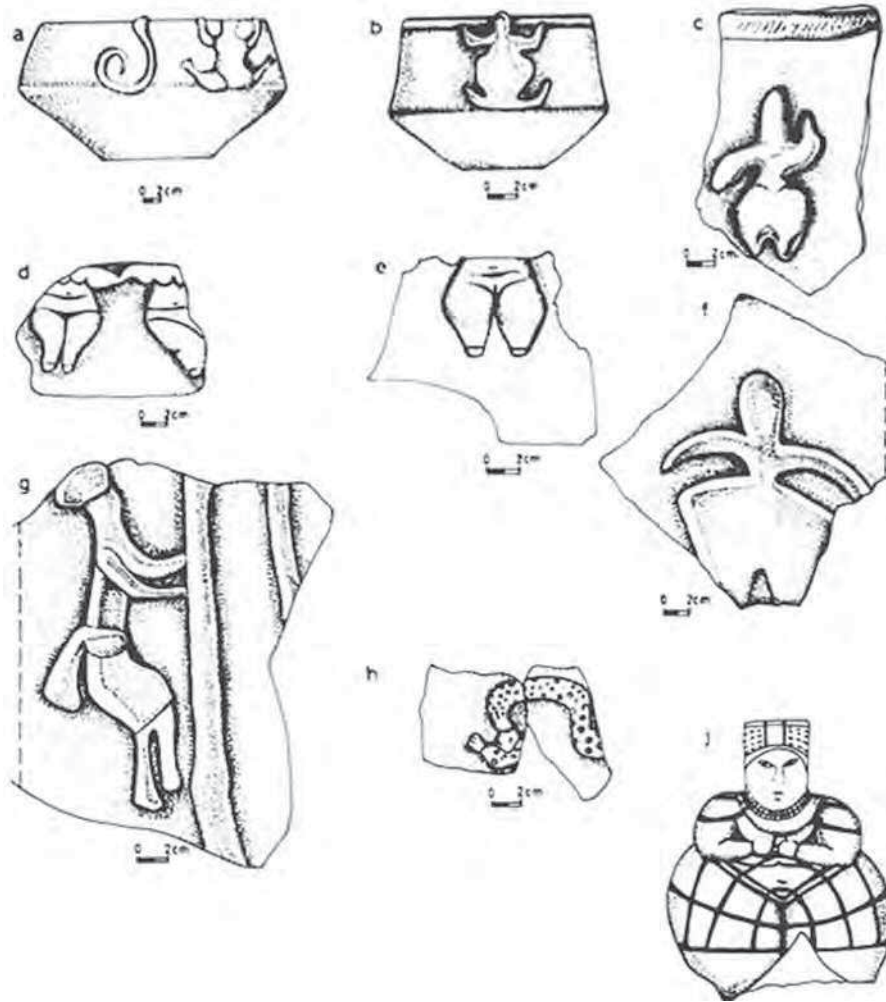


Fig. II o) Köşk Höyük: decorated vessels (Yakar 1994)





Fig. II p) Köşk Höyük: fragment of a ceramic vessel decorated with a female figure in relief (after Öztan 2002)



# Hungersnöte in der südlichen Levante vom 14. Jh. v. Chr. bis zum 1. Jh. n. Chr.

Wolfgang Zwickel

Die Paläoklimaforschung hat in den letzten Jahren erstaunliche Ergebnisse bezüglich des Klimawandels in der südlichen Levante hervorgebracht. Während zunächst rein naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen durchgeführt wurden, um die Klimaentwicklung in der Vergangenheit nachzeichnen zu können, wurden in der Folgezeit auch archäologische Fakten mit herangezogen, um die Verbindung von Klimaentwicklung und Siedlungsentwicklung aufzuzeigen.<sup>1</sup> In vielen Fällen helfen aber auch Texte weiter, um naturwissenschaftliche oder archäologische Befunde, die möglicherweise mit Hungersnöten verbunden werden können, besser einzuordnen zu können. Bedingung ist allerdings, dass die Texte historisch zuverlässig und zeitlich einigermaßen exakt datierbar sind. Bemerkenswerterweise gibt es bislang offenbar keine einzige exegetische bzw. historische Untersuchung zum Thema „Hungersnot“ (und damit Klimawandel) in vorchristlichen Texten der südlichen Levante, obwohl gerade in diesem Bereich einige gut datierbare Texte vorliegen.<sup>2</sup>

## *1. Methodische Vorüberlegungen*

Die Datierung naturwissenschaftlicher Befunde ist in der Regel auf C14-Analysen angewiesen, die eine gewisse Ungenauigkeit aufweisen.<sup>3</sup> Die Ungenauigkeit steigt wegen des sog. Reservoir-Effektes erheblich an, wenn es sich um C14-Analysen handelt, die an Proben genommen wurden, die sich im Wasser befanden. Texte können, müssen aber nicht, dieses Manko überwinden, wenn sie sehr genau zeitlich festgelegt und mit naturwissenschaftlichen Sachverhalten zweifelsfrei verbunden werden können. Allerdings ist es hierzu nötig, dass die Texte in einer großen zeitlichen Nähe zu den berichteten Ereignissen abgefasst wurden. Für den Bereich der südlichen

<sup>1</sup> Allein in den letzten drei Jahren erschienen drei einschlägige Monographien: Issar/Zohar 2004; Neumann 2005; Migowski 2004. Vgl. zusammenfassend auch Zwickel 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Eine, in manchen Punkten aber recht unkritische Analyse bietet Shea 1992: 770-772. Zur Literatur vgl. ansonsten Seidl 1993: 555f. Einige wichtige Angaben für die Spätzeit finden sich in dem Band von Pastor 1997. Nicht zur Verfügung stand mir die auf Neugriechisch verfasste Arbeit von Simotas 1965. Für Hungersnöte in Ägypten existiert eine entsprechende, wenn auch inzwischen teilweise veraltete Untersuchung: Vandier 1936.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. hierzu neuerdings Levy/Higham 2005.

Levante sind wir hinsichtlich der schriftlichen Überlieferung noch immer fast ausschließlich auf biblische Texte angewiesen. Die außerbiblische Textüberlieferung ist, von einigen ägyptischen Texten aus dem späten 13. Jh. v. Chr. einmal abgesehen, äußerst gering. Exegetische Untersuchungen der vergangenen gut 100 Jahre haben deutlich aufgezeigt, dass biblische Texte nicht ohne weiteres für die Rekonstruktion einer Geschichte des Landes herangezogen werden dürfen. Vielfach wurden die Texte in einem großen zeitlichen Abstand zu den Ereignissen abgefasst und sind nicht für die berichtete Zeit, sondern allenfalls für die Abfassungszeit der Texte historisch auswertbar. Dies erfordert jeweils genaue exegetische Analysen, ob die jeweiligen Texte zeitnah zu den berichteten Ereignissen abgefasst wurden oder zumindest glaubwürdige Informationen aus der Zeit der berichteten Ereignisse bewahrt haben. Als historisch glaubwürdig kann auf jeden Fall – trotz der vielfältigen Versuche, biblische Texte allenfalls in das 8. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren – eine Hungersnot gelten, wenn sie in mehreren zeitnah zu den Ereignissen verfassten Texten, die von einander literarisch unabhängig sind, erwähnt wird. Den gleichen Anspruch muss man auch an außerbiblische Texte stellen, wenn sie nicht deutlich zeitnah zu den berichteten Ereignissen abgefasst wurden oder sich eindeutig auf ein bestimmtes historisches Ereignis beziehen.

Weiterhin muss man bei den biblischen (und außerbiblischen) Texten zwischen fünf Arten von Hungersnöten unterscheiden, wobei für die weitere Untersuchung nur die erste Gruppe von Interesse ist:

- a) Hungersnöte auf Grund von Veränderungen der natürlichen Rahmenbedingungen, insbesondere Klimaschwankungen, die dann jeweils auch eine größere Region betreffen
- b) Hungersnöte durch Naturkatastrophen wie den Einfall von Heuschrecken (vgl. bes. Joel 1) oder aber Hagelschlag, wobei in einer bestimmten Region die Ernte ganz oder teilweise vernichtet wird
- c) Hungersnöte in einer Stadt, bedingt durch Aushungern der Stadt durch Feinde
- d) Hunger durch allmähliche Verelendung sozialer Schichten, wobei diese Hungersnot nicht allgemeine natürliche Voraussetzungen hat, sondern durch eine ungerechte Verteilung der Ressourcen bedingt ist
- e) Hunger durch besondere Rahmenbedingungen wie Flucht etc. Generell kann man in Palästina von einer Hungersnot wohl erst sprechen, wenn über mehrere Jahre hinweg die Niederschläge so gering sind, dass eine ausreichende Versorgung der Menschen mit Nahrungsmitteln nicht mehr gewährleistet ist. Kürzere Rückgänge der Niederschlagsmengen wird es in der Vergangenheit ebenso gegeben haben wie im 20. Jh. n. Chr. Das Land war während des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. nicht zu dicht besiedelt, so dass man selbst in niederschlagsarmen Jahren noch immer als Sammler und Jäger etwas Nahrung finden konnte. Zudem gab es in den Städten teilweise Vorratslager und Silos, auf die zurückgegriffen werden konnte. Gerade in der Königszeit mit den typischen Vierraumhäusern gehörten zur Ernährung

neben dem Hauptnahrungsmittel Getreide auch tierische Produkte wie Milch, Joghurt und Butter. Blieben allerdings über mehrere Jahre die Niederschläge aus, so war das Überleben der Menschen sehr gefährdet. Waren selbst die Rücklagen und auch das Saatgut für das nächste Jahr aufgebraucht, blieben den Menschen damals eigentlich nur zwei Möglichkeiten, das Überleben zu sichern: Entweder sie begaben sich bei den wenigen Vermögenden in Schuldklaverei, oder aber sie verließen das Land und suchten sich eine neue Heimat, die bessere landwirtschaftliche Erträge und damit ein ausreichendes Auskommen sicherstellte.

## *2. Die Hungersnot im ausgehenden 14. Jh. v. Chr.*

Im ersten Grab des späteren Pharao Haremhab, das er sich in etwa zur Zeit des Pharaos Tutanchamun (1332-1323 v. Chr.) hat errichten lassen, findet sich ein eindrucksvolles Kalksteinrelief mit ausgemergelten Schasu-Nomaden, die in Ägypten Asyl suchen. In dem beigelegten Text heißt es:

Text A: ... ewige Fremdlinge, die nicht wissen, (wie) sie leben können, gekommen sind aus ... ihre Länder sind ausgehungert und sie lebten wie Wüstentiere ...<sup>4</sup>

Solche Schasu-Nomaden stammen aus dem Süden Palästinas (Sinaihalbinsel) oder dem heutigen Jordanien. Nun hat dieser Text sicherlich ein Stück weit Propagandacharakter: Er will deutlich machen, dass die Schasu-Nomaden zivilisationsfremde und von jeder Kultur abgeschiedene Menschen sind. Trotzdem dürfte hinter diesem Text ein wahres Ereignis stehen, denn nur so ist es verständlich, dass sich derartige Szenen in einem Grab finden. Schon in jener Zeit, also grob zu Beginn des letzten Drittels des 14. Jh. v. Chr., scheint es dramatische klimatische Veränderungen gegeben zu haben, die dazu führten, dass Nomaden aus Palästina Asyl und Lebensunterhalt in Ägypten suchten. Für die Nomaden bedeutete dies eine Aufgabe ihrer traditionellen Lebensweise und die Hinwendung zu einem sesshaften Lebensstil, was sicherlich nur in ausgesprochenen Krisensituationen vorkam. Aus diesem Grund kann man mit gutem Recht annehmen, dass es in der Zeit zwischen 1332 und 1323 v. Chr. eine erhebliche Hungersnot in Palästina gab.

## *3. Hungersnöte im ausgehenden 13. Jh. v. Chr.*

Eine erste Hungersnot im 13. Jh. v. Chr. können wir möglicherweise durch einen Text erschließen, der in Aphek im heutigen Israel gefunden wurde.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Übersetzung nach Staubli 1991: 46.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. allgemein zu den Grabungen in Aphek Kokhavi 1990, speziell zu dem Brief Owen 1981; Singer 1983 sowie zu dem in dem Brief erwähnten Takuhlinu zuletzt ausführlicher van Soldt 2001: 588-590.

Diesen Brief schrieb Takuhlinu, Präfekt in Ugarit, an einen hohen ägyptischen Beamten namens Haya. Inhaltlich geht es um eine Lieferung von 250 Parisu Weizen, was ungefähr 12.500 l entspricht. Angesichts der großen Menge kann es sich um eine Lieferung von Weizen handeln, die im Zusammenhang mit einer Hungersnot stand. Dieser Schluss ist gut möglich, aber nicht zwingend. Eine Familie benötigte am Tag etwa 2 kg Getreide für ihre Ernährung. Die hier gelieferte Menge Weizen genügte daher, um etwa 17 Familien ein Jahr lang zu ernähren.

Für eine zweite, wohl weitaus gravierendere Hungersnot im selben Jahrhundert besitzen wir sehr genau datierte außerbiblische Texte, aber möglicherweise auch einen umfangreichen biblischen Traditionsstrom.

Zunächst einmal muss hier auf die sog. Israel-Stele des Pharoas Merenptah (TUAT I: 544-552) hingewiesen werden. Merenptah regierte nach der derzeit wahrscheinlichsten Chronologie – andere Ansätze weichen nur wenige Jahre ab und sind für unsere Thematik weitgehend bedeutungslos – zwischen 1213 und 1204 v. Chr. Die Stele stammt aus dem 5. Regierungsjahr des Pharaos und damit aus dem Jahr 1208 oder 1207 v. Chr. In Z. 27 heißt es:

Askalon ist herbeigeführt,  
Geser ist gepackt,  
Jenoam ist zunichte gemacht,  
Israel ist verwüstet; es hat kein Saatgut.  
[Das Land] Charu [= Syrien/Palästina] ist zur Charet [= Witwe; hier  
liegt ein bewusstes Wortspiel vor] des geliebten Landes [= Ägypten]  
geworden.

Deutlich werden hier die Stationen eines Feldzuges Merenptahs angeführt. Über Askalon an der Südküste Palästinas und Gezer in der Mitte des Landes führt der Feldzug nach Jenoam. Die Lage dieses Ortes ist in der Forschung umstritten. Meines Erachtens muss er auf der westjordanischen Seite zwischen Bet-Schean und Pella gesucht werden. Demnach führte der Feldzug wahrscheinlich, auch wenn Zwischenglieder nicht genannt werden, auf der via maris entlang der Mittelmeerküste bis zum Karmelgebirge, und dann in der Jesreel-Ebene bis zum Jordan. Für die Lage von Israel, das hier nicht nur das erste Mal in historischen Texten genannt wird, sondern auch durch ein Determinativ als Volk charakterisiert wird, hat sich in den letzten Jahren ein Konsens herausgebildet, der allerdings nicht zwingend ist. Die meisten Forscher gehen heute davon aus, dass mit Israel die neu gegründeten Siedlungen im Bergland zwischen Jerusalem und dem Gebirge Gilboas gemeint ist.

Von besonderem Interesse ist nun, dass besagtes Israel kein Saatgut mehr hat. Wenn Israel hier mit offenbar für die Außenpolitik Ägyptens problematischen Orten genannt wird, dann muss es sich um ein politisches Gebilde handeln, das für Ägypten in den vorangehenden Jahren ein Problem darstellte. Während bei Askalon, Geser und Jenoam nur jeweils die Vernichtung der



Stadt, wohl durch die Ägypter, erwähnt wird, gibt es für Israel eine eigene Begründung, warum dieses Volk keinen Fortbestand mehr hat: Es verfügt über keinen Samen mehr. Hinter dieser Äußerung kann man durchaus eine Hungersnot vermuten, die zum Niedergang der Landwirtschaft der Israeliten geführt hat. Somit dürfen wir für diese Zeit annehmen, dass es offenbar wenige Niederschläge gab, wodurch der Lebensunterhalt der Menschen in dieser Zeit stark gefährdet war.

Ein weiterer Text, der sehr genau datierbar ist, ist Papyrus Anastasi VI, 51-61. Es handelt sich hierbei um einen Brief eines Grenzbeamten, in dem er seinem Vorgesetzten von einem Grenzübertritt von Nomaden, die nach Ägypten einwandern, berichtet. In diesem Text heißt es (nach TGF<sup>3</sup>: 40):

(53) ... Eine andere Mitteilung für (54) meinen [Herrn]: Wir sind damit fertig geworden, die Schasu-Stämme von Edom durch die Festung des Merenptah in *Tkw*<sup>6</sup> passieren zu lassen (56) bis zu den Teichen von Pitom des Merenptah in *Tkw*, um sie und ihr Vieh durch den guten Willen des Pharao, der (58) guten Sonne eines jeden Landes, am Leben zu erhalten, im Jahre 8, (am Tage) [der Geburt] des Seth, [während der Zeit der fünf Epagomenen].

Häufig wird der Papyrus in die Zeit Sethos II. datiert, der wiederum wahrscheinlich von 1204-1198 v. Chr. regiert hat. Nun mag der Papyrus selbst und die auf ihm wiedergegebene Schülerabschrift aus der Zeit Sethos II. stammen, der Originaltext, der hier in einer Abschrift wiedergegeben ist, muss aber zweifelsohne älter sein. Die Meldung, die hier weitergeleitet wird, datiert aus dem 8. Regierungsjahr eines Pharaos. Sethos II. hat dagegen wahrscheinlich nur 6 Jahre, nach anderer Meinung sogar nur 4 Jahre regiert (Schneider 1994: 272). Somit muss der Originaltext älter als aus der Regierungszeit von Sethos II. sein. Wahrscheinlich ist an einen Originaltext aus der Zeit Merenptahs (1213-1204 v. Chr.), des unmittelbaren Vorgängers von Sethos II. zu denken. Nur so könnte eine recht unbedeutende Mitteilung als Schülerabschrift auch erhalten geblieben sein, während bei Ramses II., dem Vorgänger von Merenptah, der Text schon rund 70 Jahre alt gewesen wäre. Damit würde der Text aus dem Jahre 1205 v. Chr. stammen – und eine erstaunliche Nähe zu den Angaben der Israelstele aufweisen.

Wieder ist davon die Rede, dass es offensichtlich eine große Hungersnot gab. Nur so ist erklärlich, dass sich Nomaden aus dem südlichen Jordanien – dort muss das antike Edom gesucht werden – aufmachten, um nach Ägypten einzureisen. Nomaden pflegen zwar den Weidewechsel, aber sie bleiben in der Regel in einer überschaubaren Region und weiden ihre Kleintiere auf Feldern, die zu ihrem Einflussbereich gehören. Von Edom bis nach Sukkot/*Tkw* im östlichen Nildelta sind es Luftlinie über 300 km Weg, der durch unsi-

<sup>6</sup> *Tkw* kann wahrscheinlich mit dem biblischen Sukkot gleichgesetzt werden (Ex 12,37; 13,20).

cheres und schwer begehbares Bergland führt. Dass sich Nomaden auf einen so weiten Weg machen und sich zudem freiwillig in die Abhängigkeit eines anderen Volkes begeben, ist nur erklärbar, wenn die Lebensbedingungen für Mensch und Vieh unerträglich geworden sind. In dem Brief des Grenzbeamten heißt es auch ausdrücklich, dass sie einreisen durften, damit Menschen und Tiere am Leben erhalten bleiben können. Wir müssen also davon ausgehen, dass auch dieser Text ein Beleg für einen katastrophalen Höhepunkt einer Hungersnot ist, die es selbst Nomaden nicht mehr ermöglichte, im ansonsten recht niederschlagsreichen Edom mit ihren Tieren überleben zu können.

Dass diese Hungersnot sich nicht nur auf Palästina beschränkte, zeigt die Nachricht, dass Merenptah auch Getreide zum Hetiterreich lieferte, um die dortige Bevölkerung vor dem Verhungern zu retten (Wainwright 1960). Auch die Stadt Ugarit wurde gebeten, Getreide in das Hethiterreich zu liefern (Schaeffer 1968: 722-742). Zum Teil erwähnen die Texte den ugaritischen König Hammurabi II. (1215-1185 v. Chr.) und weisen damit in dieselbe Zeitepoche. Es spricht auch viel dafür, mit dieser überregionalen Hungersnot den Aufbruch der Seevölker aus ihren Heimatländern zu verbinden,<sup>7</sup> der dann schließlich zu einer Ansiedlung der Philister und anderer Seevölkergruppen um 1177 v. Chr. an der palästinischen Küste geführt haben. Zeitlich würde sich dies jedenfalls bestens in ein Gesamtbild integrieren. Der „Feldzug“ der Seevölker vollzog sich nicht mit sehr großer Geschwindigkeit. Die Zerstörung Ugarits, die der Ansiedlung der Philister in der südlichen Küstenebene voranging, wird mit dem Jahr 1192 (Dietrich/Loretz 2003) oder 1185 v. Chr. (z. B. Heltzer 2006: 371) in Verbindung gebracht. Für die rund 700 km von Ugarit bis zum westlichen Nilarm haben sie sich somit mindestens 8 Jahre Zeit gegönnt. Ein Aufbruch der Seevölker aus ihren Heimatländern im Bereich der anatolischen Küste, des Balkans und anderen Regionen des östlichen Mittelmeeres in den Jahren 1208/1200 v. Chr. und damit während der Hungersnot erscheint zumindest vorstellbar. Die zu den Seevölkern zählenden Bevölkerungsgruppen konnten wohl angesichts einer lang andauernden Klimakatastrophe in ihren angestammten Gebieten nicht mehr überleben und suchten neue, sichere Lebensbedingungen.

Um 1208 v. Chr. scheint es demnach eine mehrjährige Hungersnot in der gesamten Levante und auch im östlichen Mittelmeerraum gegeben zu haben. Für eine längere Zeit dürfte es in dieser Großregion keine ausreichenden Niederschläge gegeben zu haben. Diese waren sogar so gering, dass selbst Nomaden nicht mehr im angestammten Siedlungsbereich wohnen konnten.

<sup>7</sup> Redford 1970: 98f. hat die interessante These aufgestellt, die Hungersnot dieser Zeit mit den mythischen Überlieferungen von Atys, Sohn des Manes und Stammvater der Lyder (Herodot I, 96) sowie von Erechtheus (Diodorus I, 29) in Verbindung zu bringen. Nach Herodot dauerte diese Hungersnot 18 Jahre lang. Es scheint nicht ausgeschlossen, dass sich hier wirklich historische Erinnerungen bewahrt haben; allerdings kann dies wegen des mythischen Charakters aber auch nicht bewiesen werden.

Wahrscheinlich – das erfordert noch weitere Untersuchungen – bestanden nur noch solche Siedlungen weiter, die über eine kontinuierliche Wasserversorgung durch nicht versiegende Quellen und über eine Bewässerung der die Ortschaften umgebenden Äcker verfügten.

Eine Anzahl biblischer Texte, die wesentlich später abgefasst wurden, erinnern an eine große Hungersnot in Palästina. All diese Texte finden sich in der Erzväterüberlieferung. Es könnte manches dafür sprechen, diese Texte mit der großen Hungersnot am Ende des 13. Jh. oder aber mit der des ausgehenden 14. Jh. zu verbinden, doch lässt sich dies nicht eindeutig belegen.

Zunächst einmal ist die Hungersnot in Gen 12,10 zu erwähnen, die Abram/Abraham dazu verleitete, nach Ägypten zu ziehen, um dort eine Sicherung der Existenz zu suchen. Abraham historisch einzuordnen, fällt inzwischen sehr schwer. Früher dachte man daran, dass der historische Abraham der großen Wanderbewegung zuzuordnen sei, die im 18. Jh. v. Chr. stattfand. Inzwischen ist die These einer solchen Wanderung, bei der große Bevölkerungsgruppen von Norden und Osten nach Palästina kamen, aufgegeben worden. Am ehesten ist daran zu denken, dass die sog. Erzväter typische Repräsentanten derjenigen Gruppierungen sind, die in der ausgehenden Spätbronzezeit und in der frühen Eisenzeit in wenig besiedelten Gebieten nomadisierten. Beweisen lässt sich dies jedoch nicht, da die Erzvätererzählungen auffallend unkonkret sind und daher verschiedenen Epochen zugewiesen werden können.

Gleiches gilt für die Hungersnot aus der Zeit Isaaks (Gen 26,1). Gen 26,1b ist durch den Verweis auf Gen 12,10 eindeutig eine redaktionelle Ergänzung, die ein Nacheinander der Erzväterüberlieferung betont. Dieses Nacheinander ist jedoch nicht historisch, sondern erst das Werk der biblischen Redaktoren. Daher könnte Gen 26,1a eine Erinnerung an die selbe Hungersnot wie Gen 12,10 darstellen.

Eine zentrale Rolle spielt die Hungersnot schließlich in der Josephsgeschichte (Gen 41,27.30.31.36.50.54.55.56.57; 42,5.19; 43,1; 45,6.11; 47,4.13.20). Josephs Traumdeutung mit den sieben fetten und den sieben mageren Jahren ist dabei keineswegs vollständig historisch zu betrachten. Das Nacheinander von jeweils sieben Jahren ist weisheitlich geprägt. Trotzdem dürfte hinter der Erzählung, deren älteste Partien allenfalls aus dem 10. Jh. stammen dürften, die Erfahrung einer Hungersnot stehen, die zumindest die Levante erfasst hat. Ob die Hungersnot wirklich auch Ägypten betraf, ist eher unwahrscheinlich. Es dürfte sich hier um ein literarisches Motiv handeln, das sich nicht an den realen geographischen Bedingungen orientiert, sondern eine traditionelle Überlieferung aufnimmt und ausbaut. Die Levante ist von den Niederschlägen abhängig, die die vom Mittelmeer her kommenden Regenwolken mit sich bringen, während in Ägypten vom Regen im zentralafrikanischen Hochland und von den jährlichen Nilüberschwemmungen lebt. Daher war Ägypten für die Bewohner der Levante immer ein wichtiger Rückzugsort in Zeiten großer Hungersnöte, weil dort selbst in extrem regenarmen Jahren das Nilwasser das Land ausreichend überschwemmen und damit den Lebensun-

terhalt der Bevölkerung sichern konnte. Letztlich könnte die Erzählung die historische Erinnerung festhalten, dass in einer Zeit extremer Hungersnot in der Levante, vielleicht derselben wie in Gen 12,10 und 26,1 erwähnten, die Bewohner der Levante sich Nahrung aus Ägypten holten. Dieses Ereignis bildete dann den historischen Kern einer romantischen Geschichte, in der ein verstoßener Sohn Karriere am ägyptischen Hof gemacht hat und seine Brüder schließlich vor dem sicheren Hungertod bewahrte. Die Hungersnot ist so allenfalls der historische Kern einer ansonsten rein fiktiven Erzählung aus späterer Zeit.

Eine interessante und für die historische Verankerung wichtige Notiz findet sich in Gen 47,4. Die Hungersnot aus der Zeit Josephs war mittlerweile in Palästina so drückend geworden, dass dessen Bewohner ihre Heimat verlassen und sich in Ägypten niederlassen wollen. Konkret wird hier das Land Gosen genannt, der westliche Teil des Nildeltas. In dem Land Gosen liegt auch die Ortschaft Sukkot, in die sich die in Papyrus Anastasi VI erwähnten edomitischen Nomaden zurückzogen. Vermutlich scheint es in diesem Gebiet eine größere Ansiedlung palästinischer Flüchtlinge gegeben zu haben, die wegen der katastrophalen Ernährungslage in der Levante hier eine Lebenssicherung auf den Bauplätzen der Region suchten.

#### *4. Hungersnot zur Zeit Davids*

In 2 Sam 21,1 wird eine Hungersnot zur Zeit Davids (ca. 1004-965 v. Chr.) berichtet, die drei Jahre lang dauerte. Solche Hungersnöte kamen in Israel immer wieder vor und sind nichts Besonderes. Auch neuere Aufzeichnungen von Niederschlägen zeigen für einige wenige Jahre immer wieder starke Rückgänge auf. Selbst wenn die Niederschläge über eine begrenzte Zeit hinweg geringer ausfallen, so dass die Ernte kleiner wird, konnten in der Regel solche Hungersnöte aber ganz gut bewältigt werden, ohne dass es eine große wirtschaftliche Krise gab. Erst wenn die Hungersnöte länger anhielten, war der Bestand der Familien bedroht. Wie nachhaltig die Hungersnot in der Zeit Davids war, lässt sich exegetisch nicht mehr eruieren. Zudem wird sie ansonsten nicht weiter erwähnt, so dass die Historizität der Nachricht schwer zu überprüfen ist.

#### *5. Hungersnot im 2. Viertel des 9. Jh. v. Chr.*

In 1 Kön 18,2 (vgl. Sir 48,2) wird eine große Hungersnot in Samaria zur Zeit Elias und Ahabs (871-852 v. Chr.) berichtet. Diese Angabe dürfte durchaus vertrauenswürdig sein, zumal sich damit die ganze Lebensgeschichte des Elia verbindet. Ohne ein solches Ereignis, das sich im Gedächtnis der Menschen niedergeschlagen hat, hätte man wohl nicht diesen Sachverhalt überliefern können. Bemerkenswert ist die Angabe, dass es eine Hungersnot in Samaria gegeben hat. Soll damit ausgedrückt werden, dass sich die Hun-

gersnot auf dieses Gebiet beschränkte und z. B. in Juda oder im Ostjordanland ausreichende Niederschläge vorhanden waren?

Die in 2 Kön 4,38 erwähnte Hungersnot im ganzen Land zur Zeit des Elisa könnte sich auf die selbe Hungersnot beziehen wie die in 1 Kön 18,2 erwähnte und diese damit als historisches Ereignis absichern.

In 2 Kön 8,1 wird eine siebenjährige Hungersnot zur Zeit des Elisa angekündigt. Vermutlich handelt es sich um dieselbe Hungersnot wie in 1 Kön 18,2 und 2 Kön 4,38. Die siebenjährige Dauer der Hungersnot ist wohl nicht als exakte historische Angabe, sondern als ein stilistisches Element zu verstehen. Das hebräische Wort „sieben“ steht gleichzeitig auch für „Fülle“ und „Vollkommenheit“. Eine siebenjährige Hungersnot ist daher symbolisch eine umfassende, die Existenz der Menschen bedrohende Hungersnot, die mehrere Jahre, aber nicht unbedingt exakt sieben Jahre gedauert hat.

Die Hungersnot in der 2. Hälfte des 9. Jh. v. Chr. scheint zwar für die Menschen durchaus bedeutsam und nachhaltig gewesen zu sein, dürfte sich aber auf einige wenige Jahre beschränkt haben. Hinsichtlich der Siedlungsgeschichte ist an Hand der bisherigen Surveyergebnisse kein signifikanter Abbruch von Siedlungen zu beobachten, so dass man annehmen kann, dass es den damaligen Menschen gelungen ist, die Dürrezeit zu überleben und mit geringeren Erträgen im Land zu überleben.

#### *6. Hungersnot im späten 6. Jh. v. Chr.*

In Hag 1,6.10f.; 2,16 wird das nächste Mal auf schlechte Ernten verwiesen. Ausdrücklich ist von einer Dürre die Rede, die nach Haggais Ansicht auf Jahwe zurückzuführen ist, der damit endlich den Tempelwiederaufbau provozieren will (Hag 1,10f.). Sach 8,12 dürfte auf das Ende der Hungersnot hinweisen. Damit hätten wir eine Hungersnot unmittelbar um 520 v. Chr. Diese Hungersnot scheint die Menschen damals zwar schwer getroffen zu haben, aber zeitlich begrenzt gewesen zu sein. Sicherlich wurden die Schwierigkeiten auch dadurch mit hervorgerufen, dass die – zwar recht kleine, aber im Vergleich zu den ortsansässig gebliebenen Menschen doch relativ relevante – Rückkehrerschaft über keine Vorräte verfügten, die kurzfristige Hungersnöte hätten überwinden helfen können.

#### *7. Hungersnot im 5. Jh. v. Chr.*

Eine weitere Hungersnot, die durch Klimaschwankungen hervorgerufen wurde, lässt sich für das 5. Jh. v. Chr. textlich nachweisen. In Neh 5,3 wird eine solche Hungersnot berichtet, die offenbar dazu führte, dass die Lebensbedingungen der Menschen in Juda katastrophal wurden (Neh 5,4f.). Mit Hilfe politischer Reformmaßnahmen und einer Grundbesitzreform versuchte Nehemia, den Menschen wieder sichere Rahmenbedingungen für ihr Leben zu geben.

Meist wird heute davon ausgegangen, dass die Mission Nehemias 445 v. Chr. begann. Wir haben damit in der Zeit um 445 v. Chr. von einer Hungersnot in Juda auszugehen.

Mit dieser Hungersnot kann möglicherweise noch eine weitere biblische Erzählung verbunden werden. Das Rutbuch (Rut 1,1) setzt eine große Hungersnot für den Erzählungsablauf voraus. In der heutigen Gestalt wird die Hungersnot in die Richterzeit datiert, doch ist inzwischen weitgehend zweifelsfrei nachgewiesen, dass das Rutbuch aus der nachexilischen Zeit stammt. Daher dürfte die konkrete Vorstellung der dort angesprochenen Hungersnot auch in der nachexilischen Zeit zu suchen sein. Auch wenn noch immer kein völliger Konsens erreicht ist, setzen die meisten Forscher die Abfassung des Rutbuches in die zweite Hälfte des 5. Jh. oder in die erste Hälfte des 4. Jh. v. Chr. an. Von daher bietet es sich an, an eben jene Hungersnot zu denken, die in der Mitte des 5. Jh. zur Zeit Nehemias stattfand.<sup>8</sup>

#### *8. Hungersnot im 2. Jh. v. Chr.*

Die nächste Hungersnot wird in 1 Makk 9,24 (vgl. – allerdings ohne weitere Informationen – Ant. XIII,2f.) erwähnt (vgl. Pastor 1997: 55-62). Es heißt ausdrücklich, dass es sich um eine "furchtbare" Hungersnot gehandelt habe. Sie wird zeitlich mit der Wahl Jonatans zum Anführer Israels verbunden, die 160 v. Chr. stattfand. Leider gibt es keine weitere historische Nachricht über diese Hungersnot, so dass die Historizität der Überlieferung nicht sicher nachgewiesen werden kann. Sie scheint auch keine gravierenden Folgen für den Siedlungsbestand im Lande gehabt zu haben.

#### *9. Hungersnot im Jahre 25 v. Chr.*

Der jüdische Historiker Josephus berichtet von einer Hungersnot im 13. Regierungsjahr Herodes d. Gr. (37-4 v. Chr.), also im Jahr 25 v. Chr. (JosAnt XV,299-316; vgl. Pastor 1997: 115-127). In dem Text heißt es:

Zunächst entstand eine anhaltende Dürre, sodass das Land unfruchtbar wurde und noch nicht einmal diejenigen Früchte trug, die es von selbst hervorzubringen pflegte (XV,300).

Die Notzeit hatte dann auch Seuchen zur Folge. Herodes nützte diese Notsituation, um mit seinen Mitteln aus Ägypten Getreide zu beschaffen und damit sein Image bei der Bevölkerung zu verbessern. Allerdings scheint es sich um eine einjährige und damit zeitlich sehr begrenzte Hungersnot gehandelt zu haben. Es ist anzunehmen, dass Josephus hier auf durchaus zuverlässige Quellen zurückgreifen konnte.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. Zwickel 2003 mit einigen Beobachtungen zur historischen Verortung des Rutbuches in das 5. Jh. v. Chr.



*10. Hungersnöte Mitte des 1. Jh. n. Chr.*

Eine Hungersnot in Jerusalem, der viele Bürger zum Opfer fielen, gab es unter dem römischen Statthalter Tiberius Alexander (46-48 n. Chr.), über die uns Josephus berichtet (JosAnt XX,51-53.101). Aus Alexandria wurde Getreide, aus Zypern Feigen besorgt. Auf diese Hungersnot nimmt wohl auch Apg 11,28 Bezug; Lukas baut sie aber als universales Geschehen aus („eine Hungersnot über den ganzen Erdkreis“), was historisch nach allen uns zur Verfügung stehenden Quellen nicht zutreffend ist. Außerdem erwähnt Josephus (Ant III, 320) auch noch eine Hungersnot zur Zeit des Hohenpriesters Ismael (59-61 n. Chr.). Aber all diese Hungersnöte dürften zeitlich sehr begrenzte Epochen gewesen sein, die keine nachhaltigen Folgen gehabt haben dürften. Im 1. Jh. n. Chr. war die Siedlungsdichte im ganzen Land wesentlich höher als in den vorangehenden Jahrhunderten, so dass schon kleinere Rückgänge der Niederschläge und die damit verbundenen Ernterückgänge nachhaltige Folgen für die Versorgung der Bevölkerung gehabt haben dürften, ohne dass die Erwähnung einer Hungersnot gleichbedeutend mit einer längeren Dürreperiode sein muss.

*11. Durch Kriegshandlungen hervorgerufene Hungersnöte*

Neben diesen durch ausbleibenden Regen verursachten Hungersnöten werden weitere überliefert, die sich auf Grund von Kriegshandlungen ergaben (z. B. 2 Kön 6,25; 7,4.12; 2 Kön 25,3; Jer 42,14.16.17.22; 52,6; Klgl 2,19; 4,9; 1 Makk 13,49). Auch diese Hungersnöte können für eine Verbindung von naturwissenschaftlichen Analysemethoden und biblischer Chronologie von Relevanz sein. Die Feinde zerstörten oft den gesamten Baumbestand, um so den Bewohnern des Landes keine Lebensmöglichkeit mehr zu bieten. Es wird jeweils Jahre gedauert haben, bis der alte Baumbestand wieder hergestellt war. Diese Beeinträchtigungen in der Baumschubstanz haben natürlich Auswirkungen auf die Pollenanalysen, denn die Vernichtung von Bäumen hat auch eine zeitweilige Unterbrechung der Pollen zur Folge. Oliven- und Feigenbäume benötigen mindestens sieben Jahre, Weinstöcke mindestens drei Jahre, bis sie wieder in nennenswertem Umfang Früchte bringen. Insbesondere die Eroberung des Nordreichs 733/722 v. Chr. durch die Assyrier und die Schleifung Jerusalems durch die Babylonier 597 und 587 v. Chr. wird zu starken Eingriffen auch in die Landschaft geführt haben. Als Folge der Zerstörungen wurden die eroberten Gebiete anschließend zu großen Teilen entvölkert und der Baumbestand wurde sicherlich nicht mehr sofort reaktiviert. Diese Krisenerfahrungen gehen jedoch allesamt auf die Aktivitäten von Menschen und nicht auf Klimaschwankungen zurück und waren daher nicht zentrales Thema dieser Darstellung.

## 12. Zusammenfassung

Die ägyptischen und die biblischen Überlieferungen machen deutlich, dass wir zumindest von vier größeren Hungersnöten in Palästina ausgehen müssen, die es in der Zeit zwischen ca. 1400 v. Chr. und dem 1. Jh. n. Chr. gab:

- Beginn des letzten Drittels des 14. Jh. v. Chr.
- Ausgehendes 13. Jh. mit einem Höhepunkt um 1208/1205 v. Chr.
- Zweites Viertel des 9. Jh. v. Chr., genauer zwischen 870 und 852 v. Chr.
- Zwischen 445 und 433 v. Chr. zur Zeit Nehemias.

Von diesen Hungersnöten waren offenbar diejenigen im 2. Jahrtausend die gravierendsten. Sie führten dazu, dass einige Nomaden ihre angestammte Lebensgrundlage, die Kleinviehzucht, aufgeben mussten und stattdessen im vom Nilhochwasser abhängigen Ägypten Unterschlupf zu finden hofften. Wir können damit auf Grund der Texte von einer sehr nachhaltigen und das Leben der Menschen stark beeinflussenden Dürre in dieser Zeit ausgehen. Dies korreliert mit der Beobachtung, dass am Toten Meer der Wasserspiegel in dieser Zeit auf unter - 412 m gefallen ist (Migowski 2004: 62). Während der gesamten letzten drei Jahrtausende sank der Wasserspiegel nie mehr so tief (Abb. 1). Erst in der Gegenwart ist er wieder ähnlich niedrig, wobei dies heute durch das starke Abpumpen des Jordanwassers für den Wasserhaushalt des Staates Israel bedingt ist. Die Dürre, die im 14. Jh. begann, dürfte nach den uns erhaltenen Texten einen Höhepunkt gegen Ende des 13. Jh. v. Chr. erreicht haben und erfasste damals den gesamten östlichen Mittelmeerbereich mit Ausnahme des ägyptischen Gebietes.

Die Hungersnot im 9. Jh. blieb im kulturellen Gedächtnis der Israeliten stark verankert, dürfte aber bei weitem nicht die Ausmaße der spätbronzezeitlichen Dürre erreicht haben. Dies zeigt die Konstanz im Siedlungswesen deutlich auf. Inwieweit sich diese Hungersnot auch in Pollenanalysen nachweisen lässt, wird sich erst durch weitere Untersuchungen und interdisziplinäre Forschungen nachweisen lassen.

Die späteren Hungersnöte dürften gleichfalls nur eine geringe Bedeutung gehabt haben. Lediglich im 5. Jh. v. Chr. scheint es noch einmal eine wirklich einschneidende und wichtige Hungersnot gegeben zu haben, die die Menschen in starke wirtschaftliche Probleme führte und politische Reformmaßnahmen erforderlich machte.

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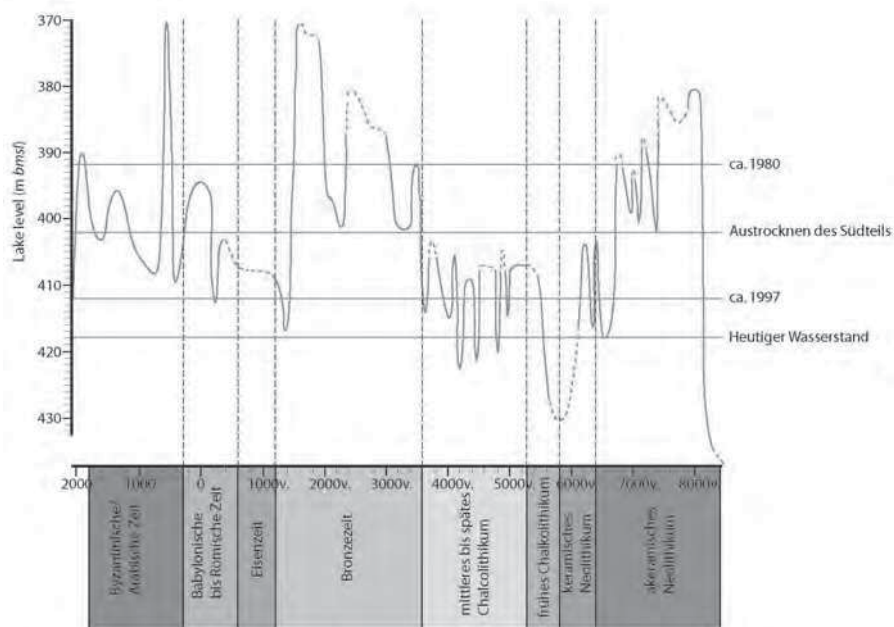


Abb. 1: Rekonstruktion des Wasserstandes des Toten Meeres (basierend auf Migowski 2004, © Seminar für Altes Testament und Biblische Archäologie, Universität Mainz)

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The „Shipyard Journal” and the “Customs Account”:  
An Investigation of the Nature of the Documents,  
of their Journey and its Circumstances and  
of the Benefits of Forgotten Lines of Inquiry  
(Abstract)

Oded Tammuz

The hyperbolic increase in the availability of sources over the past century has led scholars to abandon the task of, investigating the origin of written sources. This investigation begs numerous questions: Where was the source written and by whom? What was its life expectancy? Where was it kept? Such an investigation can help shed new light on the history of the institutions where the source was written and preserved.

The present case examines two pairs of texts found in Egypt, dated to the beginning of the fifth century BCE. The first pair comprises two texts found in Saqqara in northern Egypt, commonly referred to as the “Memphis Shipyard Journal,” while the second pair forms the document known as the “Customs Account.”

An investigation into some of the terms that appear in the “Memphis Shipyard Journal” (e.g., דגית = a small boat; דגל = a company within the bureaucracy under the command of a Persian bureaucrat; צלצל = harpoon) demonstrates that the Memphis Shipyard Journal is indeed a journal that was written in Memphis; however it is not the journal of a shipyard. More likely, it originated in an establishment maintained by the Persian rulers of Egypt to store a number of small boats and harpoons which were probably used by the Persian aristocracy to hunt hippopotami, a sport which the Persians must have learned from their Egyptian predecessors. The document comprises fragments from two different texts, dated 473 BCE and 471 BCE.

The “Customs Account” was discovered by Porten and Yardeni when they examined a large papyrus from Elephantine and found that underneath the text of the “Wisdom of Ahiqar” was a palimpsest of an earlier text of the “Customs Account.” The customs account is an annual report by the Egyptian port’s customs house. The part that survived includes the lion’s share of the report from 475 BCE and a fragment from another year. The customs account reveals that the only merchandise exported from the harbor in which it originated was natron. Since natron was mined in Wadi Natrun (about 70 km north to Memphis) the harbor in question was most likely Memphis itself. The account itself was not written by the Persian authorities, but rather by the Egyptians who worked in the customs house. It was later transferred to the Persian bureaucracy and kept in an archive together with the “Memphis Ship Journal.”

Once it is established that both pairs of texts were kept in Memphis, it remains to be determined (a) why they left Memphis; and (b) why the Shipyard Journal reached nearby Saqqara while the Customs Account was found in Elephantine, approximately 1000 km south of Memphis. The answer to the first question can be found in the writings of the historian Diodorus Siculus (XI 71). He described a revolt against Persia that broke out in 463/2 BCE and was directed first against the Persian tax collectors in Memphis. This assumes that once the unrest in Egypt began, the perpetrators stormed the archives of the Persian tax collectors in Egypt and indulged themselves in the pleasure of destruction. However, they soon began to think more rationally and turned their attention to looting. The "Memphis Shipyard Journal," torn to pieces in the fray, found its way together with other pieces of papyri to nearby Saqqara, where it was intended for an unknown purpose. The customs account, on the contrary, survived the destruction of the archives and still had value as writing material. Thus it was sold as such and reached Elephantine where it was re-used to write the "Wisdom of Ahiqar."



הגדולות שנשאו עליהן את דו"ח המכס, מרחק בן יותר מאלף קילומטר והמשיכו להיות מוכרות עוד זמן רב בתפקידן החדש – מגילת משלי אחיקר.

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מנגנון השלטון. כל זוג תעודות עבר מסע ובסופו הגיע זוג אחד ללב והאחר לסקארה. נותר לשאול מדוע הוציאו את התעודות מהארכיון שבו התאכסנו ומדוע יצא זוג אחד למסע קצר לסקארה וזוג אחר יצא למסע ארוך ונמצא בסופו של דבר בלב. מן הידוע שבירוקרטים אינם ששים לוותר על מסמכים הנמצאים בטיפולם ואינם עושים זאת אלא במקרים מיוחדים<sup>34</sup>. בדרך כלל ארכיון מסיים את חייו מסיבות אלה:

- עזיבתם של הבירוקרטים יחד עם התפוררותו של המנהל<sup>35</sup>.
- פעולה אלימה כנגד השלטון.

היות שהמנהל המצרי לא התפורר בתקופה הפרסית נראה שהסיבה לעזיבתם של המסמכים את הארכיון במוף היא ככל הנראה פעולה אלימה כנגד השלטון. הכוח המניע של פעולות כאלה הוא, קודם כל, הרצון לנקום בשלטון המדכא והשמחה שבהרס<sup>36</sup>. במקרים רבים מתחלף המניע הקמאי הזה באחר מפוכח ממנו – ביזה. ב-463/2 לפסה"נ פרצו במוף מהומות נגד שלטון פרס<sup>37</sup>. המהומות הופנו, קודם כול, כנגד "גובי המס הפרסים המופקדים על (גביית המיסים של) מצרים"<sup>38</sup>. אין ספק שבראש ובראשונה הביעו המתפרעים את זעמם כלפי מוסדות השלטון במוף. אי לכך הפרסים נסו על נפשם ממנה ומצאו מקלט ב"מבצר הלבן" הסמוך לה, והוא האקרופוליס שבעיר<sup>39</sup>. בנקודת הזמן הזו הוצאו שני זוגות התעודות הנזכרות לעיל מהארכיון במוף. דומה ש"יומן המספנה" נפל טרף למשחיתי רכוש ולאחר מכן נפלו שני זוגות התעודות לידי הבוזים.

"יומן המספנה", שנותרו ממנו כבר אז קרעים קטנים בלבד, לא צלח כחומר גלם לשימוש משני אלא רק לצורך שלשמו הגיע לסקארה. הסיבה לשימוש המשני בקרעים ובמגילות קטנות לא ברורה לי, אך אין ספק שהיה שימוש כזה ולו רק מהטעם הפשוט ש"יומן המספנה" לא היה התעודה הבירוקרטית היחידה שהגיעה ממוף לסקארה: תעודות אחרות וקרעי תעודות שונות עברו באותו מסלול<sup>40</sup>. לעומת זה, לדו"ח המכס שנבזז היה ערך מסוים.

כידוע, ככל שעולה ערכו של חפץ כלשהו, גדלה תוחלת חייו כמו גם המרחק שהוא עתיד לעבור עד מקום מנוחתו הסופי. בהתאם לכלל הזה עברו שתי יריעות הפפירוס

<sup>34</sup> בעיקר שניים: האחד – אם ברור של החומר שנאצר בארכיון איבד את תקפותו, כמו במקרה שהוכרז על שמיטת חובות כללית (לדוגמה הכרזת מישורם בבבל של האלף ה' לפסה"נ). המקרה האחר הוא העברת הארכיון ע"פ צו שלטוני (לדוגמה: ארכיון אל עמארנה). אין ספק שדבר זה גורם לכך שארכיונים נמצאים במגננה תמידית נגד אי-הסדר וההתנוספות של החומר. מצב זה מתואר יפה בלשונו הסטירית של סאראמאגו בספרו *כל השמות* (עמ' 12 בתרגום העברי): "...יום אחד אבד במבוכ הקטקומבות של ארכיון המתים חוקר אחד שבא ללשכה.....וביקש לערוך כמה בדיקות, שהוזמנו אצלו על סמלי אצולה. הוא נמצא, כמעט בדרך נס, מקץ שבוע, מורעב, צמא, מותש, הוזה, ונשאר בחיים רק משום שברוב יאושו בלע כמויות עצומות של נייר ישן, שאמנם לא היה צורך ללעוס אותו מאחר שהתפורר בפה, אך גם לא השתהה בקיבה וגם לא היה מזין. המנהל.....החליט להעלים עין מהנזקים שיוחסו רשמית לעכברים, ואחר כך הפיץ הוראה מלווה באיומי קנס והשעיית שכר, המחייבת כל מי שצריך ללכת לארכיון המתים להשתמש בחוט אריאדנה"

<sup>35</sup> לדוגמה: סופו של ארכיון פוזריש-דגן.

<sup>36</sup> Langlois & Seignobos 1898: 24.

<sup>37</sup> Diodorus XI 71. לבעיית הכרונולוגיה ראה: Kahn 2008: 424-440.

<sup>38</sup> Diodorus XI 71.

<sup>39</sup> Diodorus XI 75.

<sup>40</sup> לדוגמה: מכתב אדון מלך עקרון, שנמצא בסקארה, ודאי תויק בארכיון במוף. כמוהו גם תעודות בירוקרטיות אחרות. ראה דוגמאות: Segal 1983: Nos. 24, 26, 30.



שרדו 16 מתוך 23 טורים לפחות<sup>31</sup>. בדומה ל"יומן המספנה" נמצאו שני מסמכים משתי שנים שונות: האחד מ-475 לפסה"נ והשני משנה אחרת<sup>32</sup>. בזמן כתיבת המסמך הייתה המסורת של פעילות המכס במצרים בת כאלף שנים. (כך על פי מכתבי אל עמארנה 39 ו-40). במשך אותן אלף שנה אפילו המונח הטכני המציין פעילות מכס (השרש ב.ק.ר) לא השתנה<sup>33</sup>. התאריכים המופיעים בדו"ח הם לפי הלוח המצרי ולא מופיעים בו כלל תאריכים לפי הלוח הפרסי. ברור, אפוא, שמדובר במוסד מצרי ושלא הפרסים הקימו את רשות המכס בנמל שממנו יצא המסמך.

#### הצעה למיקום הנמל שבו נכתב דו"ח המכס

"דו"ח המכס" איננו כולל כל מידע על מקום כתיבתו. כל שניתן לעשות הוא לחפש עדויות נסיבתיות ולשער על פיהן. אחד הנתונים שמהם אפשר ללמוד על מיקום הנמל הוא סחורת היצוא של מצרים: הנתר. הנתר נמצא וניתן לכרייה באזור ואדי נתרון, השוכן כ-70 ק"מ צפונית מערבית לקהיר המיקום הנוח ביותר לנמל שבו ניתן להטעין נתר הוא באיזור מוף. זאת משום שמיקום זה גם קרוב לוואדי נתרון וגם נמצא סמוך לנקודה שבה מתפצל הנילוס לשלוחותיו. כל שלוחה שממנה תכנס ספינה הבאה לקנות נתר תביא אותה בסופו של דבר למוף. סחורות היבוא שהביאו עמן הספינות היווניות – בעיקר יין ושמן – נצרכו, ככל הנראה, בעיקר במקום שהיו בו מספיק אנשים בעלי אמצעים שיכלו לרכוש לעצמם מוצרי צריכה כאלה. הללו התרכזו, ככל הנראה, סביב מרכז השלטון הפרסי ששכן במוף. כל העדויות הקיימות, שכולן, יש להודות, חלשות ונסיבתיות, מצביעות על מוף כמיקום סביר לנמל שבו נכתב דו"ח המכס.

#### הצעה למיקום האכסון של דו"ח המכס

בניגוד ליומן המספנה, ברור שדו"ח המכס הועבר לאחר השלמתו לביקורת ושהביקורת יכולה הייתה להעריך את הגוף המבוקר ללא מאמץ. רשות המכס של הנמל סיפקה לממונים השוואה בין תקבולי המכס בשנת המס ובין התקבולים בשנה שקדמה לה. היות וסביר ביותר שמדובר ברשות המכס של הנמל במוף, יש לשער שגם הארכיון שבו אכסנו את המסמך הזה היה בעיר מוף.

#### סיכום: נסיבות הוצאתן של התעודות ממוף

כפי שראינו יש בידינו שני זוגות של תעודות שנכתבו, בערך באותו זמן, על ידי גופים שונים במנגנון השלטון הפרסי במצרים. לאחר מכן אכסנו את התעודות בארכיון של המנגנון במוף. בנקודות זמן מסוימות הוציאו את שני זוגות התעודות האלה מארכיון

<sup>31</sup> פורטן וירדני שם: 19.

<sup>32</sup> פורטן וירדני שם: 20.

<sup>33</sup> במכתבי אל עמארנה 39 כתב מלך אלשיה (קפריסין) למלך מצרים כך: "ואשר לסחרי וספינותי, מוכס שלך (pa-qá-ri-ka) אל יקרב אליהם". במכתב אל עמארנה 40 שנשלח מפקיד בכיר באלשיה למקבילו במצרים מופיעה בקשה דומה.

שמו של המוסד הנזכר לעיל הוא "בית ספינתא" והיה בו מעגן שלעתיים פקדו אותו ספינות. מנהליו היו פרסים ושאר עובדיו היו זרים שהובאו למצרים על ידי הפרסים ושם שייכו אותם ל"דגלים". המוסד פעל בחודשי החורף בין נובמבר ואפריל. אין עדות שפעל בזמן גאות הנילוס ובחודשי הקיץ.

עסקו בו בניהול מצאי של סירות קטנות (דוגיות) ומנהלי החשבונות הבבלים של המקום עסקו בספירת הדוגיות. הן שימשו לפעולות שונות: החלפה, העברה ממקום למקום והשאלה לאנשים שזהותם לא ידועה. כל פעולה שבוצעה בבית ספינתא – הליכתו של אדם מסוים או הגעתו של אחר, העברת סירות וצלצלים או החלפתן, העלאת סירות ליבשה וביצוע פקודות הממונים – זכתה לתיעוד של ה"יומנאי"<sup>24</sup>.

תפקידו של "בית ספינתא" איננו מפורט במסמך וכל שנותר הוא לשער. בשעה שכבשו הפרסים את מצרים הייתה תרבות מצרים בת אלפי שנים. יחד עם תרבות מצרים צמחה גם תרבות הפנאי של השכבה השלטת שם. חלק מתרבות זו כלל דיג וציד היפופוטמים באמצעות הטלת צלצל מעל סירה קטנה. ספורט זה היה קיים עוד בימי התיעוד המצויר במצרים ואולי אף קודם לכן<sup>25</sup>. נראה שהפרסים אימצו את הספורט הזה והקימו מעין מועדון ספורט שעניינו בסירות ובצלצלים<sup>26</sup>. המוסד הזה שכן במוף, עיר שמופיעה בטקסט ושימשה מרכז לשלטון פרס במצרים, לכן התאימה למקומו של מוסד מהסוג דנן.

#### דו"ח המכס

ב-1911 נתגלתה ביב מגילת פפירוס שנשאה את משלי אחיקר<sup>27</sup>. מגילה זו נבדקה מחדש בידי פורטן וירדני ומתחת למשלי אחיקר נתגלה טקסט קדום לו (palimpsest), שהכיל דו"ח שנתי של בית מכס בנמל במצרים<sup>28</sup> (להלן: דו"ח המכס). נמל זה קלט סחורות יבוא רבות מפניקיה ומאזור אחר שהמצרים החשיבו אותו ליווני<sup>29</sup>. עיקר הסחורות שייבאו למצרים היו שמן ויין. תמורת הסחורות האלה שילמו המצרים בנתר, אוצר טבע המצוי אצלם.

כל ספינה שנכנסה לנמל המצרי שלמה על הרשות לסחור במצרים. ספינות שהביאו איתן סחורה ופרקו אותה שלמו מס יבוא ותשלום עבור שירותי סבלות<sup>30</sup>. בצאתה טעונה נתר שילמה הספינה מס יצוא.

#### מבנה הדו"ח

דו"ח המכס מכיל שלושה חלקים והם: נתוני יבוא, נתוני יצוא וסיכום שנתי. בנתוני היבוא ובנתוני היצוא יש חלוקה לעשרה חודשי הפעילות ממרץ עד דצמבר. בכל חודש פעילות הייתה חלוקה משנית. בחלוקה זו מוקדש סעיף לכל ספינה ויש גם סיכום חודשי.

רוב המגילה שרד: בצד הקדמי שרדו 24 טורים מתוך כ-41 טורים ובצד האחורי

<sup>24</sup> מגילה 3B טור III שורה 24.

<sup>25</sup> Brewer & Freedman 1989.

<sup>26</sup> ד"ר דנאל קאהן בע"פ.

<sup>27</sup> Sachau 1911: 49-60.

<sup>28</sup> פורטן וירדני תשס"ג: 84-193.

<sup>29</sup> קברניט הספינה מוגדר "יווני פסלד/רשי". פרוש המונח השני לא ידוע.

<sup>30</sup> Tammuz 2005: 151, 159.

בנוסח זה<sup>19</sup>: "מי שיטען נגדך (המקבל) דין ודברים אני, אח, אחות, קרוב ורחוק בעל דגל ובעל קריה יתן לך X כרשים כסף"<sup>20</sup>. הנוסחה מתחילה בנותן ומתרחקת ממנו. לא ניכר מדרג, לכן בעל דגל איננו כפוף לבעל קריה וגם לא להיפך. יש בנוסח התייחסות לשני הממונים על הנותן/מוכר מטעם השלטון. הראשון ממונה על הנותן מטעם הבירוקרטיה ללא תלות במקום שירותו של הנותן/מוכר, והשני ממונה על האזור הגיאוגרפי שבו גר הנותן/מוכר.

היות והוכחתי לעיל שהמונח "דגל" איננו קשור למסגרת צבאית, אין לשייך את "יומן המספנה" לפעילות צבאית.

צלצל - היות ומונח זה אינו מופיע במסמכים ארמיים אחרים ממצרים, פנה המהדיר הראשון אימה-ז'ירון למקרא כדי לנסות לעמוד על מהותו. אימה-ז'ירון השתמש ב"תרגום השבעים" כדי לפרש את הביטוי הסתום "צלצל כנפיים", המופיע בישעיה יח 1, וקבע שצלצל הוא שם לסוג מסוים של סירה<sup>21</sup>. את הפירוש הזה קיבלו בהסכמה כל החוקרים שבאו אחריו ועסקו בפענוח הטקסט הזה<sup>22</sup>. כותב שורות אלו מסכים עם אימה-ז'ירון שיש לפנות למקרא כדי לנסות ולעמוד על מהות הצלצל. במקרא יש שלושה אזכורים ל"צלצל" והם:

- דברים כח 42: "כל עצך, ופרי אדמתך, יירש, הצלצל."
  - ישעיה יח 2a-1: "הוי ארץ, צלצל כנפיים, אשר מעבר, לנהרי כוש. השלח בים צירים, ובכלי גמא על פני המים...."
  - איוב מ 31: "התמלא בשכות עורו ובצלצל דגים ראשו."
- האחד הוא "ארבה", שמתאים למובאה בדברים כח 42 ועוד יותר לזו שבישעיה יח 1-2a. כידוע, מוצא הארבה הוא אזור אתיופיה וסומליה, ואין מתאים ממנו להגדרה "מעבר לנהרי כוש".
- ל"צלצל" שבספר איוב פירוש אחר. ההקבלה ל"שכות" איננה מלמדת בהכרח על כך שמדובר בסירה. ניתן להקביל אותה ל*sikkatub* באכדית שמשמעותה יתד. צידי לווייתנים נהגו להשתמש בשני סוגים של כלי נשק:
- צלצל, המיועד לפצוע את מושא הציד, להגביל את תנועתו ולהצמידו לסירת הציידים.
  - רומח, שמטרתו להרוג את מושא הציד.
- בדרך כלל מטילים צלצל אחד בלבד. אולם כאשר החיה קרובה לסירה כל רומח המוטל בה מחיש את קצה<sup>23</sup>. כותב שורות אלה הולך בעקבות המפרשים ומזהה "צלצל" במשמעותו המודרנית. ה"שכות" הם רמחים המוטלים מטווח קרוב.

#### מסקנות: מהו יומן המספנה

יומן המספנה הוא יומן של מוסד שהשתייך לבירוקרטיה הפרסית. סביר להניח שבתום שנת עבודה נהגו להעביר את היומן לגוף המפקח ולאכסן אותו בארכיון. היות שכך, ברור שיש לפנינו קרעים משתי מגילות שונות: אחת מ-473 לפסה"נ והאחרת מ-471 לפנה"ס.

<sup>19</sup> בגרסאות שונות.

<sup>20</sup> קאולי 13 (מהדורה: פורטן וירדני שם: 34-7). הביטוי מופיע גם בקאולי 5 ובקאולי 6 (מהדורות פורטן וירדני, שם: 9-16, 136-9 בהתאמה).

<sup>21</sup> Aimé-Giron, שם: 27.

<sup>22</sup> Bowman 1941 וכך גם פורטן וירדני (שם).

<sup>23</sup> דיון מלא בסוגיה זו איננו אפשרי במסגרת הנוכחית; ראה: Kaplan 1953.

## הבהרת מונחים

**דוגית** – מונח זה אינו מופיע בטקסטים אחרים ממצרים. לפי ההקשר בטקסט שלפנינו דוגית זו סירה קטנה שאפשר להעבירה (מגילה 3A, שורה 3), להחליפה באחרת (מגילה 4, שורות 4–8) ואולי גם להעלותה ליבשה (מגילה 3B, שורה 17).

**דגל** – מונח זה הוא הגורם לזיהוי השגוי של ההתיישובות היהודית במצרים בתקופה הפרסית כ"התיישובות צבאית" המונח "דגל" מופיע רבות בכתבים ארמיים ממצרים אך אינו ברור די צרכו. הוא משמש כאמצעי זיהוי לעובדי שלטון פרס במצרים במקרים רבים וזהו עובדים אלה בעזרת גרסאות שונות של הנוסחה שלהלן:

**שם פרטי 1** בן **שם פרטי 2**, **השתייכות אתנית עם גנטיליקון**<sup>10</sup>, **משם עיר**<sup>11</sup> לדגל **שם פרטי 3**<sup>12</sup>.

לדעתי אין המונח "דגל" מלמד כלל על מסגרת צבאית אלא דווקא על עבודה בשירות הרשויות האזרחיות של השלטון הפרסי במצרים.<sup>13</sup> היות ולעניין זה יש חשיבות משנית בדיון הנוכחי אסתפק כאן רק בכמה הערות כדי להוכיח את טענתי:

1. חלק מהיהודים שהתיישבו ביב התעשרו וצברו שם ונכסים<sup>14</sup>. מצב זה אינו מאפיין חיילים.
2. ידועים מקרים שבהם נשים השתייכו<sup>15</sup> לדגל. מקרים כאלה אינם מאפיינים מסגרת צבאית.
3. הדגל עבר בירושה<sup>16</sup>, מה שאינו מאפיין מערכת צבאית.
4. בתחילת שנת 401 נחתם מסמך משפטי ביב<sup>17</sup>. באותו הזמן התחולל, ככל הנראה, מרד נגד השלטון הפרסי במצרים אך יב נותרה תחת שלטון פרס. אי לכך תוארך המסמך לשנת 4 לארתחששתא המלך. שנה וחצי אחר כך נחתם מסמך אחר ביב<sup>18</sup>. המסמך השני נכתב לאחר שהמלך המצרי, המורד אמירטאיוס, כבש את יב מידי של מלך פרס ולכן התאריך המופיע עליו הוא שנת 5 לאמירטאיוס המלך. למרות שמלך מצרים כבש במלחמה את יב, שהשתייכה לפרס, לא מצא הראשון לנכון לפעול כנגד ה"חיילים" שהוצבו ביב. עובדה זו מתבררת מהצגתו של אחד הצדדים במסמך השני כ"מנחם בן שלום, ארמי מיב הבירה, לדגל נבוכדרי." ממסמך זה אפשר להניח בסבירות גבוהה ש"דגל" איננו אלא יחידה בירוקרטית שהמשיכה לפעול לתועלתו של המלך החדש ולא איימה על שלטונו.
5. בניגוד למסגרת צבאית ה"דגל" הוא מסגרת שאיננה מוגבלת לשטח גיאוגרפי. השערה זו עולה מתוך שלושה ממסמכי העברת בעלות שנמצאו ביב. מסמכים אלו כוללים פסקה שבה מוותר הנותן/מוכר על הנכס באופן סופי וכל מי שיטען לבעלות על אותו נכס יצטרך לשלם למקבל/קונה קנס גבוה. הפסקה ערוכה

<sup>10</sup> ארמי, יהודי או כספי. יש אנשים שלפעמים מופיעים כארמים ולפעמים כיהודים.

<sup>11</sup> הערים הידועות היו סון ויב.

<sup>12</sup> לרוב פרסי או בבלי.

<sup>13</sup> גם במקרא אין למונח דגל משמעות צבאית. ראה: Gray, 1898.

<sup>14</sup> הנדוניה שנתן מחסיה לבתו מב/פטחיה הייתה בשווי 65.5 שקל כסף. ראה קאולי 15 בפורטן וירדני תשנ"ט: 30–33.

<sup>15</sup> קאולי 43 (מהדורה: פורטן וירדני, שם, 7–126); קאולי 14 (מהדורה: פורטן וירדני שם: 9–38).

<sup>16</sup> לדוגמה: קאולי 7 (מהדורה: פורטן וירדני שם: 9–38) שבו נזכרת מב/פטחיה כשייכת לדגל שאביה השתייך אליו.

<sup>17</sup> קאולי 14 (מהדורה: פורטן וירדני, שם: 5–144).

<sup>18</sup> קאולי 35 (מהדורה: פורטן וירדני, שם: 5–114).

24. אופכרתא זי עב[דו ע]ל צלצלא ודגיתא

25. כנתן בחגב ש[ ]ל[ ]בלד/ר[ ]ה מנפין

26. בגו דוגית 1 [ ]א

### טור III

27. [ואף] הון

28. [ליזכרן] נבוצדק זי [ ]אס[ ]ר[ ]א

### רווח

29. תאריך : 24 באדר שנת 14 = 9 בכ[י]חך שנת 15 (27 במרץ 471 לפסה"נ).

30. בגפרן זי על נוז[ ]כן אמר שתברזן [ ]תן שמו טעם

31. צלצלא 1/זי א[ ]ה[ ]ביא תחת מרא[ ]י עלין [ ]

32. [ ]הומי ד/רכ[ ]א[ ]שרנא זבנן [ ]תן ינ/צ[ ]

### רווח

33. [ואף] הו

34. ליזכרן על צל/נע[ ]שתבר[ ]זן שמ[ ]טעם

35. לדגל א[ ]ל[ ]ם שת[ ]ב[ ]רזון זי[ ]עליד אה[ ]מ[ ]

36. בר כמשפלט [ ]לדגל וידרן זי מנפי עם מרדכשראצר

37. בבימא זי סין [ ]מאב קדם[ ]ספרא זי קדם נ[ ]

### מגילה 4

#### פנים

1. תאריך : X בניסן = X בתע[בי שנת 15 (18 או 19 באפריל 471 לפסה"נ)

#### פרגמנטים

#### רווח

#### אחור

#### 3. שורה חסרה

#### רווח

4. תאריך : 30 בניסן = 13/14 בתעבי שנת 15 (30 באפריל או 1 במאי 471 לפסה"נ)

#### 5-7. פרגמנטים

#### אחור

#### 1-3. פרגמנטים

4. [ ]למנתן

5. [ ]ח[ ]ל[ ]ף דוגיתה

#### 6. פרגמנטים

7. [ ]דו[ ]גיתא זא ינתנו

8. [ ]ותתנו ליד

9. [ ]מי חלף דוגיתי<sup>9</sup>

10. [ ]על מרביתא כען

#### 11. שורה חסרה

קיימים קטעים נוספים פרגמנטריים השייכים לשנת 15.

מצבו של המסמך הזה מקשה על הבנתו. אין בו אפילו משפט אחד שלם וגם המונחים הכלולים בו אינם תמיד ברורים. לכן יש צורך בדיון קצר במונחים המופיעים במסמך.

<sup>9</sup> קטע זה עוסק, קרוב לוודאי בדוגית שנלקחה או אבדה והיה צריך לפצות את בעליה באחרת.

## מגילה 3A

## פנים

1. תאריך [6 באדר שנת 14 = 21 בחתחור [שנת 15] 9 במרץ 471 לפסה"נ]
2. שורה חסרה
3. ] דו[גיתא זי העדיו ]
4. ] [נן כאגרת בגפת ]
5. ] [תחתיא בגו
6. ] ב[ר חמתסן שמה כספיא י]
7. ] ל[דגל בגפת
8. ] [עדרי בר צחא לדגל ]
9. ] [בר שאילא לדגל בגפת]
10. ] [
11. ] [ת בבית ספינתא
12. ] [ליד נבוחלט ]
13. ] [ויתנון לה<sup>8</sup>

יתכן ששני קטעים פרגמנטריים נוספים שייכים למגילה זו.

## מגילה 3B

## פנים

## טור I

## 1-4. פרגמנטים

5. ] [ספינה 1 זי ת ]

## רווח

## 6-7. פרגמנטים

## רווח

8. תאריך : [16 באדר שנת 14 = 1 בכיחך שנת 15] [19 במרץ 471 לפסה"נ]

## 9-12. פרגמנטים

## טור II

## 13-14. פרגמנטים

## רווח

15. תאריך : 18 בא[דר ש]נת 14 = 3 בכיחך שנת 15] [21 במרץ 471 לפסה"נ]

16. לזכרן על בגפרן ב[ר] פר[י] אתה בבית ספינתא למ ]

17. זי על תבלא ש ] [פנפתם

18. צלצל נושן ] [1 דוגית ] [ה] דו[גית חמה] ] בגו 1

19. כל 3 נגיד]

## רווח

## 20-22. פרגמנטים

## רווח

23. תאריך : 23 באדר שנת 14 = 8 בכיחך שנת 15] [21 במרץ 471 לפסה"נ]

<sup>8</sup> נראה שנושא הקטע הזה הוא דוגית שהועברה בהתאם לפקודת בגפת, כאשר שליחיו של בגפת היו צריכים לשקול כסף לידי נבוחלט בבית ספינתא.



כל השורות בתעודות אלה מקוטעות. להלן השורות אשר ניתן להפיק מהן מידע לנושאי הדיון בלבד:

#### מגילה 1

##### פנים

1. תאריך: 17 בתשרי = 19 באפף שנת [13] (2 בנובמבר 473 לפסה"נ)
2. [ ] ה' זי הות בפשי הנפקת מן תמה]
3. [ ] ת מנכי בר ימחות זי עביד א..ש]
4. [ ]

##### רווח

5. תאריך: [18] בתשרי = 20 באפף שנת [13] (3 בנובמבר 473 לפסה"נ)
6. פרגמנטים

##### אחור

7. תאריך: 19 בתשרי [=21] באפף שנת [13] (4 בנובמבר 473 לפסה"נ)
8. אחמנש אזלן]

##### רווח

9. תאריך: 20 בתשרי = [22] באפף שנת [13] (5 בנובמבר 473 לפסה"נ)
10. [ד]וגית]
11. פרגמנטים
- רווח
12. תאריך<sup>7</sup>
13. פרגמנטים

#### מגילה 2

##### פנים

1. פרגמנטים
- רווח
2. פרגמנטים
3. תאריך: [ ] בטבת או שבט שנת 14 = [ ] בפאפ[י] שנת 15 (ינואר או פברואר 471 לפסה"נ)
4. פרגמנטים
- המשך חסר
- רווח
5. פרגמנטים
6. [ ] ני פרזל
7. [ ] דוג[יתא זי לקדמן
8. [ ] ס[פינתא לקנ]
- 9-10. פרגמנטים
- המשך חסר

תשס"ג: 194–203).

<sup>7</sup> ככל הנראה יש בשורה אחת משורת תאריך. השלמתם של פורטן וירדני [21] ב[תשרי = 22 באפף שנת 13] מרחיקת לכת.

# יומן המספנה ודו"ח המכס – מהות התעודות, מסען ונסיבותיו והתועלת הגלומה בכיווני חקירה נשכחים

עודד תמוז

## מבוא

אחת המשימות החשובות של היסטוריון היא להתחקות, במידת האפשר<sup>1</sup>, אחר מוצאם של המסמכים המשמשים בסיס לעבודתו ואחר מחברי מסמכים אלה. זוהי משימה שהגדירו כבר האבות המייסדים של חקר ולימוד ההיסטוריה<sup>2</sup>, אולם ככל שגברה הזמינות של המקורות<sup>3</sup> זנחו רוב ההיסטוריונים, כולל כותבי שורות אלה, את המשימה הזו<sup>4</sup>. קשה למצוא היום היסטוריונים הבקיאיים בתולדות המסמכים המשמשים בסיס למחקרם. שורות אלה מנסות לתקן מעט את המעוות הזה ולהראות שמחקירת מוצא המסמכים ותולדותיהם אפשר להפיק מידע נוסף על זה הנמצא בתוכם.

באמצע המאה ה' לפסה"נ<sup>5</sup> הוצאו למסע שני זוגות של תעודות מארכיון השלטונות הפרסיים במוף (Memphis), שהיה אמור להיות מקום מנוחתן האחרון. זוג אחד של תעודות הגיע לסקארה, שמרחקה ממוף הוא כ-30 קילומטר, והזוג השני הגיע ללב, שמרחקה ממוף הוא למעלה מאלף קילומטרים. שני הזוגות האלה נמצאו במקום מנוחתן האחרון בחפירות מוסדרות. הזוג הראשון מכונה במחקר "יומן המספנה" והשני "דו"ח המכס" וכך נכנה אותם במאמר. שני הזוגות הללו הם במידה רבה הפכים: יומן המספנה פרגמנטרי עד כדי כך שעד היום מהותו לא מובנת כראוי. לעומת זה, דו"ח המכס מכיל את חלק הארי מתעודה אחת וחלק קטן מאחרת, ואין שום ספק באשר למטרתו וליחידה הבירוקרטית שממנה יצא.

למאמר כמה מטרות והן:

1. לעמוד, במידת האפשר, על טיבו של יומן המספנה.
2. להציע את מוֹף כמקום הארכיון שאכסן את שני הזוגות.
3. לעמוד על נסיבות עזיבתן של התעודות את הארכיון במוֹף.
4. לבדוק מדוע יצא זוג אחד של תעודות למסע ארוך ומשנהו למסע קצר.

## יומן המספנה

"יומן המספנה" הוא שאריות של שתי תעודות שונות שנחשבו עד עתה לאחת. השאריות נמצאו בחפירות שנערכו בסקארה ופורסמו לראשונה על ידי אימה-ז'ירון<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> בדרך כלל מידה מועטה ביותר או לא קיימת.

<sup>2</sup> Langlois & Seignobos 1898: 71-100.

<sup>3</sup> שם, 21-17.

<sup>4</sup> הזמינות הגוברת והולכת של מקורות גורמת לכך שחוקר יחיד יוכל לבדוק מספר רב של מקורות ללא מאמץ. במקביל, הולכת וגוברת התפיסה שהעיסוק במקור יחיד מיותר.

<sup>5</sup> הזמן המדויק לא ידוע.

<sup>6</sup> Aimé-Giron 1931: 5-24. text. הדיון הנוכחי מבוסס על מהדורתם של פורטן וירדני: (פורטן וירדני



## Decorated Phoenician Finds from Israel (Abstract)

Ephraim Stern

This article discusses four artifacts decorated with classical Phoenician motifs. These artifacts were found in Israel, and today they are stored in two local museums: Three ivories are located in the Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum at the University of Haifa, and the fourth is located in the Bible Lands Museum, founded by Elie Borowski in Jerusalem.

The first object is an ivory rectangular spoon of a type termed "Bird's Nest" by R.D Barnett (Barnett 1957:94, PL. LI). This object has many analogues in the Phoenician ivory collections found in Assyrian palaces and in a few Israeli sites from more or less the same period.

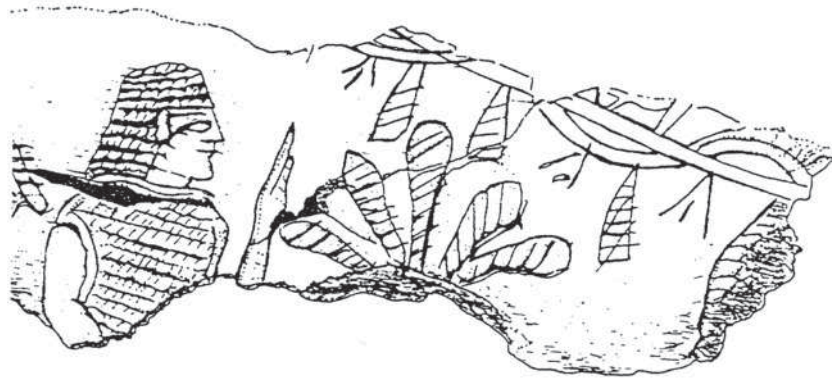
The second object is a thin ivory plaque with a delicately incised depiction of a praying figure dressed in an Egyptian garment. This artifact once adorned a wooden box of a type known already in the late Canaanite period. This use of ivory plaques continued into the period of the Judean and Israelite kingdoms.

The third object is a rare kind of ivory plaque depicting a bearded king. This artifact seems to be a local imitation of the Persian-Achaemenian style, and it should be dated to the Persian Period.

The fourth object comes from the late Iron Age. It is a stone chalice decorated with a typically Phoenician motif of the Tree of Life flanked by two sphinxes incised on its upper part. This find should probably be considered a votive object.



איור 10 : קובעת אבן מעוטרת בחריטה ממוזיאון ארצות המקרא בירושלים.



איור 8: קטע מחרותת בעצם כתף של פרה מתל דור המתארת דמות אדם מתפלל

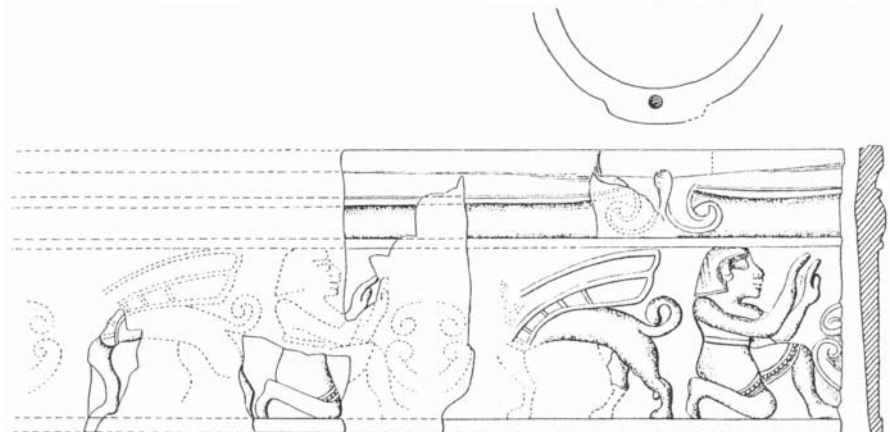


איור 9: שנהב מאוסף הכט שמגולפת  
בו דמות של שליט פרסי

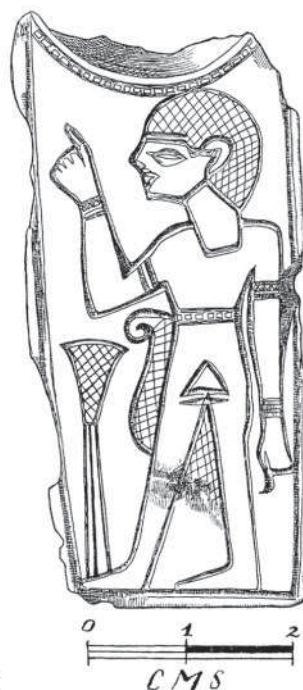




איור 6: לוחית שנהב מאוסף הכט שמתוארת בו דמות של גבר מתפלל הלבוש בסגנון מצרי



איור 7: פיקסיס שנהב מחצור שמתוארת בו דמות מתפלל



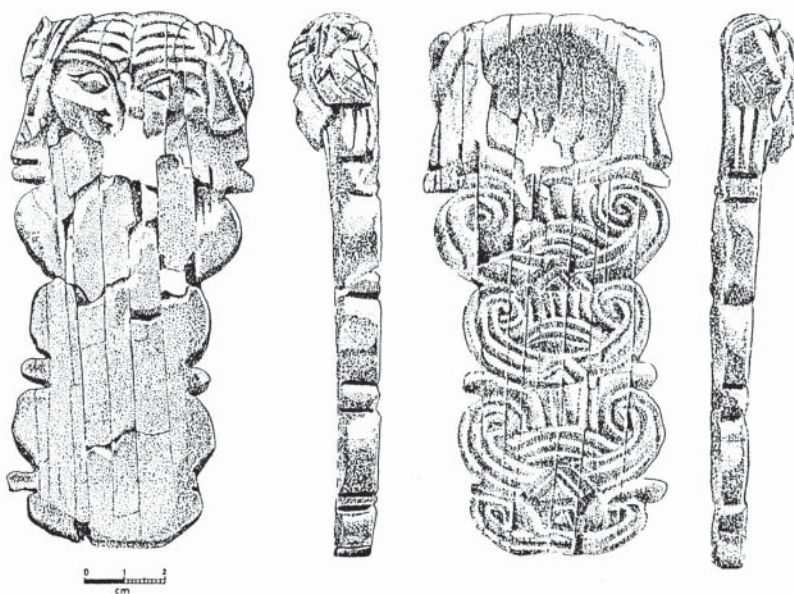
איור 3 : שנהב מטיפוס "קן הציפור" מביתצור



איורים 5-4 : לוחיות תמרוקים מאבן מעבר הירדן



איור 1: כף שנהב מטיפוס "קן הציפור" מאוסף הכט



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הספינקס עשוי בסגנון הקרוב בייחוד לסגנון הספינקסים המתוארים בכלי האבן. ראוי במיוחד להשוותו עם פני האדם שבלוחית התמרוקים מאבן שנמצאה ברבת עמון (בר"ג תשמ"ח: 224 ציור 12), אך בראש ובראשונה סגנונו זהה לסגנון הספינקסים שעל צדפי הטרידקנה: לגוף הספינקס ובמיוחד לכתפו המעוגלת יש מקבילות רבות מאוד בתיאורי הספינקסים שעל הצדפים (Stucky 1974: pls. II:1, V:6, VII:13, XVI:26, XXI:36, XLVI:68). ולפנינו אפוא עיטור מובהק בסגנון פניקי בווריאציה שהייתה נפוצה מאוד באותו פרק זמן.

לסיכום, ניתן לומר שכלי זה מצטרף למכלול העשיר של כלי אבן פניקיים שהציפו את השווקים באגן המזרחי של הים התיכון ונפוצו עד איטליה בפרק הזמן הקצר יחסית שבין התפוררות האימפריה האשורית (שנת 640 לפסה"ג) ובין כיבושה מחדש של פניקיה בידי הבבלים (שנת 585 לפסה"ג).

אכן, למרות השימוש בחומרים הזולים והאיכות הירודה יחסית של הביצוע העיטורים שעל גבי כלים אלה זהים מבחינת תוכנם לאלה של השנהבים שקדמו להם. כולם כאחד נלקחו ממספר מצומצם למדי של דגמים פניקיים, בין שעוצבו בסגנון הדרומי ובין שעוצבו בסגנון הצפוני, וזמנם מאוחר יותר.

במאות ה'–ה' לפסה"ג התחילה חדירה של מוטיבים יווניים. מוטיבים אלה התבטאו על פי רוב בפרטים משניים, כמו צורת עץ החיים, או דמותו של הרקלס. אבל לעתים חדר גם מוטיב חדש יחסית, שנלקח מתרבות האימפריות השליטות: אשור, בבל או אף פרס, כפי שמעיד אחד השנהבים שנוכרו כאן.

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181: 1975). לעתים אף לובש הגיבור את דמות האל הפניקי (ממוצא מצרי) בס (150 n. 192: 1990: Gehrig & Niemeyer). מוטיב זה, המופיע בחותמות, על כלי מתכת ובמטבעות, הועתק גם על שנהבים, כפי שמעיד החפץ שלפנינו. ייתכן שגם אותו, כמו את הממצאים האחרים, יצרו הפניקים בין בפניקיה עצמה בין בארץ-ישראל.

#### ד. קובעת אבן

החפץ הרביעי הוא קובעת אבן הניצבת של שלוש רגליים (ראה איור 10). הקובעת שמורה היום במוזיאון ארצות המקרא בירושלים ומספרה הקטלוגי BL-NJ852. חלקה העליון של הקובעת מעוטר בחריטה המתמשכת מסביב, וחותרים אותה קווים העשויים בדגם של תשליב ("גיוש"). גובהה 15.1 ס"מ, קוטר שפתה 13.6 ס"מ וקוטר בסיסה 10.8 ס"מ.

בפרסום הראשון על אודות הקובעת, עוד לפני שרכש אותה מוזיאון ארצות המקרא, הציע א' גובל לייחס אותה לפרק הזמן שבין 750–650 לפסה"נ (Bordreuil 1986: 429–430, fig. 13). אבל נראה לי שיש לייחס אותה לתקופה מאוחרת יותר, לשלהי המאה ה' או לראשית המאה ה' לפסה"נ. זהו פרק זמן שבו, מחמת המחסור בשנהב, הרבו הפניקים לייצר כלים מחומרים זולים, כגון אבן, עצם וצדף (Stern 1975: 26–56; *ibid* 1995: 319–334). גובל גם הציע שלפנינו כלי ארמי (בר"ג תשנ"ו: 82–93), אך אין ייסוד להצעתו. לפי שעה זהו אמנם כלי יחידאי בכלל הממצא הפניקי-ארץ-ישראלי, אף כי לאו דווקא בצורתו, שכן קובעות אבן אחדות מטיפוסים דומים או זהים נמצאו בשכבות של תקופת הברזל באתרים שונים בארץ-ישראל (*ibid*: 91). אולם אף אחת מקערות אלה אינה מעוטרת, וייחודו של הכלי שלפנינו הוא בעצם עיטורו. אף על פי כן יש דמיון כלשהו בין הקובעת הנדונה כאן ובין קובעת שנהב פניקית-אטרוסקית מפרינסטה שליד רומא: גם שם גוף הכלי מעוטר מסביב בסצנה הנתחמת בקווים בדגם "גיוש", אלא שלכלי זה נוספו גם קריאטידות (18 n. 32: 1990: Gehrig & Niemeyer). מן הסתם אפשר למצוא לכלי מקבילות נוספות, וייתכן מאוד שלפנינו סוג חדש של כלים גדולים ומעוטרים ששימשו לכתישת אבקות תמרוקים, צבעי איפור וכדומה בקנה מידה גדול יותר, בדומה לכלי האבן והצדף הפניקיים המעוטרים האחרים.

באשר לעצם העיטור, לפנינו סצנה המתמשכת מסביב לכלי. מתואר בה ספינקס פניקי רגיל: ראשו ראש אדם, גופו אריה מכונף, והוא עומד לפני עץ החיים, המורכב מטור של תימורות פניקיות זו מעל זו. מוטיב זה נפוץ גם על שנהבים פניקיים, בעיקר על כלים סגורים מסוג הפיקסיס (Barnett 1957: pls. XVIII, XXXIII–XXXVII; Mallowan 1966: 342–345 n. 579), על קערות מתכת (Markoe 1984: 256–257) וגם על כלי אבן. עם זה, ראוי לציין כי ברוב כלי האבן האחרים ביכרו האמנים את העיטור של עיגולים קונצנטריים בודדים על דגם ה"גיוש", שכן היה קל יותר לעשותם במקדח (בר"ג תשמ"ה: ציורים 3–10; לוחות מד-מה).

המוטיב המרכזי של ספינקס לפני עץ חיים, המופיע באיתור שלפנינו, הוא, אחד המוטיבים השכיחים באוצר הדגמים הפניקיים. מוטיב זה מופיע למאות רבות, במזרח, כולל ארץ-ישראל, ובמערב, על כל החפצים שנמנו לעיל ועשויים מכל החומרים האפשריים: שנהב, עצם, אבן, צדף, פאיאנס ומתכת (Crowfoot & )

לפי הכתר והלבוש ברור שלפנינו תיאור של מלך הלבוש בגד וחובש כתר בסגנון אחמני. מכאן שהשנהב, אם אכן מדובר בשנהב ולא בעצם, הוא מהתקופה הפרסית (משלהי המאה ה' עד שלהי המאה ה' לפסה"נ).

התיאור שעל השנהב הוא חלק ממוטיב שהיה שכיח ביותר בפרק זמן זה ותיאר בשלמותו את דמות "המלך הגיבור", מלך הנלחם ביריב עז: בשמאלו הוא לופת את ראש היריב ובחרב שבימינו הוא דוקר אותו. דמות האויב פושטת צורה ולובשת צורה: לעתים היא אדם, לעתים היא פר ולעתים היא דמות מיתולוגית, כגון ספינקס, גריפון או פר מכונף. מוטיב זה, שיש לו אבות טיפוס מסופוטמיים קרובים ביותר, שימש במקור את בית המלוכה האשורי. זאקס ומילארד אף ייחדו לו כמה מאמרים והוכיחו כי מדובר ב"חותם אשורי מלכותי" (Sachs 1953: 160-170; Millard 1965: 12-16). זאקס אף טוען במפורש שטביעה שנמצאה על גבי בולה מטין משומרון היא של "חותם מלכותי" (Reisner et al. 1924: pl. 56:A). ואכן, בין שהייתה זו בולה מלכותית שחתמה תעודה שנשלחה לפחה האשורי של שומרון ובין שהיה זה חותמו של הפחה עצמו, זו ההופעה הידועה הראשונה של מוטיב זה בארץ-ישראל של תקופת הברזל. בתקופה הבבלית כבר היו למוטיב הזה חיקויים מקומיים, במיוחד אצל גולים שחזרו מבבל לארץ-ישראל (Avigad 1965: pl. 40:B), אך גם אצל תושבי הארץ עצמם. ואולם הראשונים לאמץ את המוטיב האשורי היו הפניקיים, והם עשו בו שימוש רב מאוד בחותמותיהם (וראה להלן). כך, למשל, הטביעו אותו בקערות מתכת מעוטרת (Markoe 1984: 258), בצדפות הטרידקנה (Stucky 1974: pl. XLVIII), בציורים על גבי כלי חרס ואפילו בתבליטים שעל כלי החרס המעוטרים האופייניים כל כך לקרמיקה הפניקית של המאות ה'–ה' לפסה"נ מארץ-ישראל, מעבר הירדן ומקפריסין (Stern 1978: 11-21; Markoe 1988: 15-19).

אך הפריחה העיקרית של מוטיב "המלך הגיבור" בארץ ישראל ובפניקיה הייתה בתקופה הפרסית (Stern 1994b). אין ספק, שגם הממשל האחמני אימץ מוטיב זה, כפי שמעידים הממצאים הרבים מאור, מפרספוליס וממרכזי שלטון אחמניים אחרים (Richter 1949: pl. 31:3; Balkan 1950: pl. 33:9; Legrain 1959: nos. 252-255; ) Schmidt 1957: pls. 3:1, 11, 37). ואכן, גם בבולות ששימשו את פקיד פרס נמצאו טביעות אחדות עם המוטיב הזה: בחפירות שומרון עצמה נמצאו שתי בולות (Reisner et al. 1924: pl. 57:H), ובולות נוספות נתגלו במערת ואדי דליה, שאליה נמלטו תושבי העיר בימיה האחרונים (Lapp and Lapp 1974: 28; Leith 1997: pls. 17-18). בשלב כלשהו בתקופה הפרסית החלו הפניקים לייצר חותמות דמויי חרפושת מפאינס, דוגמת זה שנתגלה בתל כיסאן (Briend & Humbert 1980: 277 pl. 89:21). בתקופה זו המוטיב מופיע בתדירות על מטבעות צידון. מטבעות צידוניים שבהם מתואר מלך פרס הדוקר אריה נתגלו כמעט בכל אתרי החוף העיקריים של ארץ-ישראל, כגון עכו, תל אבו הואם, דור, שומרון ויפו (Lambert 1932: pl. I:21-34; Meshorer and Qedar 1999: pls. 27:200-201). עם זה, ראוי לציין, שצידון לא הייתה העיר היחידה שאימצה מוטיב זה על מטבעותיה. לאחרונה נתגלו מטבעות ארץ-ישראליות שונים שמופיע בהם המוטיב הזה. המעניינים במיוחד מביניהם נושאים, בנוסף למוטיב זה, גם את שמה של העיר שומרון (Meshorer & Qedar 1999: 87 n. 20).

בעת ההיא עבר מוטיב זה גם אל האמנות היוונית והחל להופיע הן על קערות מתכת מעוטרת (Markoe 1984: 258) והן בחותמות בסגנון פניקי-יווני שבהם תופס הרקלס/מלקרת את מקומו של המלך הפרסי (Moscatti 1988: 518; Parrot et al. ).

ב"מצודת שלמנאסר" (Mallowan 1966 n. 483-484). מדובר בשנהבים המתארים שתי דמויות של מתפללים מצדו האחד של העץ, ואילו בצדו האחר חסרים שני מתפללים נוספים, שהיו שם מן הסתם לצורך הסימטריה. מעל למתפללים ניצב ספינקס (Barnett 1957). לבוש המתפללים וכיסוי ראשם אמורים לחקות את הסגנון המצרי, אך תווי פניהם ולבושם עשויים בסגנון הפניקי הצפוני, המושפע מאוד מהאמנות הארמית והנאו-חתית.

שנהב בסגנון פניקי צפוני שפרטיו כמעט זהים לאלה של שני השנהבים מכלח (תל נמרוד) המתוארים לעיל, נתגלה בחצור של שלהי המאה הח' לפסה"נ – שכבה V (ראה איור 7). מדובר בפיסקס שעוטר בכמה מדורים. במדור השלם ביותר נראה מתפלל כורע בצדו האחד של עץ החיים, ואילו בצדו האחר של העץ מתואר ספינקס (ידין תשי"ח: לוח LCV).

לוחית השנהב ממוזיאון הכט היא, כפי הנראה, בת זמנו של הפיסקס מחצור, אלא שהיא עשויה בסגנון הפניקי הדרומי בדומה לדמות של המתפלל בשנהבי שומרון (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938: pl. XII:1), בעוד שהלוחית מחצור עשויה בסגנון הפניקי הצפוני.

מוטיב המתפלל נפוץ לא רק על גבי שנהבים אלא גם על גבי חפצים פניקיים משלהי המאה הז' ומן המאה הו' לפסה"נ שנוצרו מחומרים זולים יותר: עצם, אבן, צדף ומתכת. חומרים אלה החליפו את השנהב כחומר גלם עיקרי בפרק זמן זה (וראה לעיל). מאלה ראוי להזכיר, לדוגמה, את דמות המתפלל שנחרתה בעצם הכתף (סקפולה) של פרה. הממצא הזה נתגלה בתל דור ומתוארת בו סצנה ימית מורכבת (ראה איור 8).

באחת הסצנות מתואר מתפלל הכורע לפני עץ החיים. זמנה המאוחר של חרות זו ניכר גם בצורת עץ החיים, המועתק בדרך פניקית טיפוסית מתיאור של עצים המופיעים בדרך כלל בתבליטים אשוריים (Stern 1994a: 1-12).

כן ראוי להזכיר את זוג המתפללים שנחרת בלוחית אבן מטיפוס "קן הציפור" שנתגלתה ברבת עמון (בר"ג תשמ"ה: 24 ציור 11). מוטיב זה שכיח גם על גבי צדפות הטרידקנה הפניקיות בנות הזמן (Stucky 1974: pl. II) וגם על גבי כלים וחפצים שונים: קערות מתכת (Markoe 1984: 248-249), חותמות וטביעות חותם מפרק זמן מאוחר יותר (Lipiński 1992: pl. VIII:f).

#### ג. לוחית שנהב עם תיאור של מלך מזוקן

השנהב השלישי מאוסף הכט, שמספרו הקטלוגי H2192, הוא יחיד במינו בין שנהבי ארץ-ישראל (ראה איור 9). ושונה משני השנהבים שנדונו לעיל, הן מבחינת זמנו הן מבחינת המוטיב שבו. גם הטכניקה של עיטור השנהב שונה: בניגוד לשני השנהבים האחרים, שעוטרו בחריטה, זה עוטר בגילוף חללים, כמו רבים מן השנהבים הפניקיים מן המאות הט'–הח' לפסה"נ. בלוחית השנהב – שגובהה 59 מ"מ, אורכה 32 מ"מ ועובייה 9 מ"מ – מתואר מלך מזוקן המחזיק בחרב קצרה. לפנינו כנראה חלק מסצנה שתיארה את המלך הגיבור נאבק בחית טרף. המלך חובש כתר בעל נוצות בסגנון אחמני, ושערו גולש עד כתפיו.

בארץ ישראל, בסוריה ובארמונות מלכי אשור נתגלו כפות קטורת רבות שעוטרו בדגמים זהים: כפות ידיים ובעיקר עצי-חיים (Merhav 1980: 89-106; Stucky 1971: 11-24; Hestrin 1988: 115-118). בכמה מהן מופיע זוג הציפורים הנזכר (Gehrig & Niemeyer 1990: 132).

בשנים האחרונות נתגלו גם כלי אבן שצורתם זהה לחלוטין לזו של חפצי השנהב מטיפוס "קן הציפור". שלושה מהם פרסם דן בר"ג (ראה איורים 4-5) (בר"ג תשמ"ה: 223-225, לוח מה'). שניים מן הכלים מעוטרים בסגנון סכמטי למדי: יש בהם מוטיב מרכזי של עץ חיים בדמות פרח לוטוס מסוגן. באחד מהם נוספו שתי כפות תמרים, ואילו בבסיסו של האחר נוספו שתי קנוקנות הדומות מאוד לקנוקנות של עץ החיים שבשנהב מטיפוס "קן הציפור" הנדון כאן.

הכלי היפה מבין השלושה נמצא, כפי הנראה, ברבת עמון. מתוארות בו שתי דמויות אנושיות כורעות ומתפללות לפני עץ חיים הדומה לזה המתואר בשנהב הנדון כאן. מעל לעץ החיים מופיע סמל אלוהי נפוץ: גלגל השמש המכונף. גם בכלי זה מופיע מעל לקערה ומשני צדיה זוג ציפורים (וראה עוד להלן).

נוסף על ההשערה שהעליתי לעיל – כלומר שכלי השנהב שימשו למנחות, ואלו לכלי האבן היה שימוש יום יומי – כבר העליתי במקום אחר סברה שמחסור בשנהב בשלהי המאה ה' ובמאה ה' לפסה"נ הוא שהניע את הגלפים הפניקים לעבור מגילוף בשנהב לגילוף באבן, בעצם, בצדף (Stern 1975: 26-56) ואפילו בעץ (Shiloh 1989: pl. XXXIV). לסברה זו אפשר למצוא חיזוק בתאריכי הממצא: כל השנהבים הפניקיים הידועים הם מהמאות ה'ט'-ה'ח' לפסה"נ, ואילו זמנם של כלי האבן, הבהט והצדף מאוחר יותר.

### ב. לוחית שנהב בעיטור של גבר בלבוש מצרי

חפץ השנהב השני מאוסף הכט, שמספרו הקטלוגי H2193, עשוי בטכניקה של חריטה עדינה הדומה לזו שממנה עשוי השנהב מטיפוס "קן הציפור" שנדון לעיל. אך במקרה זה אין לפנינו כלי, אלא לוחית ששימשה לעיטור רהיט או קופסת עץ. את הלוחית הזו מעטרת דמות של גבר הלבוש בסגנון מצרי, כורע ברך ומרים את ידיו בתפילה. את המוטיב מקיף קו כפול, ובשני הקצוות מעוצבות שושנים (רוזטות) בעלות שישה עלים. גובה הלוחית 26 מ"מ, אורכה 19 מ"מ ועובייה 3 מ"מ (ראה איור 6).

גם שנהב זה עשוי בסגנון פניקי דרומי מובהק, וניכרת בו, כאמור, השפעה מצרית בולטת. יש מקום להניח שלוחית זו נמנתה עם קבוצה שלמה שהיה בה עיטור של מושא ההערצה של הדמות: עץ חיים. ייתכן שמצדו האחר של העץ היה עיטור של דמות נוספת.

גם מוטיב זה מוכר היטב מן האמנות הכנענית של תקופת הברונזה המאוחרת (Loud 1939: pl. 2), וממנה עבר במישרין אל עולם הדימויים הפניקי של המאות ה'ט'-ה'ח' לפסה"נ הן בארץ, הן בארמונות מלכי אשור במסופוטמיה ובמיוחד בכלח (תל נמרוד). צורת הדמות וגם תנוחת התפילה מחקות בבירור אב-טיפוס מצרי שהפניקים אימצוהו בשלמותו. הקרבה למקור המצרי ניכרת היטב בכמה משנהבי שומרון (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938: pl. I:21, III:1) וכלח (תל נמרוד) (Mallowan 1966 n. 478). חיקויים מתקופה מאוחרת יותר, הן בסגנון הפניקי הצפוני הן בסגנון הפניקי הדרומי, נתגלו גם בארמון הדרומי-המזרחי בכלח (Barnett 1957: 119 pl. LIV:s) וגם

בין מכלים אלה, שהיו נפוצים עד אנטוליה, ראוי להזכיר כאן את השנהב מטיפוס "קן הציפור" שנתגלה בסולטאן-טֶפֶה, וגם אותו פרסם בארנט (Barnett 1953). מקורם הפניקי (הכולל גם את החוף הפניקי של ארץ ישראל) של כלים אלה אינו טעון ראיה, שכן, כמו יתר טיפוסים הכלים שידונו להלן, הם חלק קבוע ממכלול הכלים שנתגלו באזור.

אזכיר כאן, דרך משל, את ידית השנהב מטיפוס "קן הציפור" שנתגלה בשכבה VI מהמאה הח' לפסה"נ בחצור (ראה איור 2) (ידין תש"ך: לוח CLXVII: 32) ושחופריה ייחסוה לסגנון ה"סורי", כלומר לסגנון הפניקי הצפוני. את פני הידית הנזכרת לעיל מעטרת תימורות (פלמטות) הפוכות, כלומר הן מתעגלות כלפי מעלה ולא כלפי מטה. נוסח זה של תימורות ידוע גם משנהבי שומרון, חדתו (ארסלאן טאש) וכלח (תל נמרוד).

גב הקערית מעוטר בראש של אישה שתסרוקתה מתחילה מיד מעל העיניים ושביל מחלק אותה באמצע. בצדי הידית מגולפות שתי יונים הנאחזות בתלתלי האישה, אחת מזה ואחת מזה (Crowfoot & Mallowan 1966: 565 n. 8; Barnett 1957: 92-96; Moscati 1988: 413; Crowfoot 1938: 40 fig. 10, pls. XVII: 40, XXI:2, XLV). מוטיב התימורות משקף את עץ החיים, ובשנהב מחצור הוא מייצג את גופה של האלה שראשה מופיע בצדו האחר. ואכן, עץ מסוג זה מופיע מדי פעם באמנות הפניקית כשהוא חרות בגופה של צלמית עשתורת (Gehrig & Niemeyer 1990: 246 n. 252). מוטיב עץ החיים, שכבר פגשנוהו בשנהבי "קן הציפור" מכלח (תל נמרוד) (Barnett 1957: 122 pl. III:s), אינו המוטיב היחיד הזהה בשנהבים משני האתרים. גם לזוג הציפורים שמעל ל"קן הציפור", שנתגלה בחצור, ומשני צדדיו יש מקבילות כמעט זהות לשנהב מ"מצודת שלמנאסר" (Mallowan 1966: 353). אין כל ספק כי בשני המקרים מגלמות ציפורים אלו, שהן כנראה יונים, דמות של אלה. בשנהב מחצור מתואר ראש האלה, ואילו בשנהב מכלח (תל נמרוד) מובא רק סמלה של האלה עשתורת.

השנהב מטיפוס "קן הציפור" מחצור עשוי בסגנון הפניקי הצפוני (ה"סורי"), בעוד שהשנהב האחר מטיפוס "קן הציפור" שהתגלה בארץ עשוי בבירור בסגנון הפניקי הדרומי, וניכרים בו יסודות מצריים בולטים. כוונתי לשנהב שהתגלה לפני זמן רב בחפירות בית צור (ראה איור 3) (Sellers 1933: 57-59), וחופרי ייחסוהו, שלא כדיון, לתקופה קדומה מאוד. תאריך זה תוקן מכבר, וכל החוקרים שדנו בממצא זה מייחסים אותו עתה למאות ט'-ח' לפסה"נ, והדין עמם (ידין תש"ך: 32; Stern 1994b: 101 n. 22). בשנהב זה מתואר גבר בלבוש פניקי טיפוסי. הוא מחזיק בידו האחת ענף, וידו האחרת מורמת בתנוחת הערצה. מן הסתם שזוהי הערצה לפני סמל מקודש – אולי עץ חיים – שלא נותר לו מקום בשנהב. מוטיב זה דומה דמיון רב למוטיב השכיח בתבליטים פניקיים מכל הסוגים: ספינקס המרים את רגלו בהערצה לפני עץ מקודש (Mallowan 1966: 353; Barnett 1957: 8; Moscati 1988: 413).

אמנם מקובל לראות בחפצי השנהב מטיפוס "קן הציפור" כלים שימושיים – כגון כלי תמרוקים – אך כל המוטיבים המתוארים בהם מקודשים: עץ החיים, ראש האלה וסמליה (יונים) והספינקס. העובדה שכלים אלה עשויים משנהב, חומר רך שאינו מתאים במיוחד לשימוש, מצביעה אולי על פירוש אחר: אלה הם חפצי מנחה שהונחו במקומות פולחן ובקברים. כלים שימושיים מטיפוס זה נהגו ליצור מחומרים קשים יותר, כגון מתכת (Markoe 1984: 242-243, 256-259) ואבנים מסוגים שונים.

## ממצאים פניקיים מעוטרים מארץ ישראל

אפרים שטרן<sup>1</sup>

במאמר זה יידונו ארבעה חפצים פניקיים טיפוסיים השמורים בשני מוזיאונים בישראל: שלושה שנהבים מגולפים במוזיאון ראובן ועידית הכט באוניברסיטת חיפה וקובעת אבן מעוטרת במוזיאון ארצות המקרא שבירושלים.

### א. כף שנהב מטיפוס "יקן הציפור"

השנהב הפניקי הראשון מאוסף מוזיאון הכט, שמספרו הקטלוגי H2194, הוא כף מלבנית שבקצה האחד שלה יש שקעים שטוחים (ראה איור 1). ידית הכף מעוטרת בעץ החיים בסגנון פניקי. אורך הכף 82.5 מ"מ, רוחבה 29 מ"מ ועובייה 8 מ"מ. לפנינו, כפי הנראה, כלי תמרוקים.

טיפוס זה כונה בפי ר"ד בארנט בשם "יקן הציפור". פרטים אחדים ממנו נתגלו בין מכלולי השנהבים בארמונות השונים בכלח (תל נמרוד) וכן ב"מצודת שלמנאסר".

נתגלו שם, למעשה, שני טיפוסים עיקריים של כלי "יקן הציפור":

- הטיפוס האחד מתאר שלוש נערות שוחות המחזיקות קערה בקצות ידיהן (Barnett 1957: 94, pl. LI). טיפוס זה, כמו רוב השנהבים הפניקיים, הוא חיקוי של אב-טיפוס מצרי שנקלט בכנען כבר בתקופת הברונזה המאוחרת (Lund 1939: pls. 40-41; Dothan 1979: 61-63). ועבר ממנה אל האמנות הפניקית. בהקשר זה ראוי לציין כי הידיים המחזיקות בקערה שכיחות באמנות הפניקית גם בכפות קטורת או בפקקים לבקבוקי חרס, שנהב או אבן (ידין תש"ד: לוח CLXIV: 12; May 1935: pl. XVIII; Mazar 1964: pl. 11; Merhav 1980: 89-106).
  - הטיפוס השני של כלי "יקן הציפור" מכלח (תל נמרוד) הוא מן הסוג הרגיל, כמו זה שלפנינו. רוב הכלים האלה נתגלו בארמון הדרומי-המזרחי, והם עשויים בסגנון הפניקי הצפוני, שהוא הסגנון "הסורי" על פי מינוחו של בארנט (Barnett 1957: 94-95, pl. LIII-LV). באחד מהם, לפחות, עץ החיים הוא המוטיב המרכזי (Ibid: 119, pl. LIV:s). גם מקורו של מוטיב זה הוא באמנות הכנענית של שלהי תקופת הברונזה המאוחרת (Lund 1939: pls. 6, 19, 34-35; Barnett 1982: pl. 21d).
- בחפירותיו של מאלוואן "מצודת שלמנאסר" נתגלו שנהבים נוספים מטיפוס "יקן הציפור". הדוגמה השלמה והיפה ביותר מתארת ספינקס פניקי טיפוסי החובש כתר מצרי ומרים את רגלו את מול עץ החיים. ראוי לציין כי בשני צדי הקערה גולפו שתי ציפורים (Mallowan 1966: 353 n. 529).

<sup>1</sup> אני מבקש בזאת להודות לגב' עפרה רימון, אוצרת ראשית במוזיאון ראובן ועידית הכט, על שהרשתה לי לפרסם את חפצי השנהב וכן שמורה תודתי למר א' בורובסקי במוזיאון ארצות המקרא בירושלים על שהרשה לי לפרסם את קובעת האבן. כל התצלומים נעשו בידי זאב רדובן. ציור הקובעת נעשה בידי גב' שרה הלברייך.





The First Treaty Between Hatti and Egypt  
(Abstract)

Itamar Singer

In several texts of Muršili II reference is made to an ancient treaty between Hatti and Egypt which was violated by his father Šuppiluliuma I in Amqa. One of the provisions of the treaty was the transfer of a group of people from the northern Anatolian city of Kuruštama to Egypt. Several fragments belonging to this early treaty were indeed found in Hattuša (CTH 134). These fragments mention a military alliance between Hatti and Egypt. The “Kuruštama people” were probably a contingent of professional soldiers sent by the Hittites to serve in the army of their Egyptian allies. A close scrutiny of Hittite and Egyptian historical sources suggests that this first Hittite-Egyptian peace treaty was concluded between Tuthaliya I and Amenophis II, during the latter’s northern campaign of Year 9 (1417 BCE).

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במחקרים ישנים התייחסו בחוסר אמון מוחלט לקטע זה וראו בו סתם התרברבות חסרת שחר (Edel 1953: 173; Wilson 1969: 247, n. 52). ואולם, מחקרים חדישים יותר מאבחנים רמזים פוליטיים עדינים שחבויים בתוך ההפרזות המילוליות הטיפוסיות. הביטויים "לבקש שלום" (dbḥ ḥṭpw) ולבקש מפרעה את "נשמת החיים" (t3w n 'nh) הולמים היטב הקשרים של כינון קשרים דיפלומטיים (Bryan 1998: 34ff.; Lundh 2002: 131ff.) גם יזמת השלום הראשונה בין מיתני למצרים קרתה אחרי מסעותיו של אמנחותפ ב' לאסיה (Singer 1988). נראה ששתי המעצמות הצפוניות ביקשו לקיים יחסי שלום עם שכנתם מדרום במסגרת הכנותיהן למאבק על השליטה בצפון סוריה. לפיכך, תאריך ברבע האחרון של המאה ה־13 לחוזה פֶּרֶשֶׁתִּם, אשר נחתם כנראה בין תִּתַּחֲלִי א' לבין אמנחותפ ב', הולם היטב את הנתונים ההיסטוריים המוכרים לנו ומספק סינכרוניזם רב ערך להיסטוריה החתית.

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tillatum. הוא מכון בדרך-כלל ליחידות עזר שנשלחו כתגבורת מבעל-ברית אחד לחברו. חובת הסיוע הצבאי ההדדי מעוגנת בחוזים החיתיים המוקדמים, כגון בחוזה שבין תתחל' א' מלך חתי לשנשר מלך פִּזְוֹתֵנ. פרשיות היסטוריות שונות מעידות על כך שהחתיים אכן התייחסו ברצינות להתחייבות זו ושלחו יחידות תגבורת לבעלי בריתם שנקלעו לצרה. לפיכך, יש להבין גם את חוזה פִּרְשֶׁתִּם בהקשר פוליטי זה, אלא שהפעם ציינו את מוצאה של יחידת העזר במפורש. יש להניח שהמצרים קיבלו בברכה נהוג זה והמשיכו לפתחו בדורות הבאים. על פי מה שידוע לנו מתוך ההתכתבות בין רעמסס ב' לחתים, מספרם של אנשי הפִּשֶׁפֶּ ששלחו למצרים מדי פעם הגיע לכדי 500 איש. יש לשער שגם יחידת אנשי פִּרְשֶׁתִּם שנשלחו למצרים כ-100 שנה קודם לכן הייתה בגודל דומה. מכל מקום, אין במספר זה או דומה לו כדי להצדיק את השערת ההגירה ההמונית מאנטוליה כפי שהציע בשעתו פִּוֶּרֶר, וממילא לא ידוע לנו לאן הגיעו אנשים אלו בתוככי האימפריה המצרית הגדולה.

מה שיותר עוד לברר הוא זמנו המדויק של חוזה פִּרְשֶׁתִּם. למרבה הצער, לא בקטעים שנשתמרו מתוך החוזה עצמו ואף לא באזכוריו המאוחרים אין רמז למלך שבימי נכרתה הברית. אך כאמור, שפת החוזה מצביעה על המאה הטי"ו או ראשית המאה הי"ד לפסה"נ וגם סקירת ההשתלשלות ההיסטורית מאפשרת לנו לאתר את הרגע המתאים לכריתת חוזה ראשון זה בין חתי למצרים. סביר להניח שההתקרבות בין שתי המעצמות חלה בתקופה שבה תחומי שלטון בסוריה השיקו זה לזה. בממלכה הקדומה פרצו החתים לראשונה לסוריה בכוח רב, אך בתקופה זו הייתה מצרים עדיין נתונה לשלטון מלכי החקסוס. אחרי תקופת חולשה ארוכה, פרצו החתים שוב לסוריה בימי תתחל' א' במחצית השנייה של המאה הטי"ו לפסה"נ. הכרונולוגיה החתית בתקופה זו מעורפלת למדי משום שחסרים לנו סינכרוניזמים עם מסופוטמיה. לפיכך, עיגון סביר של הברית הראשונה בין חתי למצרים בתוך הכרונולוגיה המצרית היציבה עשוי לתרום תרומה נכבדה להיסטוריה החתית.

מסתבר, שאכן יש בתעודות המצריות כמה אזכורים המאפשרים להציע מועד מדויק למדי לחוזה פִּרְשֶׁתִּם. בשובו ממסעותיו לסוריה קיבל פרעה תחותמס ג' מנחות מאשור, מבבל ומ"חתי הגדולה" בשנתו ה-33 ובשנתו ה-41, הווה אומר, 1447 ו-1439 לפסה"נ, בהתאמה (Ur. IV, 700-701; Helck 1971: 166f.). רוב החוקרים הצביעו על הזדמנות זו כמועד המתאים ביותר לחוזה פִּרְשֶׁתִּם. ברם, לא זו בלבד שתאריך זה נראה מוקדם מדי ביחס לכרונולוגיה החתית המקובלת, אלא שהתיעוד המצרי מדבר על חילופי מנחות בלבד ואין בו שום רמז לכריתת ברית של ממש. יחד עם זה, הביטוי "חתי הגדולה" רומז שאנו קרובים לפסגת ההתפשטות החתית בימי תתחל' א', תקופה שנחשבת כיום לראשיתה של האימפריה החתית.

הזדמנות מתאימה יותר שחיתולוגים לא נתנו את דעתם עליה עד כה, היא מסע השנה התשיעית של אמנחותפ ב', הווה אומר 1417 לפסה"נ, שבמסגרתו ביקשו שליטי הצפון שלום עם מצרים:

כעת, מששמעו שליטי נהרין, חתי ושנער (בבל) על הניצחון הגדול שנחלתי, התחרו איש ברעהו (להעלות) כל מיני מנחות מכל מיני ארצות. הם דיברו בלבם עם אבי אבותיהם בבקשם שלום מעם הוד מלכותו כדי שייתן להם את נשמת החיים: "אנו מביאים את מנחותינו לארמונך, הו בן אל-השמש (רע), אמנחתפ, האל המולך באון (הליופוליס), שליט השליטים, אריה נוהם בכל הארצות ובארץ זו לעולם ( ) Urk. IV, 1309, 13-20; Edel 1953: 136; Wilson 1969: 247).

הקטע הראשון שהשתמר באופן חלקי ביותר (פנים, שורות 1-14') כולל ביטויים שונים שאופייניים לשבועות פומביות (לתעתיק חתי ראה: Singer 2004: 597 f.):

[...]ליִבְנו רועד ושוב לא נִגָּן על...  
 [...]שוב לא נראה ולא נשמע...  
 [...]מאוד יָּרָא[ים]...  
 [...]ראו! אל הסער [...]עבורכם את הים...  
 [...]יִרָאָה [...]לא תראו עוד...  
 ואנשי כְּרֶשֶׁת[מ] [...]רעים לנו[...] את מה שניתק [...]...  
 וכאשר בְּמָקוֹם [...]אל הסער [...]חזרה עבורם [...]...  
 [...]אָרָץ [...]מָסָר לא [...]את הִירָאָה [...]...

ביטויים מבודדים אלו, הנאמרים על ידי אנשי כְּרֶשֶׁתִּם או כלפיהם, מוצאים את הקשרם אם משווים אותם ל"שבועות החיילים", טקסט ידוע שמתוארך לאותה תקופה לערך.  
 הנה קטע אופייני:

מי שיִּכְר שבועות אלו וינקוט צעדי מַרְמָה כנגד מלך חתי וישית עיניו על ארץ חתי כאויב, יתפסוהו אלי שבועה אלו, יעוורו צבאותיו ויחרישו אותם. בִּל יראה עוד רַע את רְעו. בל ישמע עוד זה את זה. מוות נורא יתנו לו (Collins 1997: 165f.; Oettinger 1976: 6).

סביר להניח שגם הביטויים המקוטעים בחוזה שלנו מצטרפים לכדי טקס השבעה דומה שנערך עבור אנשי כְּרֶשֶׁתִּם לפני צאתם למצרים. משום כך הניח סירנהגן שטקסט זה אינו חלק מחוזה כְּרֶשֶׁתִּם עצמו אלא שהוא מעין הסכם פרדה בין המלך החתי ואנשי כְּרֶשֶׁתִּם. ואולם, הקטע הבא (אחור, שורות 5-10'), שהשתמר בצורה שלמה יותר, אינו משאיר ספק לגבי השתייכות הקטעים לחוזה עצמו, שנערך בין חתי למצרים בחסות אל הסער (לתעתיק חתי ראה Singer 2004: 599):

אנשי חתי בִּל ייכנסו לארץ מצרים בכוונות רעות, [ואנשי מצרים בל ייכנסו] לארץ חתי [בכוונות] רעות. יהיו (אנשי) חֲתָשׁ בעלי ברית (אנשי) ארץ מצרים ויִגְנו על מצרים! ואילו (אנשי) ארץ מצרים יהיו בעלי-ברית (ל)אנשי (ארץ) חֲתָשׁ ויִגְנו על ארץ חֲתָשׁ!

ההמשך מקוטע מאוד, אך אפשר למצוא בו ביטויים הקשורים ל"עריקה", "הפרת השבועה של אל הסער", ואולי גם "להיות בני כְּרֶשֶׁתִּם [נתינים שלי] מצריים". אין ספק שמדובר כאן בחוזה בין חתי למצרים שאחד מסעיפיו עסק במשלוח אנשי כְּרֶשֶׁתִּם למצרים.<sup>3</sup>  
 הביטוי שתרגמתי כ"בעלי-ברית" ראוי לתשומת לב מיוחדת. הוראתה של המילה החתית *šardiya-* היא "סייען, בן-ברית, צבא-עזר, תגבורת".<sup>4</sup> מקבילתו האכדית היא

<sup>3</sup> לפיכך, אינני מוצא הצדקה להפרדה שממשיך סירנהגן לעשות בין ההסכם עם אנשי כְּרֶשֶׁתִּם לבין החוזה החתי-מצרי עצמו (Sürenhagen 2006).

<sup>4</sup> אני משער שמילה חתית זו קשורה קשר אטימולוגי וסמנטי לתופעת ה-*šerdani* במזרח הקדום, שכירי חרב ששירתו בצבאות מצרים וארצות אחרות מתקופת עמארנה ואילך (Singer 2004: 604, n. 45). הדיון בהצעה זו יוצג במקום אחר.



## חוזה כרשת

כעת הגיע הזמן לשאול את שאלות המפתח:

– מי היו אותם אנשי כרשת מסתוריים ומדוע הובלו למצרים במסגרת ברית שכרתו ביניהם חתי ומצרים?

– מתי בדיוק נכרתה ברית קדומה זו ומה היו נסיבותיה?

העיר כרשת מוכרת לנו מטקסטים חתיים אחרים, מהם היסטוריים ומהם דתיים. הייתה זו עיר משנית בחשיבותה ששכנה באזור הרי הפונטוס בקצה הצפוני של ארץ חתי. באזור זה שלטו שבטי הפשפ הטורדניים, שלא פסקו מלתקוף את הממלכה החתית לכל אורך ימיה ואולי אף קירבו את קצה. הצבא החתי הצליח בדרך כלל לגבור עליהם, אך הניצחון היה קצר מועד, שכן הפשפ הצליחו להתלכד שוב ושוב ולהמשיך במלחמת גרילה נגד השלטון המרכזי.

שבויים רבים מקרב שבטי הפשפ נשבו ונשלחו לעבודות כפך, למשל כטוחנים (והשווה שופטים טז 21).

אחד החתיתולוגים הראשונים שניסה לפרש את פרשת כרשת, החוקר השוויצרי אָמיל פֶּוֹרֶר, הציע בשנות השלושים של המאה שעברה שהיו אלו חבורות אנשים שנמלטו מאימת הצבא החתי והגיעו עד לאזור ששלטו בו המצרים (Forrer 1936-37). הם התיישבו באזורים דלילי האוכלוסין של ירושלים, חברון ובאר שבע ונדעו כחתים הנזכרים במקרא. פֶּוֹרֶר הביע את תקוותו שביום מן הימים תימצא ההוכחה הארכיאולוגית להגירה קדומה זו.

הוכחה ארכיאולוגית להגירה רחבת היקף מאנטוליה לארץ-ישראל טרם נתגלתה (זינגר 2004: 13; Singer 2006a: 754), אך בינתיים הוצעו תסריטים היסטוריים סבירים יותר לפרשה תמוהה זו. הראשון להצביע על הדמיון בין פרשת כרשת לבין המסופר באחד ממכתבי אָרְזֹון שנתגלו בתל אל-עמארנה (מס' 31) היה החוקר הצרפתי אָז'ן קוֹוֵינְיַאק (Cavaignac 1932: 72). במכתב זה מבקש פרעה מבעל בריתו במערב אנטוליה לשלוח לו אנשי פֶּשֶׁפֶּ.

כ-100 שנה מאוחר יותר, ב"תור הזהב" של יחסי חתי-מצרים במאה הי"ג לפסה"נ, החליפו ביניהן שתי המעצמות שבויים "אֶקְזוֹטִיִּים": החתים שלחו למצרים אנשי פֶּשֶׁפֶּ ואילו המצרים שלחו לחתי גֶּשִׁים מארץ מֶלֶח, היא נובֶּיָה (Edel 1994/2: 731; Singer 2006a: 294). מסתבר, אפוא, שאנשים אלו נשלחו ממעצמה אחת לרעותה כלוחמים עזי נפש שגויסו לצבאותיהן כשכירי-חרב. היש חיזוק להנחה זו בתעודות נוספות? מסתבר שכן.

כבר לפני כ-50 שנה זיהו חוקרים פרגמנטים אחדים המזכירים את העיר כרשת, את חתי ואת מצרים (CTH 134) והציעו לשייך אותם לחוזה המקורי שנזכר באנאלים של שְׁפֶּלְלוֹם ובתפילות המגפה של מֶרְשֶׁל (Güterbock 1960: 58, 62 n. 6). במהלך השנים נוספו פרגמנטים אחדים וב-1985 ניסה החוקר הגרמני דיטריך סירנהגן לנתח אותם במסגרת מונוגרפיה על חוזים פריקטיים (Sürenhagen 1985: 22-39; 2006). שפת הקטעים אופיינית ל"חתיית תיכונה", כלומר למאה הטי"ו וראשית המאה הי"ד לפסה"נ, אם כי העותקים שנשתמרו בידינו הם מתקופה מאוחרת יותר. שני פרגמנטים נוספים נתגלו לאחרונה וב-2004 ניסיתי לחקור מחדש את מכלול הפרגמנטים ולאתר את מסגרתו ההיסטורית (Singer 2004; 2006a: 730ff.). יש להדגיש שלמרות ריבוי הפרגמנטים, השייכים לארבעה עותקים לפחות, החסר עדיין עולה על הקיים בטקסט ועלינו להסתפק, לעת עתה, בכמה קטעים רצופים בלבד. אף על פי כן, נראה לי שיש בהם כדי לספק תשובות מהימנות לחלק מן השאלות הנוקבות שמעלה חוזה כרשת.

חתי ומצרים תמיד בשלום זו עם זו (Singer 2004: 98; Güterbock 1956: 594).

הקטע המצוטט מהלוח ושהקריאו אותו לפני המלך כתוב בשפה ארכאית ומכאן ההוכחה שאכן היה זה לוח קדום שנשמר בארכיונים של חתושה תקופה ממושכת. מדובר בו בשני אירועים שהיו קשורים זה לזה קשר הדוק: (א) קבוצת אנשים מהעיר כַּרְשֶׁתִּם, כנראה בהנהגת מפקדם (הטקסט עובר מלשון יחיד לרבים), הועברו מחתי למצרים "בחסות אל הסער" והפכו לנתינים מצריים. (ב) באותה הזדמנות נחתם חוזה בין מצרים לחתי והוא נשאר בתוקפו עד ימי שַׁפְּלִימִם א'.

אותה ברית מתוארת גם בשתי תפילות של מֶרְשֶׁל עצמו והפעם נסיבות כריתתה מפורטות יותר. בימיו פרצה בחתי מגפה איומה שחיסלה רבבות מתושבי הארץ, ואף אביו ואחיו הבכור נספו בה. מֶרְשֶׁל ניסה נואשות להתחקות אחר סיבת זעמם של האלים וגילה שני לוחות עתיקים שהעידו על שני מקרים של הפרת שבועת האלים בימי אביו: הראשון עסק בהזנחת הקרבנות לנהר מֶל (הפרת) והשני בפרשת כַּרְשֶׁתִּם שזכרת גם באנאלים של שַׁפְּלִימִם:

הלוח השני היה על כַּרְשֶׁתִּם: כיצד הוביל אל הסער את אנשי כַּרְשֶׁתִּם לארץ מצרים וכיצד עשה להם אל הסער חוזה עם אנשי חתי וכך הושמו תחת שבועתו של אל-הסער של חתי. כיוון שאנשי חתי ואנשי מצרים נשבעו זה לזה בשבועתו של אל-הסער של חתי, וכיוון שידם של אנשי חתי הייתה על העליונה, בכך אנשי חתי הפרו בעליל את שבועת האלים. אבי שלח צבא ומרכבות והם תקפו את גבול ארץ מצרים בארץ עֶמֶק. ושוב הוא שלח ושוב הם נלחמו (Singer 2002b: 58; 2004: 595).

לפי קטע זה, שלקוח מתפילת המגפה "השנייה" של מֶרְשֶׁל, מקור החטא היה בהשגת גבול מצרים בארץ עֶמֶק, הווה אומר, בקעת הלבנון שמדרום לבעל-בֶּק (Singer 1988). מדובר בגבול "מצרים" במובן הרחב של המילה, כלומר בקצה תחום שלטונה בארץ כנען. ושוב כותב מֶרְשֶׁל על גבולות בקטע אחר של תפילות המגפה:

[היה זה לוח על ארץ] מצרים. ללוח זה לא הוספתי דבר וגם לא גרעתי ממנו דבר. הו אלים, אדוני, ראו-נא! אינני יודע אם מי מהמלכים שמלכו לפניי הוסיפו לו דבר או גרעו ממנו דבר. לי לא ידוע דבר וגם לא שמעתי על כך מאז. אני לא עסקתי בגבולות שנקבעו עבורנו בידי אל הסער. בדיוק את אותם הגבולות שהשאיר לי אבי, את אותם הגבולות [שמרתי(?)]. לא חפצתי ממנו [דבר] ואת גבול ארצו אשר ... (Singer 2002b: 67).

מקטע מרתק זה, שמתמצת היטב את תפיסת החוק הבין-לאומי של החתים, ניתן אולי להסיק שבחוזה הקדום הייתה התייחסות כלשהי לגבול בין שתי האימפריות, אלא שֶׁמֶרְשֶׁל מעיד בעצמו שהוא לא שינה גבול זה. הייתה לו, מן הסתם, סיבה טובה להצטדק בפני האלים בעניין זה, שכן בימיו החלו המצרים בהנהגת חורמחב בניסיונות להשיב לעצמם את השטחים האסטרטגיים שאיבדו בסוריה במהלך מלחמתם בַּשַּׁפְּלִימִם (Miller 2007; 2008). להגנתו טוען מֶרְשֶׁל שלא ידע על שינויי הגבול שחלו בימי קודמיו וכל מטרתו הייתה להגן על הגבולות שירש מאביו.

דווקא בנוסח הכתוב מצרית נשתמרה עדות לקרב האיתנים שניהלו ביניהן שתי המעצמות קודם לכן, מבלי לציין כמובן את תוצאות הקרב:

אך בימי מִנְתַּל, המלך הגדול של חתי, אחי, הוא נלחם ברעמסס, אהוב אֶמֶן, המלך הגדול של מצרים. ... וכשאחי מִנְתַּל, המלך הגדול של חתי, הלך לעולמו התיישב חֲתַשְׁל, המלך הגדול של חתי, על כס אביו. רָאָה, באתי להיות עם רעמסס, אהוב אֶמֶן, המלך הגדול של מצרים, כיוון שעשינו בינינו שלום ואחוה טובים יותר מהשלום ומהאחוה ששררו זה מכבר בארץ (Wilson 1969: 199f.; Kitchen 1996: 80f.)

מי ניסח את הסעיף הזה במקור, החתים או המצרים? לכאורה, לכינוי "אחי" כפל משמעויות: מצד אחד, כך נהגו לכנות זה את זה שליטי ארצות שוות מעמד בעולם העתיק, אך מצד שני, מִנְתַּל היה אכן אחיו הבכור של חֲתַשְׁל, בן בריתו של רעמסס. "שיפוץ" היסטורי מסוים מטה את הכף לטובת האפשרות השנייה, ולפיה החתים ניסחו מבוא היסטורי זה. עם מותו של מִנְתַּל עלה לשלטון בנו, אָרַח-תֶּשֶׁב/מֶרְשֶׁל ג', והוא הודח בהפיכת חצר על-ידי דודו חֲתַשְׁל. המלך המודח הוגלה מחוץ לארצו ומצא, בסופו של דבר, מקלט כנראה במצרים (Singer 2006b). עושה רושם שמי שדילג בשוויון נפש על פרשה עגומה זו היה לא אחר מאשר האֶזְרֶפְטוֹר עצמו, מנסח החוזה. בהמשך מופיע סעיף חשוב שמאשרר הסכמים קודמים בין שתי הארצות:

באשר לברית שנכרתה בימי שַׁפְּלִלִימ, המלך הגדול של חתי וכמו כן הברית שנכרתה בימי מִנְתַּל, אביו(!), אני ממשיך לקיים אותה. וראה, גם רעמסס, אהוב אֶמֶן, המלך הגדול של מצרים, ממשיך לקיים אותה, [את הברית שכרת] עמנו החל מיום זה. שנינו מקיימים אותה ונמשיך לקיים את הקשר הקבוע הזה. (Kitchen 1996: 81; Wilson 1969: 200).

באזכור היסטורי זה מדובר כביכול בשני חוזים קודמים בין חתי למצרים, או שמא בחוזה אחד שנשאר שריר וקיים מימי שַׁפְּלִלִימ א' ואילך. חוקרים התלבטו רבות באילו חוזים מדובר כאן, שהרי לא מוכרים לנו שום חוזים בין שתי המעצמות מימי מלכים אלו. יתרה מכך, מימי שַׁפְּלִלִימ א' ועד לחתימת "חוזה הכסף" שררו יחסי איבה עמוקים בין שתי הארצות, ואף פרצו ביניהן קרבות של ממש הן בימי שַׁפְּלִלִימ (בארץ עֶמְק) והן בימי מִנְתַּל (בקדש). נראה שהכותב עשה כאן איִדְּאִלִּיזָצְיָה של העבר מתוך כוונה להדגיש את הקרבה הנצחית בין שתי המדינות. לשווא נחפש אחיזה של ממש לחוזים אלו בהשתלשלות ההיסטורית של המאות ה"ד-י"ג לפסה"נ.

לעומת זאת, יש חוזה קדום בין חתי למצרים שלא נזכר ב"חוזה הכסף", ואולי אליו התכוון הכותב. חוזה קדום זה נזכר בכמה תעודות שכתב מֶרְשֶׁל ב' ואף נשתמרו מתוכו כמה קטעים מקוריים. נתחיל באזכורים המאוחרים. כידוע, רשם מֶרְשֶׁל את האנאלים (בחתינית: "מעשי הגבורה") של אביו שַׁפְּלִלִימ ובהם תיאר בין השאר את תגובתו המופתעת של זה האחרון לשִׁמְע המכתב ששלחה אלמנת פרעה ובו ביקשה לשאת את אחד מבניו:

אז ביקש אבי את לוח החוזה (שבו סוֹפֵר) כיצד לפניך לקח אל הסער את איש פְּרִשְׁתִּי, בן חתי, והוביל אותו לארץ מצרים ועשה אותם(!) למצרים; וכיצד אל-הסער כרת ברית בין מצרים לחתי וכיצד הם היו תמיד בשלום ביניהם. וכאשר קראו לפניו את הלוח פנה אבי אליהם באומר: "מאז ימים ימימה היו חתי ומצרים בשלום זו עם זו, וכעת גם זאת קרתה לנו. מעתה ואילך תהיינה

## החוזה הראשון בין חתי למצרים

איתמר זינגר<sup>1</sup>

חוזה השלום הידוע ביותר בין חתי למצרים הוא זה שנחתם בשנתו ה-21 של רעמסס ב' (1258 לפסה"ס), 16 שנה לאחר קרב קדש. חוזה זה, הידוע בכינויו "חוזה הכסף" על שם לוח הכסף שעליו נחקק המקור, מכיל סעיפים רבים המפרטים את "השלום החם" שהשתרר בין שתי המעצמות, לרבות שיתוף פעולה צבאי והסגרת שבויים נמלטים. 13 שנה לאחר מכן הידקו חצרות המלוכה את קשריהן עוד יותר באמצעות נישואין מלכותיים בין רעמסס ב' לנסיכה חתית. בארכיונים הממלכתיים של חתושה נתגלו למעלה מ-100 מכתבים כתובים אכדית שמעידים על הקשרים הדיפלומטיים, הכלכליים והתרבותיים הענפים שקיימו ביניהן שתי המעצמות וגרורותיהן בסוריה ובארץ-ישראל (Edel 1994; Archi 1997; Singer 2002a; 2006b).<sup>2</sup>

"חוזה הכסף" נשתמר בשתי גרסות: גרסה כתובה אכדית על גבי לוחות טין שנמצאו בחתושה (Beckman 1999: 96-100; Cohen 2006), וגרסה כתובה מצרית שחרותה על קירות מקדש אמון בכרנך ובֶרְמֶסְסֶאוֹס (Wilson 1969: 199-201; Edel 1997; Kitchen 1996: 79-85). שתי הגרסות אינן זהות לגמרי, ובכל זאת הן משלימות זו את זו בקטעים פגומים. מנסחי הגרסה המקורית היו, ללא ספק, החתים. בהגיע לוח הכסף למצרים הניחו אותו לפני אלוהות השמש בעיר הליופוליס (און המקראית) ואת תרגומו למצרית חרתו על קירות מקדשיהם. את הגרסה המתוקנת שלהם שלחו חזרה לחתי. יוצא אפוא שבאופן פרדוקסלי דווקא הגרסה הכתובה מצרית משקפת את המקור החתי, ואילו הגרסה הכתובה אכדית משקפת את התיקונים שהכניסו המצרים בחוזה.

### יחסי המצרים והחתים לפני "חוזה הכסף"

החתים נזהרו מאוד לא לזרות מלח על פצעי המצרים ונמנעו מלהזכיר את תבוסתם הצורבת בקרב קדש. העבר מאופיין בצורה אידיאלית ומעורפלת:

באשר ליחסים בין המלך הגדול, מלך מצרים, והמלך הגדול, מלך חתי, מאז ומתמיד אסר עליהם האל, באמצעות חוזה, להילחם זה בזה. רעמסס, אהוב אמון, המלך הגדול, מלך מצרים, עושה (חוזה) זה על מנת לקיים את הברית שקבעו אל השמש ואל הסער עבור מצרים וחתי בהתאם לקשריהם מאז ומתמיד וכדי שלנצח תימנע המלחמה ביניהם. (Beckman 1999: 97; Cohen 2006: 245).

<sup>1</sup> הכנת המאמר נעשתה בתמיכת הקרן הלאומית למדע (ISF). לגרסה אנגלית מורחבת ראה Singer 2004. מאמר זה מוקדש בתודה ובהערכה לעמית וחבר שסייע לי רבות בראשית דרכי האקדמית לאחרונה נתגלה שבר קטן של לוח השייך להתכתבות החתית-מצרית גם בחפירות פי-רעמסס שבלתה (Pusch and Jakob 2003).

<sup>2</sup>



The Process of Urbanization in the Northwestern Negev  
during the MBIII Period: Social and Economic Aspects  
(Abstract)

David Gal

The evidence for early regional population is the "courtyard cemetery" in Tell el-'Ajjul. The cemetery was in use before the earliest occupation layer at the site, and it has no relation to any structure of its time. Consequently, this cemetery provides evidence for a non-sedentary pastoral population living and grazing their herds within the area.

The region's capacity to support human non-sedentary population prior to urbanization, was limited to 800 families. A calculation of the great volume of earthworks and the possibility of production per employee makes it unlikely that this task was carried out by the local population. Additional manpower was probably brought by the Delta Kingdom from Sinai, Wadi Tumilat and the collapsing central mountain region. The sites were built and occupied within a short period of time.

Some models were investigated and are proposed in order to elucidate the urbanization process:

1. The Malthusian model, dealing with the social consequences of environmental pressure. This model can be used to account for the collapse of the settlement system in the central mountain region, contributing population to the crystallizing settlement system that emerged in the Northwestern Negev.
2. The model of development of urban centers around a central continental trade route. The model was rejected because no central long term continental trade route existed in the region. The technology of long term transportation in arid areas, the domesticated camel, was still unknown.
3. The model of the "shifting frontier", which was used to explain oscillations in settlement systems, fits very well, from the Egyptian point of view, the establishment of urban settlements in the empty frontier of the Delta Kingdom.

Comparison of the two settlement systems, in the Northwestern Negev and in the Central Jordan Valley, exhibits a fundamental difference between them. The first was planned and established rapidly without a rural background. The second was developed organically over centuries, and it included a clear hierarchy of primary and secondary urban sites and rural landscape.

The subsistence economy of the population in the Northwestern Negev was based on winter crops production, probably wheat and barley, and herding by a non-sedentary population. This model of subsistence economy fits well with that of the Bedouin population in the region at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup>



and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. The area cultivated by the sedentary population produced surpluses, which were probably sent to the Delta Kingdom via north Sinai-Wadi Tumilat. Recent documents from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century confirm the capacity of this marginal region for grain production.

All the circumstantial evidence, the enormous expansion of Tell el-Dab'a, the cessation of population movement from Canaan to the Delta, the abandonment of sites in the central mountain region and Wadi Tumilat, alongside the rapid and the planned extensive construction of earthworks and structures in the Northwestern Negev, and the dearth of rural background, point to the contribution of the Delta Kingdom to the process. The final product of this process was a strategic, economic and defensive hinterland basis for the rulers of the Delta Kingdom.

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## סיכום

במאמר זה בדקתי כמה דעות על הגורמים להתגבשותו של המערך העירוני באגן הבשור, את המאפיינים לתהליך ופריסתו המרחבית. נוכחנו לדעת כי המאפיינים לתהליך זה היו מיקומו של האזור כעורף אסטרטגי ומאגר של משאבים זמינים – קרקע וכוח אדם – לממלכת הדלתה, משאבים שהצורך בניצולם התעורר בד בבד עם שיא עצמתה של ממלכה זו. תהליך ההתיישבות באזור היה מהיר ושונה בעיתויו, במהלכו ובתוצאותיו מאותו תהליך שהתרחש לאורך כל תקופת הברונזה התיכונה בכל חלקי הארץ. לפנינו תהליך סוציו-פוליטי בעל מספר רכיבים שהתרחשו בו-זמנית:

א. שיא פריחתה של ממלכת הדלתה או במונחים של סטרטיגרפיה וכרונולוגיה המעבר משכבת D3 לשכבת D2 בתל א-דבע.

ב. תום תקופת היישוב בוואדי תומילאת.

ג. קריסת היישוב בהר.

ד. ראשית ההתיישבות בצפון-מערב הנגב.

נראה כי יש קשר הדוק בין שלושת הרכיבים הללו. יש בהם ביטוי למגמה הפוליטית והכלכלית של העדפת יישוב בפריפריה של הממלכה לשם ניצול יעיל יותר של משאבי כוח-אדם וסביבה לאור התגברות צרכי המנהל המרכזי. הערך המוסף של סיפוח האזור לתחום השליטה של ממלכת הדלתה הוא ביצירת עורף תומך ו"עיר מקלט" לעת לחץ צבאי, מה שאמנם אירע לבסוף.

לפריסה המרחבית של האתרים אין כל קשר לנתיב סחר בין-לאומי שעבר כביכול לאורך הבשור. מיקומם של האתרים נבע מאילוף בלעדי: קיום מקורות מים זמינים. האינטרס המצרי בניצול אמצעי הייצור באגן הבשור לא חלף מן העולם עם ראשית השושלת הי"ח וכיבוש כנען. חורבן שרוחן וסילוק שרידי ההיקסוס ממעוזם האחרון בכנען מציינים את הפיכת האזור מפרובינציית ספר מצרית לטריטוריה כבושה.

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למרות קיומם של אינטרסים מצריים בכנען כבר באמצע המאה הי"ט לפסה"נ (כתבי המארות, מסע ח'ו-סבק<sup>9</sup>), עדיין לא היה בצפון-מערב הנגב גורם מאיץ להתיישבות באזור.

מוקדי הפעילות העירונית בעמק הירדן התיכון שנוכרו לעיל, שכנו סמוך לדרכים ראשיות. לכן, לטענת מאיר, המניע להתיישבות באזור היה הסחר עם אזורים אחרים, בעיקר עם מישור החוף (Maeir 1997a: 220). בתקופה שלאחר מכן, תקופת הברונזה התיכונה ב'2 (MBIIb), נמשך היישוב בעמק הירדן התיכון ב-80–95 אחוזים מהאתרים שהיו מיושבים בתקופה שקדמה לה (Maeir 1997a: 214; 1997b: fig 92). ניתן להבחין היטב במערכת היררכית שהתרכזה סביב רחוב ופחל, ובה אתרים בעלי אופי וגודל שונים המצויים במרחק שווה משני עברי הירדן. מסביב להם וסמוך אליהם, במרחק של כעשרה קילומטר זה מזה, נמצאו אתרים קטנים יותר. בכל האזור פזורים גם אתרים קטנים: עד שני דונם לאחד. אלה אתרים בעלי אופי שונה. בחלקם קיימות עדויות לבנייה ולשכבות יישוב (סטרטיגרפיה), וחלקם אינו אלא מקבץ חרסים. מבנה יישוב זה מתאים מאוד לסגנון של כל מערכי היישוב בארץ בתקופת הברונזה התיכונה ב'2-ב'3 (MBII–MBIII). בעמק הירדן התיכון מתקבלת תמונה כללית של מרחב יישובי אינטגרטיבי שהתפתח בהיקפו ובעושרו החומרי, החל מהשלב של ראשית היישוב ועד לשיא של ניצול משאבי האזור לקראת תום התקופה (Maeir 1997a: 221). תהליך התגבשותו של המערך העירוני בצפון-מערב הנגב היה שונה בתכלית. כל כולו התבצע בזמן קצר ביותר וככל הנראה בו-זמנית בכל אתרי האזור, שמספרם מצומצם. לא היה לתהליך הזה שלב קדם-עירוני, ולא חלו התפתחות אורגנית של גידול יישובים או מעבר מאורח חיים פסטורלי לאורח חיים עירוני.<sup>10</sup> למעשה, לא היה כל יישוב קבע באזור לפני בניית האתרים המרכזיים. התכנון ותהליך הבנייה, שכללו: חפיר, עבודות עפר מונומנטליות ומבני ציבור, היו דומים בכל האתרים. באתר שנחקר יותר משאר האתרים, תל אל-עג'ול, ניכר אף תכנון מפורט של רחובות ומבני מגורים. רובו של כוח העבודה שעסק בבינוי הגיע מחוץ לאזור. כל הנתונים הללו מעידים על ישות ממלכתית מרכזית שעסקה בתכנון ובבניית אתרי האזור. ישות זו היא לדעתנו ממלכת הדלתה.

המערך היישובי בצפון-מערב הנגב יוצא דופן בין כל מערכי היישוב מאותה תקופה בכך שכל אתריו היו עירוניים לפי ההגדרות המקובלות והוא חסר עורף כפרי. מקורה של תופעה ייחודית זו הוא בבנייה המהירה של האתרים באזור, שלא היה בו יישוב קבע לפני כן.

עקב מספר האתרים המצומצם בצפון-מערב הנגב ואופיים האחיד אין בניתוח מדרג/גודל כדי לשמש כלי להבנת היחסים בין האתרים ושיעור האינטגרציה האזורית (לשימוש בניתוח זה בעמק הירדן התיכון ראו Maeir 1997a: 225).

לא רק תהליך ההתגבשות של המערך העירוני בצפון-מערב הנגב היה יוצא דופן בהשוואה לאותו תהליך בעמק הירדן התיכון, אלא גם התוצר של אותו תהליך היה שונה. למעשה בכל המרחב של סוריה-ארץ-ישראל אין ישות מדינית בעלת מאפיינים דומים לאלו של צפון-מערב הנגב. ישות זו מוכרת היטב במחקר, אולם עד כה לא זכה ייחודה לתשומת לב בפסיפס היישוב בתקופת הברונזה התיכונה ב'3 (MBIII).

<sup>9</sup> לעניין זה ראו גם Cohen 1999: 211.

<sup>10</sup> מסיבה זו, בעיקר, לא הכללנו את אשקלון הסמוכה באזור. אתר גדול זה, ששוכן מצפון לנחל שקמה, היה בנוי ומאוכלס כאשר מדרום לו לא היה כל יישוב של קבע. לדעתנו תחום השליטה של אשקלון, בניגוד לדעתו של מאיר-227: ibid, היה צפונה עד לירקון. האתר המרכזי בצפון-מערב הנגב היה תל אל-עג'ול או תל הרור.



- אינטרס כלכלי של ממלכת הדלתה והוא העניין בפוטנציאל החקלאי של חבל הבשור.<sup>8</sup>
  - הגירת אוכלוסייה לאזור לצורך עבודה בבניין האתרים החדשים ובביצורים.
- נסיבות אלה רומזות לאחריותה הישירה של ממלכת הדלתה לעיור בצפון-מערב הנגב.

#### העיור בצפון מערב הנגב ובעמק הירדן התיכון - ניתוח השוואתי

עד כה התבססתי על נתונים מקומיים בלבד כשניסיתי להוכיח שהשושלת הט"ו במצרים היא האחראית הישירה לעיור בצפון-מערב הנגב. להלן אנסה לאשש את ההנחה על סמך ניתוח השוואתי ובדיקת תהליך העיור בעמק הירדן התיכון כמקרה מבחן להנחה זו.

ניתוח השוואתי רב-מערכתי של היבטים שונים בתרבות החומרית של עמק הירדן התיכון ושל צפון-מערב הנגב מתאפשר באמצעות מחקרו של מאיר על התרבות החומרית של עמק הירדן התיכון בתקופת הברונזה התיכונה ב'2 (Maeir 1977a,b). בשני האזורים האלו הגיע המערך העירוני לשיאו מבחינת ההיקף, המורכבות והפעילות הכלכלית לקראת תום תקופת הברונזה התיכונה, אולם בעקבות גורמים היחודיים לכל אזור, נוצרו בתהליך העיור מערכי יישוב שונים בתכלית.

ההתיישבות בעמק הירדן התיכון החלה בתקופת הברונזה התיכונה, MBI או MBIIa לפי המינוח של מאיר. חלק מהאוכלוסייה במקום כלל תושבים ממוצא מקומי, שהמשיכו במסורת קבורה מהתקופה הקודמת וחלקה כלל תושבים חדשים. כבר בראשית התקופה נשאו חלק מהאתרים אופי עירוני, למשל רחוב ופחל, וחלקם נשאו אופי כפרי, למשל תל אל-ח'יאט ותל כיתן. מערך יישובים זה הוא ראשיתו של מדרג בין-יישובי המבוסס על מערכת יחסים סוציו אקונומית שהגיעה לשיאה לקראת תום תקופת הברונזה התיכונה. לפחות אתר עירוני אחד, פחל, היה מבוצר כבר בתקופת הברונזה התיכונה א' (MBI). ראשיתו של תהליך ההתגבשות של המערך היישובי בכל הארץ, כפי שהוא בא לידי ביטוי בעמק הירדן התיכון ובאזורי הארץ האחרים, פוסח על צפון-מערב הנגב. חבל ארץ זה שימש במאות הי"ט-הי"ח לפסה"נ כר מחייה לאוכלוסייה דלילה של נוודים ללא יישובי קבע. העדות הברורה היחידה לאוכלוסייה בצפון-מערב הנגב בתקופה זו היא "בית קברות החצר" בתל אל-עג'ול.

<sup>8</sup> נעשתה הערכה של הפוטנציאל לייצור גרעינים בחבל הבשור לפי הפרמטרים: משקעים, אגרוטכניקה, מחזור זרעים והיקף השטח המעובד (הסימולציה אינה מוצגת כאן). לפי הערכה זו צפויים עודפי גרעינים של כ-9,000 טון מעל לתצרוכת הקיום. הוכחה להיותו של האזור מקור לדגן ניכרת בחשיפת האסמים מהתקופה ההלניסטית על ידי פיטרי ואחריו על ידי ואן ביק (Van Beek 1989: 13). הדגן הדומיננטי בצפון הנגב במאות האחרונות היה השעורה (ברסלבסקי תש"ז: 145), וזאת עקב יתרונה היחסי על החיטה בתנאי מחסור במשקעים (ארנון תשט"ז: 273). ראוי לציון כי על פי הרישומים של ייצוא חקלאי מנמל עזה לאירופה מסוף המאה הי"ט לספירה, כמות גרעיני השעורה השנתית שהוטענה על אניות הייתה 40,000 טון (גרבר 1990: 332; 1981: 68). (Buheiry 1981). על פי אותם מקורות הייתה כמות זו, שמקורה באזור שבין עזה לבאר שבע, כשלושה רבעים מתפוקת השעורה של ארץ-ישראל. (קשה לקבל נתון זה לאור גודל השטח המעובד, תנאי המשקעים ופוטנציאל היבול. ככל הנראה, שימש נמל עזה מסוף לריכוז דגנים גם משפלת יהודה, מהר חברון ומדרום הר חברון.) בשנת 1920, שהייתה שנה גשומה, קבעו שמאים ממשלתיים הערכות אלה: יבול השעורה לנפת באר שבע כ-53,000 טון, יבול החיטה 17,000 טון בקירוב וסך כל ייצור גרעינים: כ-70,000 טון (ברסלבסקי תש"ז: 152). ושוב, גם כאן נראה כי יבול זה נאסף משטח של כ-1,400,000 דונם, הכולל שטחים מצפון לאשקלון וסמוך לחברון. מכל מקום, יש בנתונים אלו כדי להדגיש את ערכו הסגולי של האזור בייצור דגן, בייחוד גרעיני שעורה. תמונה זו בוודאי לא נעלמה משליטי ממלכת הדלתה, והייתה מאץ אפשרי להתיישבות המתוכננת בצפון-מערב הנגב.

תל בית מרסים (Albright 1938: 59-60; Tufnell 1958: 34, 63-64; Kenyon 1960: 301), שכם וסביבתה (פינקלשטיין 1986: 309; Dever 1974; Wright 1965: 57-59; Seger 1974: 123-130; 1975: 43), בית צור (בונימוביץ תש"ן: 28; Sellers 1933: pl. 5-6, 33-35; Sellers et al. 1968: 6, 37), גבעון (Pritchard 1964: 42-47, pl. 42:1, 4, 9), ובית אל (Kelso 1968: 11, 25, pl. 49-52).

אתרים נוספים שחרבו באזור ההר בסוף תקופת הברונזה התיכונה הם: שילה, ירושלים (שילה תשמ"ד), תל אל פארעה צפון, דותן וחברון. לפי המידע מהחפירות באתרים אלה רק בשילה ניתן לתארך את החורבן לאמצע המאה הטי"ז לפסה"נ (Finkelstein 1993: 95). בשאר האתרים אין מספיק מידע לקביעת תאריך חורבנם. עדויות ברורות על קריסת יישובים בשלהי המאה הי"ז ובראשית המאה הטי"ז לפסה"נ קיימות, אם כך, באתרים בשדרת ההר המרכזית ובמורדות המערביים של ההר הדרומי (תל בית מרסים). התהליך המשיך גם לאורך המאה הטי"ז בכל אזורי הארץ, אך ללא דגם ברור של הרס אזורי שיטתי, והסתיים בהמשך המאה הטי"ז לפסה"נ עם התגבשות המערך היישובי המרחבי כפי שהוא בא לידי ביטוי בתעודות אל-עמארנה. אוכלוסיית האתרים שננטשו לא נעלמה מאזור ההר, אלא התאימה את אסטרטגית הקיום שלה לתנאים החדשים שנוצרו באמצעות התנוודות וקיום אורח חיים פסטורלי או פרנסה המבוססת על עבודה שכירה, שירות צבאי, שוד וביזה (בונימוביץ 1990: 280). חולשתן וקריסתן של המערכות החברתיות באזור הררי הופכות את ההר לספר.

הקמת היישוב באגן הבשור חלה אפוא במועד שבו התחילו הזעזועים במערך היישובי בהר, והמשיכו גם באזורי הארץ הנמוכים. אם ננתח את התהליך הזה לפי מודל הספר המשתנה, עלינו לראות קריסה גם בפריפריה, ובמינוח המקובל במודל: הפיכת הפריפריה לספר בייחוד כאשר זו שוכנת על גבול הארץ הנושבת. תהליך זה אמנם התרחש, אולם רק כ-200 שנה מאוחר יותר, והגיע לשיאו במאות הטי"ו-הי"ד לפסה"נ, עם התרופפות האחיזה המצרית בכנען בשלהי ימי השושלת הי"ח. אם כך, מנקודת המבט של כנען, מודל הספר המשתנה אינו מתאים לניתוח תהליך העיור באגן הבשור. אולם, מנקודת המבט המצרית, אותו מודל תאורטי תואם היטב את התהליך. למרות סמיכותו הגיאוגרפית של האזור לכנען יש להתייחס אליו, לפחות בתקופה זו, כאל אזור ספר מצרי. קרבה של מוצא, קשרי דם ועולם חומרי ורוחני בין אוכלוסיית צפון מערב הנגב לבין אוכלוסיית ממלכת הדלתה מאפשרים הנחה זו. עצמתו המדינית של המרכז, אוואריס, היא שיצרה את היקף שליטתו ואת מיקומו הגיאוגרפי של הספר. אוואריס הלכה והתעצמה והתעצמות זו באה לידי ביטוי בממצא הארכיאולוגי בשכבה E/2 בתל א-דבע. בשכבה זו האתר התרחב מאוד (Bietak 1991: 43). ביטאק מקשר עובדה זו עם עלייתה של השושלת הטי"ו לשלטון. התעצמותה של אוואריס המשיכה עד לשכבה D/2, השכבה האחרונה של השלטון ההיקסוסי, שבה החל היבוא הקיפרי מימי LCIA (Holladay 1997: 187; Bietak 2001: 175). יבוא קיפרי זה מופיע כמעט בכל שכבות היסוד באתרי אגן הבשור. מבחינה כרונולוגית הוקמו אתרי הבשור, אפוא, בשיא פריחתה של אוואריס, ב-1600 לפסה"נ בקירוב. במקרה שלפנינו הספר שבגבול הארץ הנושבת הפך לחבל ארץ מיושב בד בבד עם שיא עצמתו המדינית והכלכלית של המרכז המדיני. אני סבור שהקשר בין שתי תופעות אלו אינו מקרי, כי אם נובע מהנסיבות להלן:

## מודל "הספר המשתנה"

מודל זה משמש כהסבר לתנודות מחזוריות בתהליכי יישוב ולאסטרטגיות קיום בחברות קדומות. המודל פותח בעקבות עבודתו של לאטימור על סין (Lattimore 1940). אדאמס השתמש בו לניתוח ולהסבר של תהליכים אלה במסופוטמיה (Adams 1974) ומרפו – בבקעת הלבנון (Marfoe 1979). לפי מודל זה הספר הגאוגרפי, האקולוגי ואוכלוסייתו אינם קבועים ויציבים. אם נשתמש במונח "עצמה" כדי להגדיר ספר, אז עצמת הספר תנוע על סרגל שבקצהו האחד אזור דליל אוכלוסין ללא שלטון מרכזי, ובקצה השני אזור מאוכלס בצפיפות המכיל יישובי קבע גדולים ורשות מרכזית חזקה. הגדרה זו תקפה כאשר מדובר בתקופות שונות באותו חבל ארץ. אם תנאיו האקולוגיים של האזור דומים או זהים לאורך כל מהלך התנודות ביישובו, אין לתלות את מהותן ואת אופיין של התנודות בתנאי סביבה כלשהם אלא בעצמת השלטון המרכזי.

מבט היסטורי ארוך-טווח, עד לראשית המאה הנוכחית, מגלה, כי הספר האקולוגי והחברתי בארץ-ישראל יכול לנוע בגבולות רחבים מאד, בתלות הדוקה עם כושרו וחוזקו של השלטון בה... בתנאים נאותים של פיתוח אזורי וביטחון ציבורי נדחק הספר בארץ-ישראל מזרחה ודרומה, ואזוריה הנמוכים של הארץ נהנים מיציבות ישובית וחשיבותם רבה, אך בהעדר תנאים שכאלה מתהפך הגלגל – הם הופכים לספר (בונימוביץ 1990: 277).

לניתוח זה יש משמעות רבה בהבנת התופעה הייחודית של עיור מהיר ואינטנסיבי בחבל ארץ שולי בספר הארץ הנושבת. ערכו השולי של האזור כמקום להתיישבות נובע מתנאי הסביבה המקומיים, שהמשמעותי ביותר ביניהם הוא התנודות הגדולות בכמות המשקעים. אי יציבות זו תורמת לחסרונן היחסי של האזור כבסיס לייצור חקלאי סדיר.

מה, אם כן, היה המאפיין לפיתוח האזורי המהיר? – לכאורה, לפנינו תהליך המתאים היטב למודל הספר המשתנה. בונימוביץ מסביר את העיור באגן הבשור כך: "הישוביות החברתיות והפוליטיות במישור החוף, בשפלה ובעמקים, על מערך היישוב המשגשג שלהן דחקו למעשה את הספר מזרחה ודרומה – אל חבלי ההר ואגני נחל הבשור ונחל באר-שבע." (בונימוביץ 1990: 278).

במילים אחרות: תנאי הביטחון, השפע הכלכלי ואולי עודף אוכלוסין באותם אזורים, הם שדחפו את האוכלוסייה להתיישב בחבל ארץ שהיה עד אז אזור ספר. האומנם אלה היו פני הדברים בשלהי המאה הי"ז לפסה"נ, מועד התגבשותו של המערך היישובי באגן הבשור?

להלן בדיקת ההיבט החברתי ב"מערך היישוב המשגשג" בכנען באותם הימים. משלהי המאה הי"ז לפסה"נ החל תהליך אטי והדרגתי של קריסת אתרים בעיקר בהר המרכזי ובשוליו. עקב קרבתו הכרונולוגית לאירועים היסטוריים שונים – החילוף האלים של השושלות הט"ו-הי"ח במצרים, המצור על שרון וגירוש ההיקסוס – יוחס תהליך זה בלעדית לחורבנות שנוצרו בעקבות מסעות מלחמה שערכו המלכים הראשונים בני השושלת הי"ח בכנען (לסקירה מקפת וביבליוגרפיה ראה: בונימוביץ תש"ן: 9–37).

בסדרת דיונים במחקר (בונימוביץ תש"ן; 1990; Hoffmeier; Weinstein 1981; Naaman 1994; Dever 1990, 1997; 1989, 1990, 1991) הובהר כי גם גורמים פנימיים, חברתיים וכלכליים בחברה הכנענית השפיעו על התהליך. כדי לזהות ולתאר את תהליך קריסת המערך היישובי בהר ובשוליו נציין כמה אתרים שבהם חרב היישוב של תקופת הברונזה התיכונה לפני אמצע המאה הט"ז לפסה"נ:

אולם, למרות היעדר עדויות בדבר קשר בין חצי האי ערב לבין ערי כנען וממלכת הדלתה בשלהי תקופת הברונזה התיכונה מציינים בחלק מספרות המחקר את נתיב הסחר הווירטואלי הזה כגורם בהתגבשותם וכמקור עושרם של אתרי צפון-מערב הנגב בתקופה הנדונה (ראה גם Oren 1997b: 273). מקורה של הדעה על סחר ארוך-טווח הוא בהשוואה לתקופות מאוחרות – לימי הממלכה המאוחדת בארץ-ישראל ולתקופת הפריחה של התרבות הנבטית (ראה Finkelstein 1988). האמצעי הקדום להובלת סחורה לטווח ארוך בחבלי ארץ צחיחים היה הגמל, ששימש כבהמת משא. במחצית השנייה של האלף השני לפסה"נ עדיין לא נודע השימוש בגמל כבהמת משא. יתכן שראשית ביות הגמל, השימוש בתוצרתו והרכיבה עליו היו קדומים יותר, אך הופעתו בתיעוד הארכיאולוגי לא נודעה לפני ראשית המאה ה"א לפסה"נ (Finkelstein 1988: 247). עד להופעת הגמל שימש החמור כבהמת המשא העיקרית בכלכלת המזרח הקדום. בניגוד לגמל, סחר שבהמת המשא בו הייתה החמור היה מוגבל לתנועה יומית בין תחנות השקייה.

תפקידו המרכזי של החמור במרחב המשתרע בין אתרי צפון-מערב הנגב לבין ממלכת הדלתה בא לידי ביטוי מובהק בדרכים אלה:

- קבורה מיוחדת המאפיינת מרחב זה – קבורה של סוסים וחמורים יחד עם בני אדם ובלעדיהם (Wapnish 1997).
- המקום המיוחד שהקצו לחמור בעולם הרוחני של האוכלוסייה השמית-מערבית במחצית הראשונה של האלף השני לפסה"נ (לסיכום הופעת החמור בעולם הרוחני של השמים-המערביים ראו Wapnish 1997; Oren 1997b: 266).

לסיכום הגישה בדבר הקשר בין היווצרות המרכזים העירוניים בצפון מערב הנגב לבין נתיב הסחר הבין-לאומי שעבר כביכול לאורך הבשור, נוכל להסיק את המסקנות האלה:

- א. לא ידוע לנו על אמצעי שמתאים להובלת סחורה לטווח ארוך בתנאי מדבר בתקופה הנדונה.
- ב. אין, אם כך, כל ממש בהנחה כי הייתה באזור דרך בין-לאומית ששימשה לסחר ארוך טווח מחצי האי ערב מערבה. הקשר ארוך הטווח המשמעותי מזרחה לאגן הבשור היה, לפי העדויות הארכיאולוגיות, עם עמק הירדן בלבד, והוא נוצר לאחר התגבשות הגוש העירוני באזור.
- אם אמנם אלו היו פני הדברים, ודאי היו גורמים אחרים להתגבשות האתרים ולדגם פיזורם במרחב. גורמים אלה היו: המורפולוגיה של הנוף, כושר הייצור החקלאי והגורם הראשון במעלה שהוא קיום מקורות מים קבועים. נביעות מקומיות ובארות באפיקים של נחל הבשור ונחל גרר, ולא דרך מסחר בין-לאומית, הם שיצרו את הדגם האורכי של פיזור האתרים במרחב.

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מערב הנגב ואגן הדלתה לעמק הירדן מראשית יישובו של צפון-מערב הנגב, סוף המאה ה"ז–ראשית המאה ה"ט לפסה"נ ולא קודם לכן. נתיב זה נוצר מתוצאה מההתיישבות בצפון-מערב הנגב ואין הוא המניע לקיומו. הדרך הייתה ככל הנראה בשימוש אינטנסיבי לאחר צירוף כנען לאימפריה המצרית מימי השושלת ה"ח. בחפירות המוקדמות בפחל, בשנות השישים של המאה הכ', נחשפו כלי בהט וחרס מצריים מקוריים וחקייהם מימי השושלות ה"ח-ה"ט (ראו Bourke and Sparks 1995). יש להניח כי אותה דרך שימשה גם כנתיב הקשר עם המאחז המצרי בבית שאן הסמוכה.

לדעתו של קמפינסקי האחראים לעיור של דרום כנען היו נוטשי ההר. לדבריו: "נטישת האזורים האחרים תוך עידוד האוכלוסיה לעבור לאיזור הדרומי... היא קרוב לוודאי בין הגורמים לתהליך ההתדלדלות באיזור ההר המרכזי ובחלקים מהשפלה הפנימית, שלו אנו עדים החל ממחצית המאה הי"ז לפסה"נ. גם ניתן להניח כי פעולות אלו נשאו לעתים אופי תוקפני, ועל כן עשוי חורבנה של עיר זו או אחרת להיות קשור בהקמת ריכוז האוכלוסיה שנרמזה כאן." (קמפינסקי 1989: 48).

לאור חישובי כוח אדם לבינוי האתרים אני מסכים לחלוטין עם מסקנה זו. אולם, לדעתי, עיור מהיר כדוגמת זה שאירע באגן הבשור אינו יכול להיות קשור בלעדית לאוכלוסייה שאולי נטשה מרחב יישובי בלתי יציב וחסר ביטחון. לאוכלוסייה זו אין יכולת כלכלית וחברתית לשאת בעול של עיור מהיר. חייב להיות מעורב בתהליך גורם חיצוני רב-עצמה. הממצאים והעובדות מצביעים על ממלכת הדלתה כגורם אפשרי.

#### נתיב הסחר הבין-לאומי – האומנם מאיץ לתהליך העיור?

התנאים שבהם אתרי חניה ותחנות דרכים עשויים להפוך למרכזים עירוניים שמתקיים בהם סחר ארוך-טווח, הם אלו:

א. בנתיב שעובר דרכם מתקיימת, ללא סכנות ומכשולים, תנועה רצופה של סחורה.

ב. האתר או התחנה הם יעד אחרון להגעת הסחורה או משמשים כמוקד להפצת סחורה לאתרי פריפריה סמוכים.

ג. האתר או התחנה מקשרים בין אתרי ייצור מרוחקים לבין מוקדי הביקוש לאורך נתיב הסחר.

מודל של היווצרות "מקומות מרכזיים" בעקבות יחסי גומלין של תובלה ותחבורה נדון בספרות המחקר (Kotter 1976: 61; Hodder & Horton 1976: 61; Harris & Ulman 1945; 1986: 7-12, 310) והטענה העיקרית העולה ממנו היא שאתרים המתפקדים ברשת של קשרי-מסחר צריכים להימצא לאורך נתיבי המסחר ובמיוחד בצמתים של נתיבים אלו.

כדי להוכיח שטענה זו מתאימה לענייננו ראוי לשאול שאלות אלה:

– האם התגבשות המרכזים העירוניים באגן הבשור וארגונם המרחבי מתאימים למודל הנזכר לעיל?

– האם בשלהי תקופת הברונזה התיכונה הייתה דרך בין-לאומית שראשיתה בערב (ראו 1997: 204; Finkelstein 1988; Holladay 1997) וסופה לחוף הים התיכון? אין ברשותנו עדות חומרית כלשהי לקשר כלכלי כנזכר לעיל. גם אם המוצרים שמקורם בדרום ערב מתכלים מטבעם, אין כל שריד למכלים שבהם שונעו. העדות הקדומה ביותר לסחר מדרום ערב דרך סיני היא מהמאה הי"א לפסה"נ (Holladay 1997: 204). אף נוכל להרחיק לכת ולומר כי ספק אם הייתה דרך בין-לאומית שקישרה בין דרום כנען וממלכת הדלתה לבין עבר הירדן. באתרים מתקופת הברונזה התיכונה ב3 (MB III) בעבר הירדן יש ממצאים דלים ביותר המעידים על קשרי סחר עם ממלכת ההיקסוס. מגנס-גרדינר, בעבודתה על תקופת הברונזה התיכונה בעבר הירדן, הגיעה למסקנה כי על סמך העדות החומרית לא התקיימו קשרי גומלין ישירים בין שתי התרבויות (Magness-Gardiner 1997: 322).<sup>7</sup> אם כך, גם לא היה אמצעי פיזי ליצירת קשרי גומלין, כלומר לא הייתה דרך בין-לאומית מזרחה.

<sup>7</sup> אולם יש עדויות ברורות לקשר בין צפון-מערב הנגב ליריחו ולעמק הירדן התיכון. בקשר זה ובנוכחות חרפויות "היקסוסיות" בפחל (Bourke and Eriksson 2006). יש כדי לבסס קיום של נתיב בין צפון-

במלואם. כאשר גודל האוכלוסייה עובר את יכולת התפוקה, (או כושר הנשיאה, מונח פוסט-מליתוסיאני התואם היטב את ההשערה), מתרחש משבר שבעקבותיו האוכלוסייה הולכת וקטנה עד הגבול העליון של כושר הנשיאה הסביבתי או מעט מתחתיו. בזעזועים קצרי טווח היא מתיצבת על גבול זה (ראו פורטוגלי 1988: 16 איור 2 ג). על פי המודל המליתוסיאני משבר אינו כרוך בנטישת אזורים או אתרים לאורך זמן. אם אמנם מתרחשים חורבנות ונטישה של אוכלוסייה – המשאבים המתפנים ישמשו לניצול מידי של האוכלוסייה שחלקה, יש להניח, יתיישב באתרים הנטושים.

למרות שההשערה של מליתוס נדחקה על ידי מודלים מתקדמים ומתוחכמים יותר (לסיכום תאורטי ראו פורטוגלי 1988, 1989) העוסקים כולם בשינוי חברתי בעקבות לחץ דמוגרפי, היא שימשה את גופנא ואת פורטוגלי להסבר העיוור של אגן הבשור בשלב האחרון של תקופת הברונזה התיכונה (Gofna & Portugali 1988). אם אמנם התפוצצות אוכלוסין בשאר אזורי הארץ גרמה להגירה לאגן הבשור ולהתיישבות בו, אזי רוב האתרים המיושבים בכנען היו חייבים להיות מאוכלסים באותה עת. אחרת אין בסיס להסבר זה. כדי שאוכלוסייה עירונית או כפרית המתקיימת מחקלאות עונתית התלויה במשקעים או מגידולי מטע ים-תיכוניים, תעבור לחיות באזור שולי שעל גבול הארץ הנושבת, צריך שיהא עליה לחץ חברתי וסביבתי קשה מנשוא. מצב כזה עשוי לקרות רק כאשר כל אתרי היישוב מאוכלסים וכושר הנשיאה הסביבתי מנוצל בצורה מרבית. כדי לקבל או לדחות הסבר זה לעיוור אגן הבשור ראוי לבדוק את מצבת היישוב של כל אתרי כנען לאזוריה בתקופה הנדונה.

בונימוביץ מנתח עדויות סטרטיגרפיות במחקרו על החברה הכנענית בשלב המעבר מתקופת הברונזה התיכונה לתקופת הברונזה המאוחרת וקובע כי עיקר הזעזועים פקדו את היושבים באזור ההר. לדבריו:

"חורבנם של האתרים הראשיים בהר המרכזי ובשוליו... נמשך משלהי המאה ה"ז... בכמה מאתרי ההר... אפשר להבחין במעשי הרס קודמים, המרמזים על אי שקט ממושך באזור... יתכן גם שחוסר היציבות ואי-הבטחון המאפיינים את ההר בפרק זמן זה, משתקפים בנטישתם (ההדרגתית?) של מרבית האתרים הקטנים והפרושים אשר רווחו שם" (בונימוביץ תש"ן: 35). (וראו גם פינקלשטיין 1986: 307, 309; קמפינסקי 1989: 62, ובדיקת כמה אתרי הר בהמשך). ממחקרו של בונימוביץ עולה כי אמנם לאחר קריסת היישוב בהר בשלהי תקופת הברונזה התיכונה נשאר ההר כמעט ריק מיישובי קבע (בונימוביץ 1990: 272). ככל הנראה, חלק מהאוכלוסייה לא נטש את האזור אלא התאים את אסטרטגית הקיום שלו לתנאים החדשים שנוצרו באמצעות התנוודות, וחלק עבר דרומה מרצון או בכפייה. קיום המצב הנזכר לעיל ואכלוס גבול הארץ הנושבת מאשרים את תקפות המודל המליתוסיאני כהסבר חלקי לעיוור אגן הבשור.

מודל קרוב מתאר מצב שיש בו ניצול-יתר של משאבים סביבתיים המביא בעקבותיו ירידה בכוח הנשיאה הסביבתי ובמספר המוחלט של האוכלוסין (פורטוגלי 1988: 61 איור 2 ד). מודל זה עשוי לתת תשובה חלקית לסיבות לקריסת היישוב בהר, אך אין בו כדי לקשר בין תהליך זה לבין מה שהתרחש באותו זמן באגן הבשור. אוכלוסייה הנוטשת אתרי יישוב יכולה לבחור בין שתי אסטרטגיות קיום: התנוודות, או התיישבות מחדש. יש להניח כי המעבר לאסטרטגית קיום של התנוודות מתרחש מהר בעקבות חורבן ונטישה, שהם תהליכים קצרי טווח יחסית ומלווים בדרך כלל באירועים אלימים. לעומת זה, אסטרטגית קיום שהיא התיישבות מחדש וששיאה ניכר בעיוור, היא תהליך אטי שעשוי להימשך כמה דורות ומצריך השקעת משאבים חומריים ואנושיים שהולכים ומצטברים במשך דורות אלו.



נוודים שעסקו גם בחקלאות עונתית (Oren 1997b: 275). כלי החרס שהותירו מצביעים על קשר ביניהם ובין תושבי דרום כנען ותושבי אזור הדלתה. אוכלוסייה זו עסקה ישירות במסחר בין כנען ומצרים או סייעה למערכת הסחר בין שני האזורים, והייתה, ככל הנראה, חלק מכוח העבודה שנדרש לבינוי באגן הבשור.

ג. תושבי וואדי תומילאת.

עדות אפשרית להעסקה של אוכלוסייה מוואדי תומילאת אפשר למצוא להלן: מניתוח הממצא הקרמי עולה כי המכלול המאוחר ביותר של האתר המרכזי בואדי תומילאת, תל מסחוט, מקביל לאותו מכלול מראשית שכבה D3 בתל א-דבע (Holladay 1997: 188; Redmount 1989: 265), אך כלים מתקופת הברונזה התיכונה ב' 3 נעדרים משכבת היישוב האחרונה בתל מסחוט. יישוב הקבע בתל מסחוט ובואדי תומילאת פסק איפה לפני שממלכת ההיקסוס הגיעה לשיא פריחתה, שכבה D2, ובד בבד עם הקמת הגוש העירוני בצפון-מערב הנגב.<sup>6</sup>

ד. להשלמת המכסה הדרושה לבינוי יש להניח כי העסיקו עובדים מאתרי השפלה הדרומית ואולי גם מנוטשי ההר המרכזי. אזור זה עבר משבר החל מאמצע המאה הי"ז לפסה"נ (לפירוט ומקורות ראו בהמשך). וחלק מתושביו פנו, מרצון או בכפייה, להקמת הגוש העירוני בדרום. לנוכח מורכבותו והיקפו הגיאופוליטי של התהליך הנזכר לעיל אציע בהמשך הדברים, כי ממלכת הדלתה הייתה אחראית לביצועו.

#### מודלים והסברים לעיור בצפון מערב הנגב

בעבר הוצעו כמה הסברים לעיור של אגן הבשור. הם התבססו בעיקר על תהליכים פנימיים בחברה הכנענית. החשובים שבהם הם:

- המודל של מלתוס (Gofna and Portugali 1988),
- הקשר לנתיב הסחר הבין-לאומי שחצה את האזור (Finkelstein 1988),
- קריסת היישוב בהר המרכזי (קמפינסקי 1989: 48),
- מודל "הספר המשתנה" (בונימוביץ 1990: 273-283).

#### המודל של מלתוס וקריסת היישוב באזור ההר

חוק מלתוס מוכר היטב במחקר הדמוגרפי ושימש להסבר תופעות ותהליכים חברתיים החשובים לעניינו, כגון תנודות בגודל אוכלוסייה, הגירה ואכלוס של אזורים חדשים. פורטוגלי מתאר עקרונות מודל זה במלים הבאות:

"קצב הגידול ביצור מזון גדל בטור חשבוני, ואילו קצב הריבוי הטבעי בטור גיאומטרי. על כן בנקודת זמן מסוימת נוצר משבר: האוכלוסייה גדלה מעבר לכמות המזון המצויה, והתוצאה רעב, עוני, מלחמות ושאר ביטויי המחזירים את כמות האוכלוסייה למצב של שיווי משקל עם קצב ייצור המזון." (פורטוגלי 1989: 8).

על פי המודל המלתוסיאני משאבי הסביבה מנוצלים לכלכלת הקיום של האוכלוסייה. אם גודל האוכלוסייה אינו מחייב זאת, המשאבים אינם מנוצלים

<sup>6</sup> סוף יישוב הקבע באתרי ואדי תומילאת נראה כך: "At the end of the occupation, everything portable was picked up, and the population quietly moved elsewhere." (Holladay 1997: 197)

של עבודות עפר (Herzog et al. 1989: 32; Finkelstein 1992: 208; 1993: 379; Bunimovitz 1992: 226; Mazar 1997: 250; Oren 1997a: 257; Burke 2004: 298). לדעתי, יש לדחות מכל וכול את הערכתו של בורק (Burke) ולפיה ההספק הממוצע ביום עבודה של פועל הוא שלושה מ"ק עפר. ראוי לציין כי בעבודה זו יש הליך מורכב של כרייה, חציבה או חפירה, מילוי כלי קיבול, הליכה עד אתר הסוללה, שפיכה, פיזור והידוק של החומר. כמו כן, יש לזכור כי משקלו הסגולי של עפר הוא כ-2.7, כלומר, על פי החישוב הנזכר לעיל, פועל חופר ומשנע כשמונה טון עפר ליום. אני מעריך, בדומה להערכות שונות במחקר, כי בשיטות עתיקות לביצוע עבודות העפר לסוגיהן לא יעלה הספק העבודה על 1.2 מ"ק (כשלושה טון) עפר ליום עבודה (לטבלת הספקים לפי הערכות שונות ראה: Burke 2004: 304, table 18).

ממדי כל מערכות העפר שהקיפו את אתרי אגן הבשור היו: כ-6750 מ' אורך,<sup>4</sup> ממדי חתך: בסיס עליון 10 מ', בסיס תחתון: 20 מ', גובה: 8 מ'. שטח חתך: 120 מ"ר. סך כל נפח מערכות העפר: 810,000 מ"ק. לפי הספק עבודה של 1.2 מ"ק עפר ליום עבודה היה צורך ב-675,000 ימי עבודה לבניית מערכות העפר שהקיפו את כל האתרים. למספר זה יש להוסיף כוח אדם לבניית חומות, שערים, מבני ציבור וחלק ממבני המגורים, מערכות לוגיסטיקה ומנהל.

כדי להמשיך בחישוב אניח הנחות אלה:

- א. תהליך הבנייה נמשך עשר שנים.
- ב. כדי לא לסכן את המערך הכלכלי המייצר את אמצעי הקיום נמשכה העבודה כ-100 ימים בשנה בלבד (ראו Oren 1997a: 257).
- ג. רק כ-20 אחוזים מכלל כוח העבודה הופנו מכלכלת הקיום לעבודות הציבוריות (Finkelstein 1992: 208; Renfrew 1984: 238).

על פי הנחה א וכדי להגיע לנפח האדמה ששינעו היה צורך, להערכתי, להקדיש בכל שנה 67,500 ימי עבודה באגן הבשור בתקופת הברונזה התיכונה, אם הפעילות התרחשה 100 יום בשנה בלבד, אז 675 עובדים הועסקו בבנייה מדי יום. אם לפי הנחה ג היו 675 עובדים אלה 20 אחוזים מכוח העבודה, אז כל כוח האדם הדרוש לבנייה ולכלכלת הקיום מנה 3,375 נפש. אם כל משפחה תורמת עובד אחד כמס עובד ומספר הנפשות הממוצע במשפחה הוא 4.3, יהא מספר הנפשות היושבות באזור כ-13,000–14,000 נפש. נתון זה תואם גם את אוכלוסיית כל האתרים לאחר אכלוסם.<sup>5</sup> פיזור התהליך על פני יותר מעשר שנים יקטין את הביקוש השנתי לעובדים, אך בכל מקרה אין ביכולת המקורות הסמוכים, שיכולים לספק כוח עבודה פוטנציאלי, לעמוד במשימת הבנייה.

מקורות כוח האדם שעמדו לרשות מי שעסק בתכנון וביצוע הבנייה היו:

- א. אוכלוסיית האזור: נוודים ואולי מעט יושבי קבע. להערכתי מדובר ב-800 משפחות לכל היותר.
- ב. תושבי צפון סיני.

בסקר צפון סיני שנערך על ידי אוניברסיטת בן-גוריון בהנהלת אורן, זוהו באזור זה 300 אתרי יישוב מהתקופות הברונזה התיכונה ב' וג' (MBII–III). רובם ככולם היו תחנות דרכים, אתרי חניה ואתרי מגורים עונתיים של רועים

<sup>4</sup> גודל האתרים: תל הרור 150 ד', תל אל-עג'ול 130 ד', תל ג'ימה 50 ד', תל אל-פארעה 66 ד', תל שרע 20 ד', תל נגילה 40 ד', תל מלחתה 10 ד', תל רידאן 1 ד'. ממדי הסוללה נלקחו מפרסומי החפירות של אתרי האזור (נכובי תש"ל; אורן ויקותיאלי תשנ"ו; 1930: 16; 1931: 10; 1933: 7-8; Petrie 1928: 7-8; 1992: 123; Van-Beek & Amiran 1965: 1).

<sup>5</sup> מספר זה זהה כמעט לאוכלוסייה הבדווית של האזור טרום 1948 (ברסלבסקי תש"ז: 248).

- בחמישה קברים נמצאו כלי מתכת ובשני קברים – חרפושיות.
- הקברים הכילו בין 2 ל-14 מנחות ומספר המנחות השכיח ביותר היה שלוש.
- בקבר העשיר ביותר, שהכיל 14 חפצים (מס' 1406), היו תשעה כלי חרס, שתי סיכות רכיסה, שתי חרפושיות וחרוזים.

לפי אופיין ואחידותן של מנחות הקבורה אפשר להתרשם שהחברה שקברה את מתיה ב"בית קברות החצר" הייתה חברה שוויונית, שהבדלי המעמדות והפערים החברתיים בה היו קטנים. מאחר שלא נתגלו שרידי בנייה שיש להם זיקה לקברים אלה, סביר להניח כי מדובר בחברת נוודים שעסקה במרעה צאן ובחקלאות עונתית. למעט עדות זו של קבורה, אין ברשותנו שום ממצאים מראשית תקופת הברונזה התיכונה ועד להתגבשות הגוש העירוני באזור המעידיים על אוכלוסייה של יושבי קבע בין נחל הבשור לנחל שקמה.

#### הערכת גודל האוכלוסייה

מטרת ההערכה הדמוגרפית להלן היא לזהות את יכולתה של האוכלוסייה המקומית שישבה בצפון-מערב הנגב לפני תהליך בניוי האתרים העירוניים, לעסוק בבנייה באתרים השונים. תנאי ראשון לביצוע משימה זו הוא התאמה בין גודל האוכלוסייה לבין תצורות העבודה לביצוע המשימה. את ההערכה למספר התושבים המרבי<sup>2</sup> לאוכלוסייה הפסטורלית באגן הצפוני של נחל הבשור אבסס על חישוב כושר הנשיאה האזורי של ראשי צאן באזור, בהנחה שכלכלת הקיום של האוכלוסייה התבססה על מרעה צאן. שטח האזור הנחקר בין נחל שקמה לנחל הבשור הוא כ-750 קמ"ר, ומקדם החישוב הוא 50 ראשי צאן לקמ"ר (נוי-מאיר 1976). אם ניצלו את כל השטח למרעה, אפשר היה לגדל באזור 37,500 ראשי צאן.

במחקר אין תמימות דעים להערכת היחס בין ראשי צאן לאוכלוסייה. על פי אחת מהערכות דרושים עשרה ראשי צאן כדי לתמוך כלכלית בנפש אחת (הרצוג 1990).<sup>3</sup> לפי מקדם זה אוכלוסיית האזור מנתה 3,750 נפש. אם משפחה מונה 4.5–6 נפשות (Finkelstein 1995: 90; Finkelstein & Lederman 1997: 120), מספר בתי האב באזור היה 625–833. תוספת חקלאות עונתית לבסיס קיום זה עשויה הייתה להגביר את כושר הנשיאה האזורי ויש להניח כי חלק מהאוכלוסייה עסק בחקלאות עונתית. מאחר שככל הידוע עד כה אין אתרי יישוב כפריים באזור המדובר בתקופת הברונזה התיכונה א' ותקופת הברונזה התיכונה ב' (MBII–MBI), איננו יכולים לזהות פלח אוכלוסייה שהתיישב באזור דרך קבע ועסק בחקלאות. לפיכך, הרחבת בסיס הקיום באמצעות חקלאות עונתית אינה ניתנת לזיהוי ולמדידה בתקופה ובאזור הנחקרים. כדי לזהות כמה אנשים דרושים לבינוי באתרים השונים, יש להעריך את הכמות ואת הספק העבודה הרלוונטיים. ניתן למצוא במחקר חישובים שונים להספק עבודה

<sup>2</sup> זהו מקסימום האוכלוסייה האפשרי בתנאי הכלכלה והסביבה שהוצגו, אך יש אפשרות סבירה שהאוכלוסייה הייתה קטנה יותר. הצגת הגודל המרבי האפשרי של האוכלוסייה האזורית נועדה להוכיח את אי יכולתה לעמוד במשימת הבינוי, וראה להלן.

<sup>3</sup> הנושא נבדק על ידי באמצעות השוואה בין צרכי דיאטה אנושית לבין אספקת מזון שמקורו בעדר הצאן. התוצאה שהתקבלה קרובה להערכתו זו של הרצוג. מפתת קוצר היריעה לא אפרט בסוגיה זו. הערכה נוספת המצויה במחקר: 223 עזים במשקל 27 ק"ג, כל אחת, דרושות להספקת תצורות הקלוריות של משפחה בת שש נפשות (Dahl & Hjort 1983: 120). כדי להמיר את מספר העזים לערך המתאים בכבשים יש לחלק את מספר העזים ב-1.7 (Finkelstein & Lederman 1997: 56). מספר הכבשים הדרוש לכלכלת משפחה כני"ל יהא לפי חישוב זה 131, או 22 ראש לנפש. מספר זה הוא יותר מפי שניים מההערכה הראשונה!

## עיוור צפון-מערב הנגב בשלהי תקופת הברונזה התיכונה – היבטים כלכליים וחברתיים

דוד גל

### מבוא

העיוור המהיר שחל בשלהי תקופת הברונזה התיכונה בצפון-מערב הנגב, שהיה חבל ארץ שולי בדרום כנען<sup>1</sup> מציין את שיאו של תהליך העיוור, שהתרחש בכנען בקצב מואץ מאמצע המאה הי"ח לפסה"נ. בעבר הוצעו מודלים שונים להסבר תהליך העיוור המהיר. מודלים אלה התייחסו לכוחות הפנימיים ששררו בחברה הכנענית בתקופת הברונזה התיכונה והיו עשויים להניע את התהליך. אולם עד כה אין בידנו תיעוד מתקופת הברונזה התיכונה שיאפשר שחזור מעמיק של מבנים חברתיים מקומיים כפי שהתאפשר בחברות, כגון מארי, אֶלֶלַח וכנען של ימי אל-עמארנה, שהותירו אחריהן תיעוד כתוב.

במאמר זה אציג ואנתח מודלים שונים להסבר תהליך העיוור שחל המהיר בצפון-מערב הנגב בשלהי תקופת הברונזה התיכונה. כמו כן יוצגו המצב המדיני והמניעים החברתיים והכלכליים שגרמו לתהליך הנזכר לעיל.

### רקע דמוגרפי לתקופה שלפני העיוור

האוכלוסייה המקומית נשאה בעולו של בינוי האתרים בצפון-מערב הנגב. להלן יוצגו את מקורות המידע על אודות אוכלוסייה זו ותיבדק יכולתה לבצע את משימת הבינוי רבת ההיקף.

### מקורות מידע על האוכלוסייה המקומית

המקור למידע על אודות אוכלוסייה שחייתה באזור הוא "בית קברות החצר", שדה קבורה שחשף פיטרי בתל אל-עג'ול (Petrie 1932: Pl. XLVIII, XLVI). שדה קבורה זה נחשף בחצר הארמון, שהוקם ב-1600 לפסה"נ בקירוב בימי השושלת הטי"ו של מצרים, אך השימוש בו קדם לבניית הארמון. (לדעה שונה המבוססת על תארוך בניית הארמון לפי ממצא מימי השושלות י"ב–י"ג ראה קמפינסקי 1974: 80; Robertson 1999: 127-129).

את "בית קברות החצר" חקרה טפנל (Tufnell 1962) ואלה הממצאים מהקברים: – בעיקר כלי משק בית: קערות עגולות ומזווות, פכיות, קנקני אגירה וקנקנים בעלי ידית כתף.

<sup>1</sup> גבולות האזור הם: בצפון – נחל שקמה, שצפונה ממנו משתרע תחום השליטה של אשקלון, במזרח – השוליים המערביים של גבעות השפלה שממערב להרי חברון, תחום לכיש, תל בית מירסים וחברון, בדרום – נחל הבשור. האתרים הנדונים הם: תל נגילה, תל אל-עג'ול, תל אל-פארעה, תל גימה, תל הרור, תל שרע וגם תל רידאן לחוף הים ותל מלחתה שבבקעת באר שבע, שנושבו באותו הזמן.



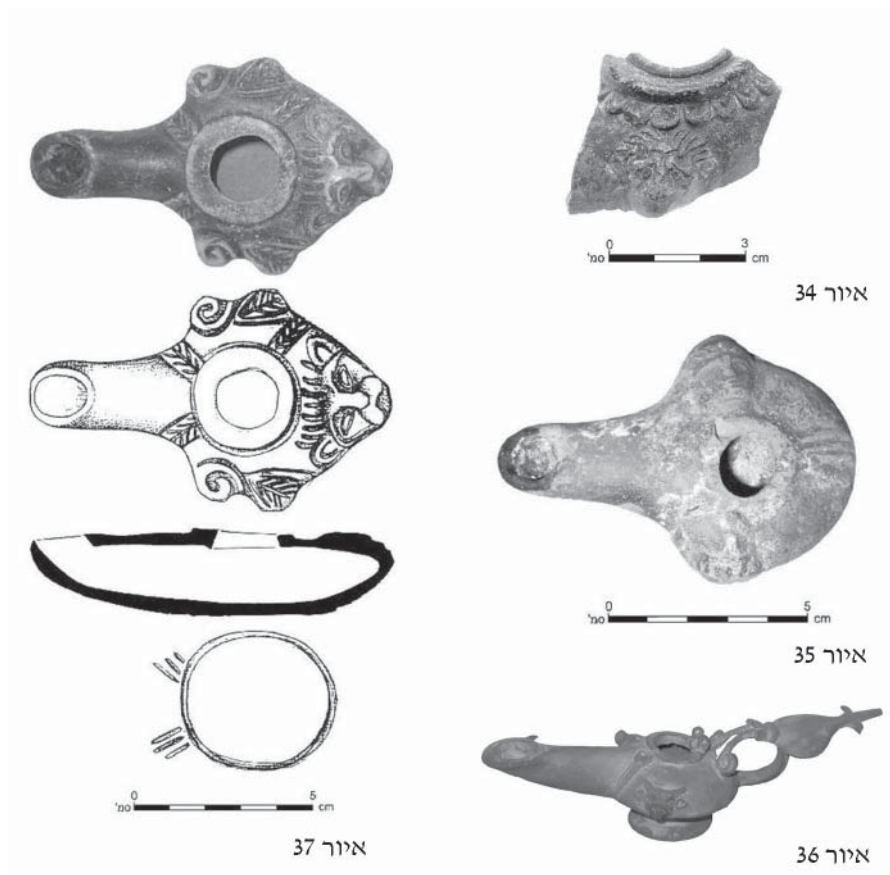
## Hellenistic Oil Lamps Decorated with Figures from Maresha (Abstract)

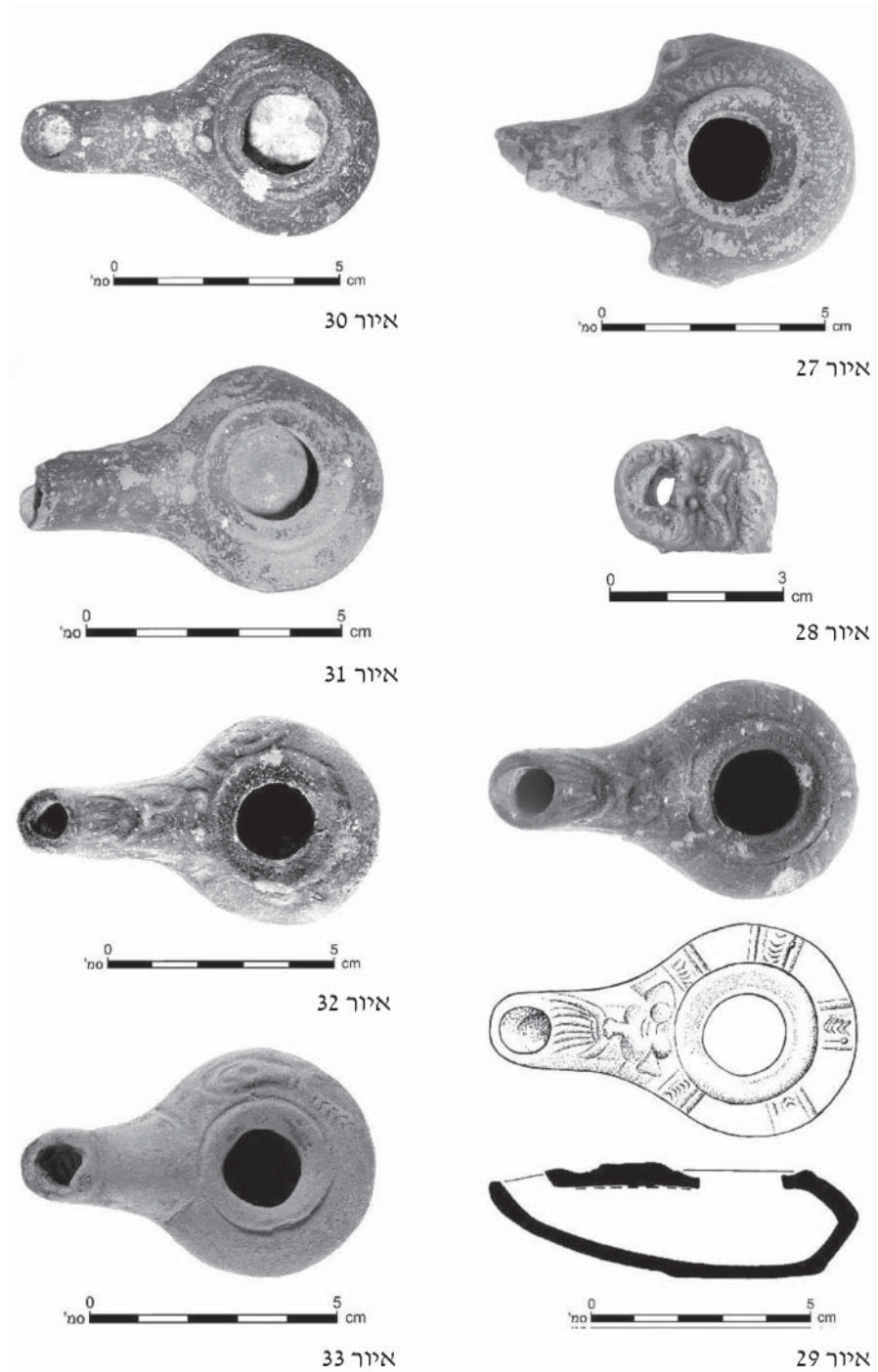
Einat Ambar-Armon and Amos Kloner

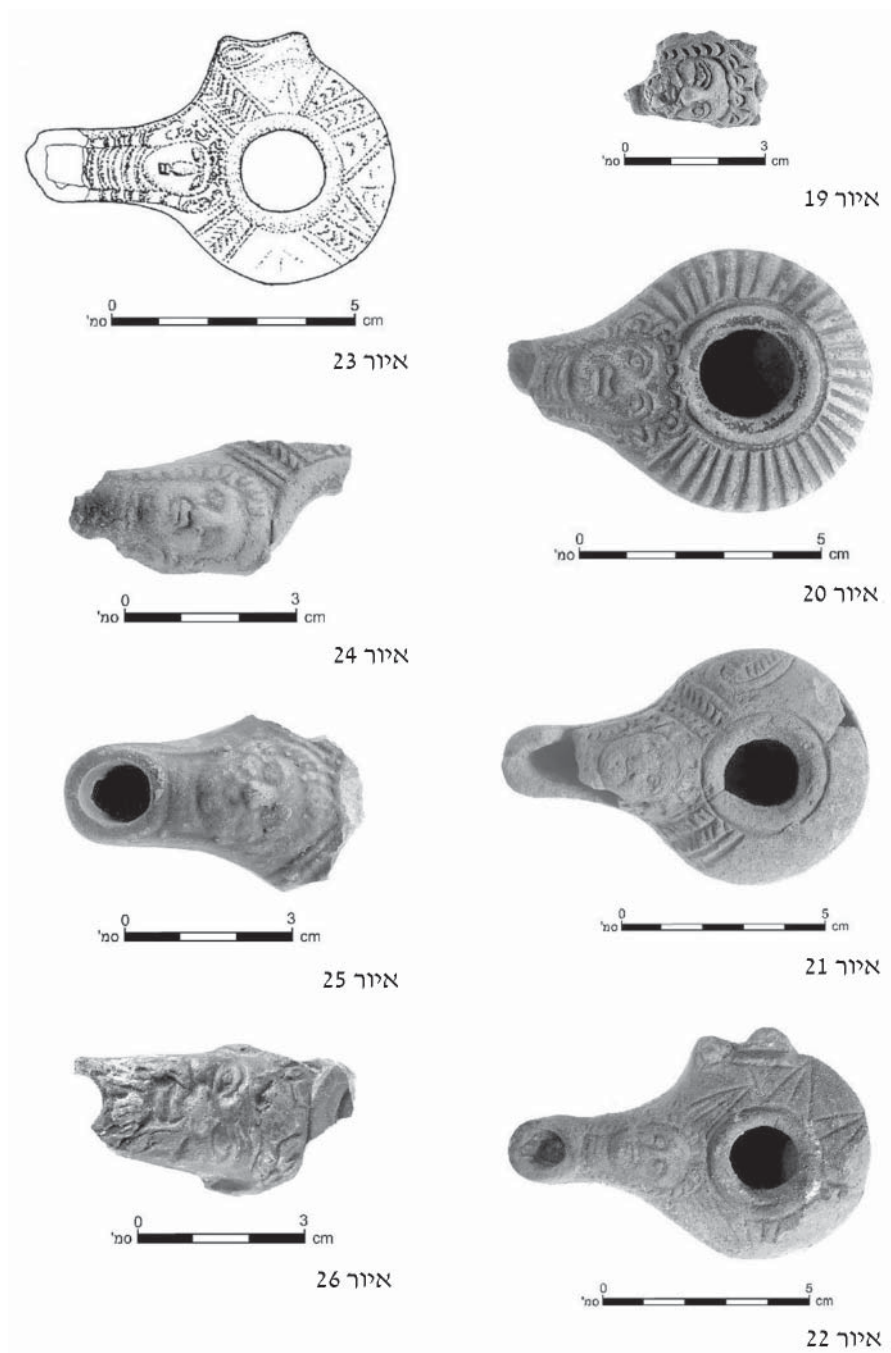
The current article focuses on an impressive group of several dozens of oil lamps decorated with figures, found at the excavations at Maresha, located in the Judean lowlands in Israel. This group stands out from the collection of thousands of oil lamps found at this site. The decorated lamps are divided into two types: one, Plastic Lamps; second, lamps bearing decorations in a specific area. The first type are oil lamps shaped as heads or complete figures, with the remaining sections shaped accordingly, exhibiting maximum integration of the characteristics of Hellenistic oil lamps with the figure. The second type contains decorated oil lamps, which were part of the manufacturing industry of familiar oil lamps, with the desired figures added in specific areas.

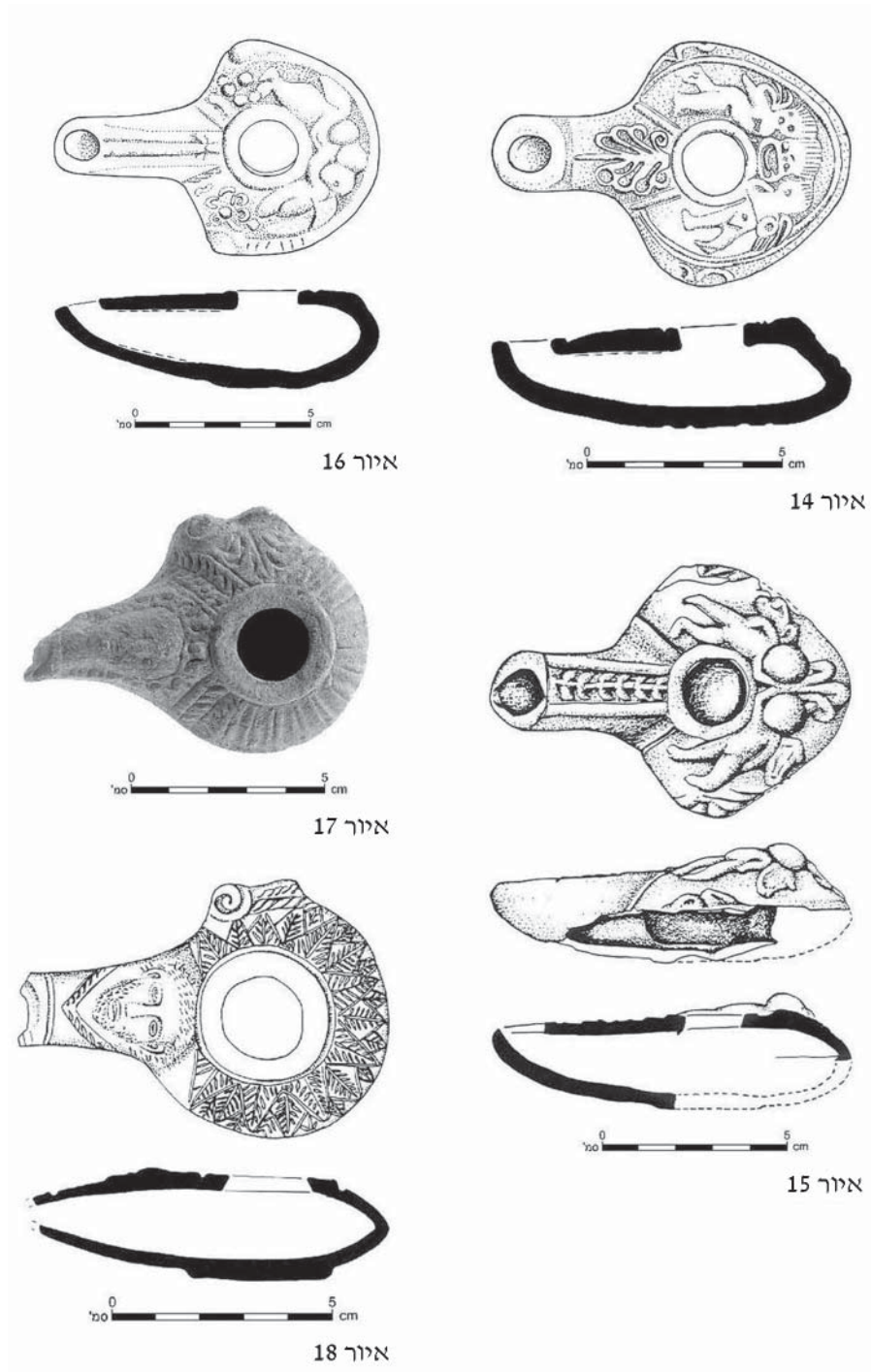
The research of this group is important because they were found in a stratigraphic context which helped to build the chronology and typology of oil lamps. Secondly, the oil lamps contribute to the study of their distribution and research into the manufacturing centers. The authors are of the opinion that the Maresha group of decorated oil lamps are especially important because it makes clear that figures began to appear on oil lamps in the Hellenistic era and continued for centuries, showing how Hellenistic tradition impacted upon the various types of oil lamps in subsequent periods.









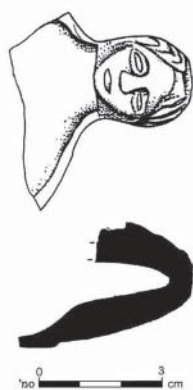




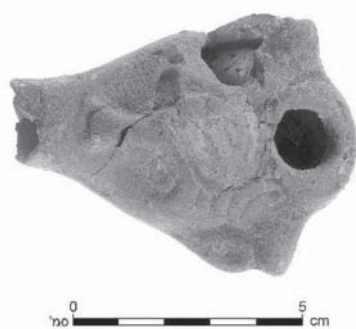
איור 10



איור 7



איור 11



איור 8



איור 12

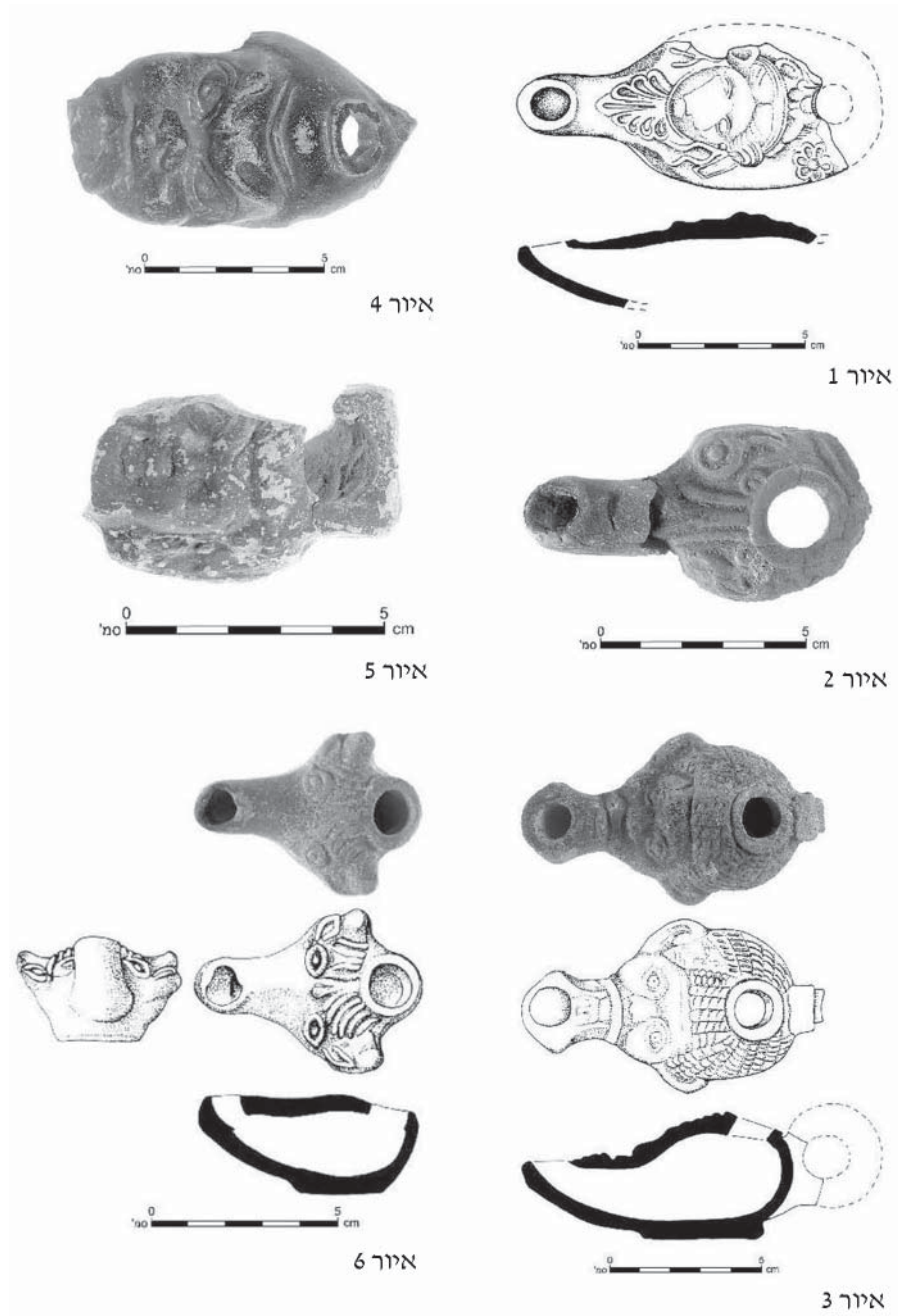


איור 9



איור 13







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מבחר הנרות שהוצגו במאמר זה מבטא את הלך הרוח במרשה בתקופה ההלניסטית. במהלך התקופות המאוחרות יותר הצטבר ניסיון ביצירת הנרות המעוטרים בדמויות וכתוצאה מכך התרחב מגוון טיפוסים הנרות האלה. בתקופה הרומית כבר היו בשימוש טיפוסים רבים יותר של נרות פלסטיים (Grandjouan 1961), וגם נרות המעוטרים בדמויות הפכו נפוצים יותר. למשל, הנרות הפרובינציאליים, אשר חיקו נרות יבוא רומיים קלאסיים הנפוצים בארץ-ישראל, מתאפיינים בכך שהיו מעוטרים בדמויות. דמויות שהחלו להופיע על הנרות כבר בתקופה ההלניסטית, היו בשימוש גם במשך מאות שנים לאחר מכן. המסורת ההלניסטית הייתה חזקה והשפעתה ניכרת בטיפוסי הנרות השונים מתקופות שבאו אחריה.

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מציאתם של נרות אלו במרשה ופרסומם מסייעים לחקר מרכזי הייצור של הנרות. ממחקר הנרות ומבדיקות פרוגרפיות מתברר כי מרבית הנרות המעוטרים בדמויות מקומיים ואילו רק חלק קטן מהנרות שנדונו לעיל מיובאים. רק חלק קטן מהנרות המעוטרים בדמויות שנמצאו במרשה שונים מהותית בתכונותיהם מנרות תבנית אחרים. כך למשל אחד הנרות שנעשה מטין מפולס ומחופה בשכבה עבה של חיפוי שחור מבריק, הוא ככל הנראה מיובא. גם נר אחר שלחרטומו מאפיינים המצויים בעיקר באזור אלכסנדריה, עשוי להיות חלק מייבוא. באוסף הנדון אין תרומה ישירה להבנת קשרי המסחר, שכן מקום הייצור של אף אחד מנרות היבוא לא זוהה בוודאות. אך הדמיון בין הטיפוסים מלמד על קיומם של קשרים אזוריים ובהם ככל הנראה קשרים בין האזורים של: אסיה הקטנה, יוון, מצרים וארץ-ישראל.

הנרות המעוטרים בדמויות ממרשה תורמים גם לתיארוך הנרות. רק נרות מעטים המעוטרים בעיטורי דמויות נחשפו בהקשרים סטרטיגרפיים (Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 145). ממכלול הנרות הפלסטיים שנמצאו במרשה למדים כי הנרות מטיפוס זה היו נפוצים במכלולים הלניסטיים שקדמו לשלהי המאה השנייה לפסה"נ. מהחפירות החדשות במרשה עולה שלקראת סוף המאה השנייה לפסה"נ פקד את העיר משבר המיוחס לכיבוש החשמונאי. מעדויות שונות עולה באופן חד משמעי שהכיבוש לא נערך בראשית שלטונו של יוחנן הורקנוס הראשון (שנות ה-30 של המאה השנייה לפסה"נ) אלא לקראת סוף שלטונו.<sup>8</sup> לתיארוך זה תרומה חשובה במיוחד למחקר, משום שלפני כן טענו החוקרים שהנרות הפלסטיים הקדומים הפכו לנפוצים רק בסוף התקופה ההלניסטית בעיקר במאה הראשונה לפסה"נ (Bailey 1975: 15; Hayes 1980: 25-26; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 241). אף כי ידוע שהיו בשימוש בשלהי המאה השלישית (Howland 1958: 155-158) או בראשית המאה השנייה לפסה"נ (Rotroff 1997: 510). נרות שנמצאו במרשה ושאזור מסוים בתוכם עוטר בדמויות מתוארכים במידה רבה של וודאות לשלהי המאה השלישית לפסה"נ. בין הנרות הקדומים שנמצאו באתר ומעוטרים בדמויות מצויים הנרות שיש להם שלוש בליטות מחודדות שעוטרו בדמויות ארוטים. מנרות אלו למדים כי כבר בתקופה ההלניסטית הקדומה, במקביל להתחלת השימוש בתבנית לייצור נרות רגילים, ייצרו גם נרות המעוטרים בדמויות. דומה שגם חלק מהנרות האחרים המעוטרים בדמויות ושנמצאו במרשה היו בשימוש כבר בשלהי המאה השלישית לפסה"נ. מכל מקום, יש לתארכם לתקופה ההלניסטית וכאמור לא יאוחר משלהי המאה השנייה לפסה"נ, וזאת בדומה לנרות הקדומים ביותר מהטיפוס הנזכר לעיל, שנמצאו בקנידוס ותוארכו לתקופה זו (Bailey 1975: 129-130, 136-142, pls. 69-71).

הנרות ממרשה מסייעים גם ללמוד שכבר בתקופה ההלניסטית נעשה שימוש במגוון רחב של טיפוסים. חלק ניכר מהנרות לא נמצאו מחוץ למרשה ובעזרתם אפשר להעשיר את הדיון הטיפולוגי על אודות טיפוסים נרות אחרים, המוכרים ממרכזים חשובים נוספים. כדוגמה ציינו את נרות השור שנמצאו במרשה. לנרות אלה תרומה רבה למחקר הטיפולוגי שערך קרזנובסקי, משום שהם מאפיינים טיפוס השונה מהנרות שהוזכרו במחקר. הם מטיפוס מקומי- מרשאי ומקורם בחפירה סטרטיגרפית.

<sup>8</sup> בחפירות במערכות ובשטחים עיליים נמצאו מעט מאוד ממצאים מאוחרים לשלב זה. ההצעה המקורית הייתה לתאריך את סוף קיומו של האתר ל-113 או 112 לפסה"נ בהתאם לתיארוך המטבעות המאוחרים שנמצאו במטמון "פכית מרשה" בשטח 53. אולם מציאתה של כתובת שתוארכה לשנה 112 או 111 לפסה"נ במערת קבורה, אפשרה לאחר את התיארוך בשנה. ג' פינקלשטיין טען, על סמך עיון מחודש במשקולות העופרת שהתגלו באתר, כי העיר נכבשה מעט מאוחר משנת 108 לפסה"נ (Kloner 2003: 6; Finkelsztajn 1988).

למעט הנרות הפלסטיים לא ידוע על נרות אחרים שבהם הידית כולה עוצבה כעיטור של דמות, כדוגמת נר זה. ידיות מעוטרת בדמויות היו נדירות יחסית. בדלוס (Bruneau 1965: 92, no. 4235) ובאפסוס (Bailey 1975: 86, Q144) נמצאו ידיות שעוטרו בדמויות, אך בשונה מהנר ממרשה היו אלה ידיות גדולות ומרשימות בצורתן, ובין יתר העיטורים השטוחים שעליהן הייתה גם דמות.

### דיון וסיכום

ידוע שבתקופה ההלניסטית עיטור הדמויות היה שכיח במדיומים שונים ובהם פיסול, ציור ופסיפס. אי לכך מפתיע מיעוט היחסי של הנרות המעוטרים בדמויות שנמצאו במרשה ובאתרים אחרים בכלל ביחס לכל שאר נרות התבנית. יש בכך רמז כדי להעיד על ההתייחסות של האנשים אל הנרות בתקופה הנדונה. ייעודם העיקרי של הנרות – ובהם גם של הנרות המעוטרים בדמויות – היה לספק אור בעת חשיכה. הם היו מוצרים פשוטים ועממיים ומשום כך הם נמצאו בחפירות כמעט בכל מכלול אפשרי. יחד עם זאת, מציאתם של הנרות המעוטרים בדמויות, שהחלו להיות בשימוש במהלך התקופה ההלניסטית, מאפשרת להניח כי במהלך תקופה זו חל שינוי הקשור לאופן ההתייחסות אל הנרות. הם לא היו רק חפצים שימושיים אלא גם חפצים בעלי ערך אסתטי. ייתכן כי חלקם היו בשימוש גם במהלך טקסים מיוחדים או כי האירו חללי מגורים של אוכלוסייה אמידה.

מרבית הנרות שנמצאו במרשה הם מייצור מקומי והיו חלק מתעשייה ענפה של ייצור נרות. בין העדויות לתעשיית הנרות נמצאו פסולת ייצור, חומר קשה כעור ונרות ללא סימני פח. מבדיקות פטרוגרפיות עולה כי הנרות שנבדקו נעשו מטיין מקומי או מטיין שמקורו בסביבות האתר (עמבר-ערמון 2007: 231-251). מחקרנו מלמד כי גם הנרות המעוטרים בדמויות נוצרו באתר. טענה זו מסתמכת, בין השאר, על ממצא של שלושה נרות שעוטרו בדמות מזוקנת בעלת קרניים על גבי החרטום. נרות אלה נמצאו בשטחים שונים באתר ונוצרו בתבנית זהה. גם הידיות המעוטרת בדמויות ונרות השור נוצרו, ככל הנראה, בתבניות זהות או דומות. נרות השור שנמצאו בממדים שונים עשויים ללמד גם על שינוי מקומי בממדי התבנית. מספרם הגדול יחסית של הנרות מטיפוס זה והחזרות על הטיפוסים מחזקים הצעה זו. מבדיקות פטרוגרפיות של אחד הנרות שעליו איש מזוקן בעל קרניים, עולה שייצרו אותו מחוואר מתצורת מוצא. במרשה נמצאה פסולת ייצור, ולאחר שנבדקה התברר כי גם היא עשויה מחוואר מתצורת מוצא.<sup>7</sup> מכאן שעל אף ריחוקו היחסי של חומר זה מהאתר השתמשו בו בייצור המקומי וגם על מנת לייצר נרות המעוטרים בדמויות. חשיבות נתונים אלו מתבטאת בכך שהם מאפשרים לצרף את מרשה לרשימת האתרים שבהם ייצרו נרות פלסטיים ונרות המעוטרים בדמויות. אלו מוכרים לרוב במרכזים כמו ביוון (למשל באתונה), אסיה הקטנה (למשל בפרגמון), מצרים (אלכסנדריה) ובהמשך גם איטליה ובחוף הצפוני של הים השחור (Chrzanovski 2002: 13-34). הנרות המעוטרים בדמויות נפוצים יחסית לנרות הפלסטיים, ויש להניח כי הם יוצרו במגוון אתרים למשל בקנידוס (Bailey 1975: 129-130) ובבדלוס (Bruneau 1965). אף אחד מהמחקרים שעסקו בנושא עד כה לא הזכיר את ארץ-ישראל (או אזור אחר בלבנט הצפוני) כמרכז ייצור, ואין להתפלל על כך לאור הנרות הבודדים שנמצאו בחפירות השונות.

<sup>7</sup> בדיקות נערכו על ידי ענת כהן-וינברגר במעבדה של רשות העתיקות בראשית שנת 2006.

בדמות זעירה שלמה, יש סיבות אחרות שאינן נהירות לנו. הרי בתקופה הנדונה דמויות שלמות היו נפוצות על גבי כלים שונים, כמו למשל על קערות הדפוס.

#### נרות בעלי בליטה מעוטרת בדמות

נרות אלה מתאפיינים בכך שלצדם בליטה אחת או שתי בליטות שעוטרו בדמויות. אחת מקבוצות הנרות האלה שמוכרות מהתקופה ההלניסטית היא נרות דמויי דולפין. הם זכו לכינוי זה בגין עיטור הדולפין המצוי על הבליטה. עיטור הדולפין או עיטור של דגים אחרים היו נפוצים גם על בליטות של נרות שנמצאו בחפירות מרשה (איור 33). נרות בעלי בליטה מעוטרת בדמות אשר אינה קשורה לדגה, אינם נפוצים.

במרשה נמצאו שני נרות חרס שבהם הבליטה עוטרה בדמות. מהנר הראשון השתמר רק חלק קטן הכולל בליטה שעוצבה בצורת ראש אריה ריאליסטי (איור 34). אין להתפלא על כך שלמרות מיעוט החיות מבין עיטורי הדמויות (קודם לכן הזכרנו גם שוורים), דווקא האריה מופיע על נר זה. ארליך (ארליך 2004: 31-32) ציינה כי החיה העיקרית שהופיעה על פסלי אבן בממצאי מרשה היא האריה. לחיות ממשפחת החתוליים מקום של כבוד באמנות המזרח ההלניסטי וכך גם בארץ-ישראל ובסביבתה. חפצים שונים שנמצאו במרשה נושאים איתור של ראש אריה, למשל: שולחן מדידה שנמצא בשטח 100 במרשה מעוטר בחמישה ראשי אריות שמתוכם ארבעה בחזית (Finkielsztein 1999), כופא (ארליך 1996: 33 : 116) וכלי מג'נטה דמוי אריה רובץ (ארליך וקלונר 2008: 104).

עיטור הבליטה באריה אינו נפוץ, אך הוא מופיע, בין היתר, על נר שנמצא במוזיאון הבריטי ומקורו בחפירות שנערכו בקפריסין. על אחת משתי הבליטות שלו מצוי אריה (Bailey 1975: Q503).

לנר השני מהטיפוס הנזכר לעיל שנמצא במרשה והשתמר בשלמותו, יש שתי בליטות שעוטרו בדמות ראש עלם (איור 35). לא נמצאו מקבילות לעיטור הזה, אך נמצאו דמויות אחרות מוכרות, למשל בחרבת אל שביכה נמצאו שלושה שברי נרות, שהם כנראה של נר שהבליטה בו עוטרה בדמות (טצ'ר ונגר 2002: 266). גם בקפריסין נמצא נר שעל הבליטה שלו דמות. יתכן שזו מסכה (Vessberg 1953, Pl. I, no. 17). דמות המסכה הקומית מוכרת גם מהבליטות בנר בעל שלושה חרטומים העשוי מטיין נילוטי ונמצא במצרים (Mlynarczyk 1997: 63-64). אך דומה כי דמות הנר שנמצא במרשה אינה קומית.

הבליטות בצורת דמויות מצויות גם בנרות ברונזה. בחפירות בליס ומקליסטר בתל סנדחנה, למשל, נמצא נר ברונזה שעליו בליטות בצורת בעל חיים (איור 36). רק לאחר הניקוי הכימי אפשר היה לזהות שמתחת לקורוזה מסתתרים שני שוורים (Smith 1964: 117).

נר ברונזה אחר מצוי באוסף המוזיאון הבריטי ובו עוטרה הבליטה בדמות אריה (Bailey 1996: 7-8, Q3542).

#### נרות שידיתם עוטרה בדמות

רק אחד מהנרות שנמצאו במרשה עוטר בדמות באזור הידית. הדמות עצמה פלסטית ומשמשת כידית לנר. זוהי דמות של ראש אריה (איור 37), וכפי שציינו קודם לכן, האריה היה אחד מבעלי החיים הנפוצים ביותר באמנות התקופה הנדונה, כך לפחות במרשה.



לנר האחרון נמצאה מקבילה דומה בשומרון (Crowfoot 1957: 369-370, fig. 87: 6). בתל דור נמצא נר תבנית עגול בעל ידית אוזן אנכית עם שני חריצים, ועל חרטומו עיטור זעיר יחסית של מסכת סיליניוס (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 239, fig. 5.17:6).

נר אחר עם עיטור זה נמצא גם בתל אנפה (Dobbins, in print). נרות שעוטרו בדמות סיליניוס נמצאו, בין היתר, גם באנטיוכיה (Waagé 1941: fig. 74, no. 23) ובאיליון (Barr 1996: 188-191).

מסכת עבד בעל שיער נפוח משוך לאחור השתמרה על חרטום נר שנמצא במערכת תת-קרקעית 147 (איור 28). במצח הדמות נראים קמטים אופקיים, הגבות קמורות, העיניים פקוחות לרווחה, האף רחב, הפה פתוח וסביבו שפם וזקן. הפה הגדול של המסכה שימש גם כפי הנר.

אמנם במרשה נמצא עד כה רק נר אחד שנושא דמות כזנכר לעיל, אך היא נפוצה ביותר במקומות ובאזורים אחרים, כך למשל באיליון (Barr 1996: 190-191, nos. 107, 108), בדלוס (Bruneau 1965: pl. 19:3177) ובקפריסין (Oziol 1977: nos. 123-124).

בנוסף לנרות אלה, נמצאו במרשה גם חמישה נרות המעוטרים בדמות איש מזוקן. הם שונים מקודמיהם בכך שמעל עיני הדמות, על המצח, מצויות שתי נקודות בולטות. לאחד הנרות מתאר עגול לחלוטין (איור 29) ואילו הארבעה האחרים בעלי בליטה. אחד מתוכם גדול יחסית לשלושת האחרים (איורים 30-32). נראה ששלושת הנרות האחרונים נוצרו בתבנית אחת, שכן הם זהים בממדיהם ובעיצובם, גם אם צבע הטיין שלהם שונה. ייתכן שהנר הגדול שימש כמקור ההשראה או אולי אף כאב טיפוס לייצור הנרות הקטנים יותר.

בשני אתרים בארץ נמצאו נרות שעוטרו בדמות דומה ובמיקום זהה; הראשון הוא מתל זרור (Ohata 1970: 11, pl. L.1), שם זוהתה הדמות כזאוס, והשני בחפירות מזור (Rosenthal-Heginbottom, forthcoming).

זיהוי הדמות בנרות ממרשה נעשה בין היתר בעזרת נר ברוזה שמקורו במערת קבורה באזור תל אביב (Sussman 2006). על הנר הזה מצויה דמות שזוהתה כסאטיר או סיליניוס ויש לו מאפיינים דומים לנרות הנדונים. בעזרתו התברר כי שתי הנקודות המצויות מעל העיניים הן קרניים ולא חלק מזר. נראה שהדמות המופיעה על נרות אלו קשורה לפאן, וזאת לא רק בשל עיצוב הקרניים אלא גם בגלל החזות הצעירה של הדמות ועל אף הזקן. כאמור, דמות זו הייתה מצויה גם בנרות הפלסטיים במרשה.

דמויות מעולם התיאטרון היו נפוצות על נרות שונים במרחב ההלניסטי. בולט במיוחד מכלול הנרות מקנידוס, שם ייצרו נרות באבניים והצמידו עליהם תבניות של דמויות תיאטרליות בצורות שונות כמו: מסכת עבד, סיליניוס, סאטיר, דמות זקן מהקומדיה החדשה ואחרות (Bailey 1975: 129-130, 136-142, pls. 69-71). בעיצוב הדמויות הללו על נרות אין כל פליאה, שכן במרחב ההלניסטי עיטורים אלה מצויים על מגוון חפצים כבר בתקופות שקדמות לתקופה ההלניסטית.

הנרות שעליהם חרטום המעוטר בראש דמות שכיחים בהרבה מאלה שחרטומיהם עוטרו בדמות זעירה שלמה. במרשה למשל, לא נמצא אף נר שבו עוצבה דמות שלמה על החרטום. כמו כן, לא ידוע על אתרים אחרים בארץ שבהם נמצאו דמויות שלמות על החרטום. לעומת זאת, באסיה הקטנה מוכרות דוגמאות כאלה. באיליון, למשל, נמצא חרטום של נר ועליו דמות אישה לבושה בפפלוס ואוחזת כלי (Barr 1996: 190-191). אמנם מלאכת הכנתן של דמויות מורכבות וקטנות אלה דורשת השקעה, דיוק ורמת מיומנות גבוהה, אך סביר להניח שלחוסר התפוצה של נרות שחרטומיהם עוטרו

בדגה. שניים מהנרות מטיפוס זה עגולים, שבעה בעלי בליטה אחת ואחד בעל שתי בליטות. הנרות השלמים מסוג זה שייכים לטיפוסים שונים: כל היתר כללו רק את החרטום ולכן אי-אפשר לייחסם לקבוצות או לטיפוסים ספציפיים. הדמויות המעטרות את חרטומי הנרות שנמצאו במרשה הן דמויות אנושיות בלבד. באתרים בודדים אחרים מוכרים נרות שחרטומם עוטר גם בבעלי חיים. בשומרון, למשל, נמצא נר שעל חרטומו ראש שור (Reisner et al. 1924: 320).

#### נרות שחרטומם עוטר בדמות ריאליסטית

במרשה נמצאו שלושה נרות מטיפוס זה ולהלן תיאורם:

- הראשון: נר דמוי דולפין בעל חרטום שעליו דמות שחוקה בעלת פנים המוקפות בתלתלים (איור 17).
- השני: נר דמוי דולפין בעל חרטום ועליו דמות גבר בעל זקן קצר או זיפי זקן (איור 18).
- השלישי: חרטום בלבד שעליו דמות מזרחית או פרתית בעלת שיער מתולתל וזקן קצר (איור 19).

במרשה נפוצים גם נרות שחרטומם עוטר בדמות – אולי נשית? – שבצווארה קפלים. עד כה נמצאו שמונה נרות שכאלו (איורים 20-25). אחד הנרות עגול ובעל עיטור רדיאלי שחרטומו עוטר בדמות חזיתית עטורת תלתלים (איור 20). נרות אחרים הם אלו שלצדם בליטה אחת ועל חרטומם דמות דומה (איורים 21, 22 ו-23). מראש הדמות של אחד הנרות האלו יוצאות שתי קרניים ארוכות ומחודדות המופרדות על ידי עין הנר. יתכן שהכוונה להליוס (איור 22). קבוצה זו כוללת דמויות שצווארן מורכב משלושה קפלים בולטים. ייתכן שקפלים עדינים אלה הם "טבעות ונוס" (Venus Rings), האופייניות לצוואר הנשים. דמויות אלה נראות צעירות, ולראשן לרוב שיער מתולתל ושופע.

נר נוסף מטיפוס זה נמצא בבית הקברות המזרחי של מרשה (Oren & Rappaport 1984: 131).

נרות בעלי חרטום מעוטר בדמויות מוכרים מחפירות מעטות, למשל מחפירות מזור. לדברי רוזנטל-הגינבוטום יתכן שהדמות המופיעה בהם היא ראש דיוניסוס (Rosenthal-Heginbottom, forthcoming), לדוגמאות נוספות ראו: Rosenthal & Sivan 1978: 12-13, fig. 20, 21, 23. אפשר שגם חלק מהדמויות שנמצאו במרשה עולות בקנה אחד עם הצעתה של רוזנטל.

#### נרות שחרטומם עוטר בדמויות מעולם התיאטרון

קבוצה גדולה נוספת של נרות היא של אלו שהחרטום בהם עוטר בדמויות מעולם התיאטרון.

אחת הדמויות המרשימות היא של נר ששרד ממנו רק החרטום, ועליו דמות איש בעל זקן ארוך ושפם שאנו מזהים אותו כסאטיר או סילינוס (איור 26). לדמות זו אוזניים בולטות, עיניים גדולות פקוחות לרווחה ולחיים מלאות.

חרטום נוסף שעליו דמות דומה הוא של גבר (סאטיר) בעל עיניים שקועות, זקן ושפם עבה.

נר אחר שהשתמר בשלמותו למעט קצה החרטום, הוא נר בעל שתי בליטות, שעל חרטומו עוצבה דמות איש ארוך זקן, יתכן שזהו סאטיר (איור 27).

### נרות שכתפיהם עוטרו בדמויות ארוטים

הנרות הארוטים הם השכיחים מבין הנרות שנוצרו בתקופה ההלניסטית, בעיקר בצפון הלבנט, ומעוטרים בדמויות. במרשה נמצאו 46 נרות שעוטרו בארוטים (איורים 14-16). גם באתרים אחרים בארץ הם נמצאו בכמויות גדולות. בתל אנה, למשל, נמצאו 94 נרות מטיפוס זה, (Weinberg 1971, pl. 18:A; Dobbins, in print) וגם בגמלא הם היו נפוצים (גוטמן 1994: 51).

הם זכו לכינוי 'נרות ארוטים' בגלל עיטורם יוצא הדופן. העיטור הזה כולל שתי דמויות הנמצאות משני צדי עין הנר ופונות זו לזו בסימטריות. מקובל לכנות דמויות אלה בכינוי 'ארוטים' בשל צורת הנערים המכונפים. רק לעתים רחוקות מזהות דמויות אלה כדמויות אחרות, למשל ניקות. לעתים הארוטים רזים ולעתים שמנמנים.<sup>6</sup> הם מצויים בתנוחות שונות: לעתים הרגליים רחוקות זו מזו ולעתים הן משולבות, לעתים הראש זקוף ולעתים מונח על אחת מהידיים והידיים מונחות על הצוואר.

לרוב יש בנרות אלה שלוש בליטות. הקדומים מביניהם נושאים בליטות מחודדות ואילו למאחרים יש בליטות מנוונות (עמבר-ערמון 2007: 113–112). רוב הדמויות בנרות אלו – בשונה משאר הנרות המעוטרים בדמויות – שחוקות ומטושטשות. עיצוב הדמויות עשוי לרוב בתבליט גבוה ובדרך כלל בעל הבליטה של הכנפיים והטבור. לרוב, בין שתי הדמויות המכונפות מצויות פלמטות בעלות שלושה או חמישה עלים (איור 15). לעתים העיטור אינו של פלמטה אלא של חפץ אחר כגון מסכת תיאטרון (איור 14). מוכרים גם עיטורים אחרים למשל: ארוטים האוחזים בידיהם לפידים, קדוקיאוס, סלסלה וחפצים אחרים. במקרים אחרים היד השנייה נוטה מעט אחורה ואוחזת בכלי מוארך שקצהו מחודד, יתכן שמדובר באמפורה. באחד הנרות (איור 14) אף נוצר הרושם שפי האמפורה מכיוון היישר לעבר פי המסכה ולכן אפשר להניח שזוהי דמות דיוניסית שמשקים אותה ביי. בנרות אחרים דמות הארוס (הרמס?) נושאת על גבה חפץ כלשהו, אולי שק, הבולט לצד הכנף. בעוד יד אחת של הארוס בדרך כלל מורמת, ידו השנייה לרוב אינה מוצגת או שהיא מקופלת לכיוון הרגל.

הארוס נמנה עם הדמויות הפופולריות המופיעות כעיטור לא רק על הנרות ההלניסטיים אלא גם על גבי הנרות הרומיים. בנרות מהתקופה ההלניסטית תנוחתו דומות ואף כמעט זהות וסימטריות, ואילו בתקופה הרומית הוא מופיע בצורות חדשניות ומגוונות, למשל כפורט על נבל, נושף בחליל פאן, או חזן בלפיד או רוכב על דולפין (Bailey 1980: 20-23).

אין להתפלא מתפוצתם הרחבה של הארוטים, כיוון שהם מוכרים היטב גם על ממצאים אחרים, כגון כלים אטים מצוירים, פסלים, סרקופגים ופסיפסים. דמויות אלו הן גם מבין הנפוצות על הצלמיות שנמצאו במרשה (Erllich and Kloner 2008: 10-11) וכן על מגוון כלים פלסטיים אחרים באתר זה (ארליך וקלונר 2008: 106).

### נרות שחרטומם עוטרו בדמות

חלק גדול מבין הנרות המעוטרים בדמויות עוטרו בחרטומם. במרשה נמצאו 20 נרות כאלה וזאת מתוך 23 נרות המעוטרים בדמויות, למעט הארוטים ובעלי עיטור הבליטה

<sup>6</sup> גם בצלמיות דמויות הארוטים מעוצבים לעתים כמלאכים רזים (Burn and Higgins 2001: pl. 59) ולעתים כמלאכים שמנמנים (Burn & Higgins 2001: pl. 28).

אפשר ללמוד רק מאחד הנרות (איור 9), שכן במרבית הנרות (איורים 11, 12 ו-13) שרדה הידית בלבד.

בנר השלם מוצגות דמות שגופה פרוש על פני הנר. החזה המודגש מבהיר באופן חד משמעי כי זו דמות אישה. הדמות לבושה בכיטון (chiton) בעל חיתוך חד, המצוי גם בצלמיות בנות התקופה. הדמיון בעיצוב ראשי הדמויות מאפשר להניח כי גם גוף הנר עוצב בצורה דומה. הנר השלם ואחד הנרות שמהם נשמרה רק הידית (איורים 9 ו-13) נוצרו באותה התבנית. מכאן יש להניח כי גם בגוף הנר שנשמרה רק הידית שלו, הייתה דמות זהה של אישה בשני הנרות.

מאחד הנרות (איור 11) השתמרו פני הדמות וחלק קטן מאחורי הנר. חלק זה רחב ביחס לנרות אחרים, ובהסתמך עליו אפשר להניח ששימש כמקום הכתפיים של הדמות.

נר נוסף שהשתמר בשלמות (איור 10) כולל ראש דומה לזה שבנר הקודם, אך לא ברור אם הוא כולל גם גוף ואם כן, פרטי הגוף אינם נהירים. בין החרטום לגוף יש שלושה סימנים שיכולים להיות אברי הרבייה של אישה, אך הם עשויים גם להיות עיטור אחר.

לכל הדמויות על הנרות האלו, שנמצאו במרשה, יש מאפיינים משותפים והם:

- תסרוקת קנידית או תסרוקת מלון, האופייניות גם לצלמיות ההלניסטיות (Higgins 1987: 123).
- עיניים פקוחות לרווחה ובעלות נטייה קלה כלפי מטה בצדן החיצוני. עיצוב זה של העיניים מאפיין חלק מהצלמיות שנמצאו במרשה (Erllich & Kloner 2008) ומזכיר במידת מה גם את עיניהן של הדמויות מחרבת תנור (גליק 1992: 1607; Glueck 1965).
- אף משולש ושפתים מפושקות.

#### נרות שאזור מסוים בהם עוטר בדמות

נרות שאזור מסוים בהם עוטר בדמות שייכים למגוון טיפוסים ובהם נרות ללא בליטות, נרות בעלי בליטה אחת ונרות בעלי שתי בליטות.

הם דומים במאפייניהם הכלליים ליתר הנרות שנמצאו בחפירות מרשה:

- העיטורים על נרות אלו, למעט האזור המעוטר בדמות, דומים לעיטורים על נרות אחרים. העיטורים הנפוצים הם הרדיאלים-גיאומטריים והצמחיים. גם מידותיהם דומות בדרך כלל לטיפוסים המקבילים להם שעוצבו ללא דמות. עם זה, הנרות הנדונים עוטרו במקומות ספציפיים: על הכתפיים, על החרטום, על הבליטה שלצד הנר או על הידית בעיטור דמות. עיטור הארוטים על כתפי הנר נפוץ ונמצא בחפירות רבות, אולם שאר הדמויות נפוצות הרבה פחות.
- אחד המאפיינים הבולטים לנרות אלו הוא שכל הדמויות עוצבו בתבליט גבוה, גם אם העיטור הסמוך אליהם נעשה בתבליט נמוך או בחריטה. ייתכן שחלקם נעשו בשיטת האפליקציה, שלפיה יצרו את הדמות בנפרד מהנר ובשלב מאוחר יותר הדביקו אותה לנר.
- מאפיין משותף נוסף הוא שכל הדמויות, לפחות אלו שנמצאו עד כה, מוצגות בצורה חזיתית.

מחודדות ובולטות. מהרכס המקיף את עין הנר צומח שיער המחולק לקוצות שהאחת נוטה לכיוון העין הימנית והשנייה לכיוון העין השמאלית. אפשר להבחין גם בקוצות שערות בין שתי העיניים. לשני הדמויות בנרות הללו עיניים גדולות ופוקחות לרווחה, שבמרכזן אישון עגול ובולט. אפו של השור עוצב בשני הנרות במסגרת החרטום המוארך, ובקצהו פי הנר כפיה של הדמות. לנר השלישי מטיפוס זה, שנמצא באתר, יש מאפיינים דומים, אך רק חלק קטן ממנו שרד והוא שחוק.

בנוסף לנרות אלו נמצאו שני נרות (אחד מהם מוצג באיור 8) שמייצגים, ככל הנראה, שוורים או את דמות האל פאן. כל חלקם העליון זהה לנרות השור הן בעיצוב הקרניים הן בעיצוב השיער. גם עיצוב העיניים דומה. השוני העיקרי בין נרות אלה לנרות שתיארנו קודם לכן הוא בעיצוב האף: הוא אנושי לחלוטין. מכאן גם אפשר לשער כי זוהי דמות האל פאן.

נרות השור נמצאן בכל המרחב ההלניסטי, שכן היה זה טיפוס נפוץ בתקופות ההלניסטית והרומית.<sup>5</sup> להלן כמה דוגמאות:

- באתונה, למשל, נמצא נר עם דמות שור ובו עין הנר במרכז המצח. בעין הנר נוקבו חמישה חורים קטנים (Howland 1958: 157, no. 617). גם באיליון שבאסיה הקטנה, נמצא נר מטיפוס זה (Barr 1996: 186, fig. 23: 88).
  - במוזיאון הבריטי מצוי אוסף מרשים של נרות מטיפוס זה. שלושה מתוכם נמצאו באזורים שונים. הראשון יוחס למצרים (Bailey 1975: 278, Q607), השני נמצא בחפירות בקרתגו (Bailey 1975: 289, Q626) והשלישי יוחס לאיטליה (Bailey 1975: 334, Q705).
  - במצדה נמצא שבר של נר פלסטי בדמות שור (Bailey 1994: 87, no. 174).
- קרזנובסקי, במחקרו על ראשי השור במרחב ההלניסטי, מיון 60 נרות שור שנמצאו במרחב ההלניסטי לשמונה טיפוסים. התברר כי חלקם הקטן מהתקופה ההלניסטית ומרביתם מתקופות מאוחרות יותר. לטענתו, מקורם של נרות השור בכמה מרכזי ייצור ובהם אתונה, איטליה, צפון הים השחור ומצרים (Chrzanovski 2002). נרות השור שנמצאו במרשה הם מטיפוס מקומי-מרשאי ומקורו בחפירה סטרטיגרפית מתוארכת. טיפוס זה שונה ממרבית הנרות שהוזכרו אצל קרזנובסקי. אי לכך יש לנרות האלה חשיבות רבה למחקר הטיפולוגי שלו. נוסף על כך, דומה כי הנרות ממרשה סכמטיים יותר מאלו שנמצאו באזורים אחרים.
- במהלך התקופה ההלניסטית היו נרות השור נפוצים יותר מנרות שבדמותם בעלי חיים אחרים. ראשי השוורים מוכרים גם על חפצים אחרים בתקופה זו, למשל על תליונים מהמאה השנייה לפסה"ס (Spear 2001: 162, pl. 26: 327) וכן על קערות דפוס שנמצאו במרשה.

#### נרות פלסטיים המעוטרים בדמות על הידית

במרשה נמצאו חמישה נרות המשתייכים לנרות הפלסטיים שהידית שלהם עוצבה כראש הדמות ואילו גוף הנר בהם עוצב, ככל הנראה, כדמות. על הדמות בשלמותה

<sup>5</sup> חוקרים שונים קישרו את השור המופיע על נרות אלה למסורות שונות, ובהן גם חלק מייצוג של האל אפיס המצרי ושל האל מיתרה. הנרות שתוארכו לתקופות מאוחרות קושרו אף לנצרות (על התאוריות השונות ראו: Chrzanovski 2002: 13-14). קרזנובסקי סובר כי נרות השור מהווים עדות לאמונה דתית ללא קשר הכרחי לאלוהות מסוימת. הוא אף מציע לראות בשור עדות למנהג הקרבן. מובן שבעת העתיקה כל אדם שהחזיק בידיו נר המעוצב בדמות שור, יכול היה לקשור אותו למסורת שהתאימה לו או כחלק מצורך אסתטי בלבד.

למחצית השנייה של המאה הראשונה לפסה"נ (Bailey 1975: 356-357, Q752). למרות הופעתם הקדומה יחסית של נרות אלה, הם הפכו לנפוצים רק בתקופה הרומית. נר מטיפוס זה העשוי ברונזה, נמצא גם בחפירות בארץ-ישראל כחלק ממטמון האקרופוליס במגדל המדרגות הנבטי בעבדת. ייחודו מתבטא בכתובת הנבטית שנשא. החפצים במטמון זה תוארכו לתקופה ההלניסטית ולתקופה הרומית הקדומה (רוזנטל-הגינבוטום 2003: 43). נרות בדמות ראש אפריקאי הוסיפו להיות פופולריים גם במאה השלישית לספ' ואף מאוחר יותר. ראייה לכך היא נר שנמצא במוזיאון הבריטי (Bailey 1988: 242, no. 1984). הנר הזה, על אף תיאורו המאוחר, דומה בעיצובו לראש האפריקאי שנמצא במרשה. הדמיון ניכר במיוחד בעיצוב החרטום. צורת המניפה של החרטום מוכרת מאלכסנדריה וייתכן שהיא מרמזת על מוצאו של הנר.

דמות האפריקאי הייתה נפוצה באמנות התקופה ההלניסטית וגם בתקופות מאוחרות יותר, והיא מצויה על גבי מדיומים שונים. במוזיאון ישראל, למשל, מצוי אוסף כלי זכוכית ובו קבוצת תליונים מהמאה השנייה עד הראשונה לפסה"נ. בין התליונים יש ראשי אפריקאים שנמצאו בחפירות תל אנפה ושומרון (Spear 2001: 162, fig. 74, pl. 26: 325-326).

#### דמויות תיאטרליות

נרות אלה מכונים במחקר "Theatrical Mask Lamp". אחד הנרות המרשימים במכלול הנרות שנמצאו במרשה הוא נר פלסטי שעוצב בצורת סאטיר (satyr) בעל איברי פנים מודגשים (איור 4). עין הנר ממוקמת במרכז המצח והיא מוקפת ברכס נמוך ושטוח. בחלקו התחתון של המצח מצויים שני קמטים, הגבות קמורות ומתחתן עיניים פקוחות לרווחה, אף רחב ופחוס ופה סגור.

נר נוסף המשתייך לקבוצת הנרות התיאטרליים הוא של דמות תיאטרלית בעלת שפתיים עבות וגבות המעוצבות באופן גרוטסקי (איור 5). שפת עין הנר שטוחה וממוקמת מעל מצחה של הדמות.

נרות שעוצבו כדמויות תיאטרליות נפוצו כבר בתקופה ההלניסטית ולהלן הממצאים:

- באגורה האתונאית נמצא נר בדמות ראש סילינוס/דיוניסוס שתוארך קודם לשנת 150 לפסה"נ (Howland 1958: 157, no. 618).
- במוזיאון הבריטי מצויים שני נרות המיוחסים למקור מצרי, ובשניהם עוצב ראש סילינוס. שניהם מתוארכים למאה הראשונה לפסה"נ (Bailey 1975: 267, Q577, 578).
- בתל דור נמצא נר המעוצב כדמות שזוהתה כסאטיר. תיארו אותו לתקופה ההלניסטית או לתקופה הרומית הקדומה (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 241, fig. 5.19: 4).

#### ראשי שוורים

נרות אלה מכונים במחקר "Bull's Head". במרשה נמצאו שלושה ראשי שוורים שהמאפיינים שלהם שונים זה מזה בצורתם ובגודלם רק במעט. קיים דמיון ניכר בין שניים מהנרות (איורים 6 ו-7), למרות שאחד קטן מידות והשני בעל ממדים רגילים. שניהם עוצבו בתבניות איכותיות, ולשניהם אוזניים ברורות שמעליהן עוצבו קרניים



– הבסיס: לנרות אלה יש לרוב בסיס דיסקוס בצורת שקד והוא אינו עגול כביתר הנרות. אפשר שצורה זו הותאמה בשל השינוי בממדי הנר ובגין הצורך בשיווי משקל.

#### דמויות נשים וגברים

חמישה נרות מטיפוס זה נמצאו במרשה. שניים מהם עוצבו כדמויות של עלמות צעירות.

מהנר הראשון השתמר החלק העליון (איור 1). לראש הדמות כתר או דיאדמה (Diadem) ועיטור רוזטה. על חרטום הנר עוצבה פלמטה הנראית כצווארון.

הנר השני, שבסיסו עוטר ברוזטה מרשימה, זוהה רק בעזרת כמה קווי דמיון לנר הראשון, שכן מעט מאוד מחלקו העליון שרד. הדמיון לנר הראשון נעוץ בכך שגם לדמות הנערה בנר זה יש שיער ארוך מתולתל ועליו רוזטה כפרח המקשט את שיער הנערה במיקום דומה לנר הקודם. אפשר להסיק שמדובר באותה דמות גם על סמך חלק מהסרט שעוטר את השיער.

נר אחר עוצב בצורת דמות בעלת עיניים עגולות ומודגשות (איור 2). יש ספק אם מדובר בדמות אנושית או בבעל חיים. מכל מקום זוהי דמות סכמטית שפרטים רבים חסרים בה.

הנר הרביעי והנר החמישי מטיפוס זה הם רק שברי נרות שעליהם דמויות נשים וגברים, אך אי אפשר להזותם. מהרביעי שרדו רק אוזן ועין, ואילו מהחמישי שרד חלק ראש בלבד הכולל רצועות מוארכות של שיער מתולתל.

#### ראשים אפריקאים

נרות אלה מוכרים במחקר בכינויים "Negroid Head". במרשה נמצאו שני נרות מטיפוס זה והם עשויים מטין אפור ומחופים בשחור.<sup>3</sup> אחד מהנרות שלם למעט הידית (איור 3) וכולל ראש דמות עטורה בתלתלים מקורזלים ותווי פניה ברורים - עינייה פתוחות לרווחה מודגשות ובולטות ואפה רחב. אוזני הדמות גדולות יחסית ואינן פרופורציוניות לפנים. עין הנר מצויה בקדקוד הראש ואילו פי הנר נמצא בקצה החרטום שצורתו מזכירה מניפה. לעומת זה, מהנר השני נותר רק שבר של חלק מהפנים ומהשיער המקורזל. במרשה נמצאו שני כלים פלסטיים, שייתכן ושימשו ככלים למילוי נרות, בצורת ראש אפריקאי (Erllich & Kloner 2008: 68-69).

קיימות הקבלות רבות לנר בעל הראש האפריקאי, שכן היה זה אחד הטיפוסים המצויים.<sup>4</sup> הופעתם הראשונה של הנרות מטיפוס זה הייתה כבר בשלב מוקדם של התקופה ההלניסטית. כך, נר מס' 615 מחפירות האגורה האתונאית תוארך ל-150 לפסה"נ, אולם האולנד טען כי על פי מאפיינים מורפולוגיים אפשר להקדימו לסוף המאה השלישית לפסה"נ (Howland 1958: 156). במוזיאון הבריטי נמצא נר שתוארך

<sup>3</sup> רק לעתים רחוקות נעשה החיפוי בגוון אחר, כדוגמת נר מטיפוס זה המצוי במוזיאון הבריטי, שנעשה מטין ורוד-אדום עם חיפוי כתום (Bailey 1975: 356-357, Q752).

<sup>4</sup> באגורה האתונאית נמצאו שני נרות מטיפוס זה, העשויים מטין אטי (Howland 1958: 156-157, nos. 615, 616). נרות נוספים נמצאו בדורא אירופוס (Baur 1947: nos. 438, 439), במצרים, בנאוקרטס (Petrie 1886: pl. XV, 12), בקרניס (Shier 1978: no. 393, pls. 6, 42); ובפרגמון (Schäfer 1972: 196-197). נרות כאלה מצויים גם באוספים שונים כמו במוזיאון הבריטי (Bailey 1975: 356-357, Q752) ובמוזיאון אונטריו (Hayes 1980: 25, pl. 62: 98). לרשימה נוספת ראו אצל Beardsley 1929: 12-121.

וחיות. הנרות המעוטרים בדמויות עשויים ללמד גם על היבטים נוספים ובהם: אופי האוכלוסייה, נטיותיה הדתיות ואולי אף מעמדה הכלכלי. בהמשך המאמר נתמקד בשתי קבוצות נרות המעוטרים בדמויות:

- נרות פלסטיים: נרות שעוצבו כראש הדמות או כדמות שלמה וכל חלקי הנר הותאמו לדמות תוך שילוב מקסימלי בין מאפייני הנר ההלניסטי לבין הדמות.
- נרות שאזור מסוים בתוכם עוטר בדמות: נרות אלה נעשו כחלק מהייצור של הטיפוסים המוכרים ובמקומות ספציפיים נוספו עליהם תוספות של הדמויות הרצויות.

#### נרות פלסטיים

כאמור, הנרות הפלסטיים אינם נפוצים בארץ, אך מאזכרים אותם בפרסומים המיוחדים לאוספים שמקורם בארץ (Rosenthal & Sivan 1978: 147, nos. 606, 607). במרשה נמצאו נרות פלסטיים שעוצבו בצורות ובדמויות שונות.

#### נרות שעוצבו כראשי דמויות

הנרות הפלסטיים, שעוצבו כראשי אדם ובעלי חיים, מייצגים מגוון טיפוסים. אמנם הנרות שונים זה מזה, אך יש כמה מאפיינים המשותפים לכולם:

נרות אלה נעשו משני חלקי תבנית. החלק העליון היה לרוב גבוה ובעל בליטות שונות והחלק התחתון נמוך ודומה באופן כללי לנרות תבנית רגילים. עין הנר נמצאת לרוב באזור המצח של הדמויות וצורתה משתנה מנר לנר. בחלק מהנרות הוקפה עין הנר ברכס ובחלקם הייתה שטוחה והתמזגה עם גוף הנר. אמנם רק חרטומים בודדים השתמרו, אך ניכר כי הותאמו לצרכי הנר. בחרטומים אלה בולטות אחת משלוש הצורות האופייניות לנרות ההלניסטיים: קצה החרטום מעוגל או מעובה או בצורת מניפה. חלקו העליון של החרטום קמור או משולש, ובאף אחד מהנרות אין עדות לחרטום שטוח. כמו כן, למרבית הנרות היה בסיס דיסקוס.

בשניים מהנרות שנמצאו במרשה נשארו עדויות ולפיהן הייתה מחוברת לנר ידית. בנר אחד הייתה זו ידית בצורת עלה שרק בסיסה שרד, ובנר השני הייתה ידית אוזן שנמשכה מקדקוד הדמות אל עורפה.

כל חלקי הנר יוצרו בהתאמה לדמויות שנבחרו:

- בליטות: אחד המאפיינים הבולטים של הנרות מתקופה זו הוא הבליטות משני צדי עין הנר. בחלק מהנרות הפלסטיים אוזני הדמויות הן שתי הבליטות שעליהן עוצב הלוליון האופייני. כך במיוחד בנר ראש אפריקאי (איור 3) ובנרות השוורים (איורים 6 ו-7).
- עין הנר: בעוד שבנרות הרגילים מוקמה עין הנר במרכזו של הנר, בנרות הפלסטיים לרוב היא מצויה במרכז המצח. רק בנר אחד היא עוצבה כיחידה נפרדת בתוך מלבן מעל המצח (איור 5).
- החרטום: חרטום הנר עוצב כחלק אינטגרלי מהדמות. בבעלי חיים הוא נוצל כאף ארוך (איור 6 ו-7), ובדמויות אנושיות כזוואר (איור 1) או כסנטר (איור 3).

הנרות המעוטרים בדמויות נמצאו פזורים בשטחים שונים בעיר התחתית של מרשה. 11 מתוכם נמצאו במערכת תת-קרקעית 61. ארבעה מהם, השונים זה מזה, נחשפו בלוקוס 571, שהכיל 39 נרות. בשטח ובמערכת 61 נתגלו גם אחדים מהכלים הפלסטיים (ארליך וקלונר 2008: 105), העשויים יחדיו ללמד על מעמדם של תושבי בתים אלו. גם במערכת תת-קרקעית 1 נמצא ריכוז של שישה נרות מהטיפוס הנדון. בשאר המערכות התת-קרקעיות נמצאו נרות בודדים. אף אחד מהנרות המעוטרים בדמויות לא נמצא בשטח חפירות עילי. אין להתפלל על כך לאור העובדה שגם מרבית הנרות האחרים נמצאו במערכות תת-קרקעיות ולא בשטחים עיליים.<sup>2</sup> כמו כן, אין להסיק מכך ששימוש במכלולים אלו באופן בלעדי אלא כי הנסיבות הובילו אותם לשם. נר אחד שחרטומו עוטר בדמות נמצא גם בחפירות אורן בנקרופוליס של מרשה (Oren & Rappaport 1984: 131).

עד כה פורסמו נרות פלסטיים בודדים מחפירות בארץ-ישראל ותיארכו אותם רק לחלקה המאוחר של התקופה ההלניסטית או אף לתקופה הרומית. יש ביניהם נר ברונזה שנמצא בעבדת (רוזנטל-הגינבטום 2003: 43) ונרות חרס בודדים שנמצאו בתל דור (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 241), במצדה (Bailey 1994: 87), בתל אנפה (Dobbins, in print) ובגמלא (טרם 2008: 106).

הנרות המעוטרים בדמויות נפוצים מעט יותר מהנרות הפלסטיים, אך דומה כי גם מספרם הכולל של הנרות שנמצאו בארץ-ישראל ושזכו לפרסום – למעט הנרות הארוטים והמעוטרים בדגה – אינו מגיע לכדי מחצית המכלול שנחשף במרשה. אמנם מספר הנרות שנמצאו במרשה ועוטרו בדמויות מועט בהשוואה לאזור קנידוס (Bailey 1975: pls. 69-71) ודלוס (Bruneau 1965: pl. 15, 18, 19, 21) ואולי אף לאתרים אחרים, אך הוא גדול בהיקפו משמעותית ביחס לאתרים אחרים בארץ. אף על פי כן הכמות הגדולה של הנרות המעוטרים בדמויות שנמצאה במרשה מהווה רק שני אחוזים מהמכלול הכולל כ- 3000 נרות שלמים ותמימים ושברים של 10000 נוספים. באתרים אחרים שבהם נמצאו מכלולי נרות גדולים כבמרשה, כמו למשל באגורה האתונאית (Howland 1958), נמצא אף אחוז נמוך יותר של נרות המעוטרים בדמויות. כך גם בתל אנפה – במכלול הכולל אלפי נרות מהתקופה ההלניסטית ומהתקופה הרומית – נמצא רק שבר נר פלסטי אחד. יתרה מזו, מכלול הנרות המעוטרים בדמויות שנמצאו במרשה אינו גדול רק בהיקפו. הוא מייצג גם מגוון דמויות שונות: דמויות אנושיות-ריאליסטיות, דמויות אלים, דמויות מהמיתולוגיה, דמויות מהתיאטרון וגם בעלי חיים.

את הנרות המעוטרים ייצרו בתבנית בדומה לחפצים אחרים, כגון צלמיות, כופחים וקערות דפוס. דרך ייצורם של נרות אלה אינה שונה באופן מהותי מזו של נרות אחרים, אך הכנת התבניות של הנרות הפלסטיים והמעוטרים בדמויות דרשה כישורים אומנותיים-מקצועיים, ואולי אף אמנותיים, גבוהים מאלו שנדרשו ליצירת הנרות הרגילים. גם ההשקעה בהוצאה מהתבנית, הליטוש וגימורים אחרים היו מעט מורכבים יותר. בנוסף לכך, בנרות התבנית המצויים במרשה אפשר להבחין במקרים רבים בסימני הבעות המלמדים על ייצורם בתבניות גבס, ואילו בנרות המעוטרים בדמויות סימנים אלו מעטים. דומה כי הנרות המעוטרים המקומיים יוצרו בתבניות חרס ולא בתבניות גבס ויש בכך רמז להתייחסות אליהם כאל חשובים מהאחרים. בנרות התבנית הנפוצים מצויים לרוב עיטורים רדיאליים החוזרים על עצמם. לעומתם, בנרות המעוטרים בדמויות ניכרים דגמים ורעיונות שונים שיש בהם תנועה

<sup>2</sup> 90 אחוזים מהנרות שנמצאו במרשה נמצאו במערכות תת קרקעיות. תשעה אחוזים מהנרות נמצאו בשטחים עיליים, ורק ואחוז אחד נמצא בתוך מערות הקבורה (עמבר-ערמון 2007: 194).

## נרות מעוטרים בדמויות מהתקופה ההלניסטית ממרשה

עינת עמבר-ערמון ועמוס קלונר

### מבוא

בחפירות מרשה (תל סנדחנה), המצויה בשפלת יהודה, נחשפה עיר גדולה וחשובה מהתקופה ההלניסטית. החפירות הראשונות במרשה התבצעו בקיץ 1900 מטעם הקרן הבריטית לחקירת ארץ-ישראל ברשותם פ"ג בליס ורא"ס מקליסטר. בחפירות אלה נחשפה העיר העליונה של מרשה. מתארה היה כמעט רבוע (152x158 מ'), והיא הוקמה על פי תכנית היפודאמית. במקביל לחפירת התל חקרו ומופו 63 מערכות בעיר התחתונה (Bliss & Macalister 1902).

בשנים 1960–1962 ערך א' אורן סקר כללי של מערות ובמסגרתו נסקרו ונחפרו מערות קבורה סביב מרשה. בבית הקברות הצפוני נחפרו שמונה מערות: אחת מהן נחפרה בשלמות ואילו בשבע האחרות נערכו חפירות בדיקה בלבד. גם בבית הקברות המזרחי נסקרה ונחפרה מערת קבורה אחת (חדשות ארכיאולוגיות 1962; Oren & Rappaport 1984). סקר זה היווה נדבך חשוב בחקר הנקרופוליס של מרשה.

בשנות ה-80 וה-90 של המאה העשרים התבצעו, כחלק מהכשרת האתר לגן לאומי, חפירות רחבות היקף ברשות עמוס קלונר מטעם רשות העתיקות (Kloner 2003). החפירות נערכו בעיקר בעיר התחתונה המשתרעת סביב התל בצורת טבעת, במגוון שטחים עיליים, במערכות תת-קרקעיות ובנקרופוליס.

בשנים האחרונות נמשכת החפירה באתר בהיקף מצומצם ומתרכזת בחשיפת מספר מערכות תת קרקעיות. החפירה מתבצעת בניהולם של א' שטרן וב' אלפרט במסגרת "סמינרים ארכיאולוגיים" ובשיתוף עם רשות העתיקות.

הממצא החומרי שנחשף במרשה רב בכמותו וכולל בין היתר: צלמיות, כלים פלסטיים, ריטונים, קערות דפוס, אמפורות, מטבעות, כלי עצם, כלי זכוכית ופאיאנס. ממצאים אלו אפשר ללמוד על תרבותה החומרית העשירה של העיר בעיקר במהלך התקופה ההלניסטית - הקדומה והתיכונה. בין הממצאים נמצאו גם אלפי נרות מטיפוסים שונים, ובעזרתם אפשר ללמוד על האתר, על יושביו ועל מנהגיהם (עמבר-ערמון 2007).

### ממצאי הנרות במרשה

במאמר זה נתרכז בקבוצה המונה 42 נרות שייחודם ניכר בהיותם מעוטרים בדמויות. 19 מתוכם הם נרות פלסטיים, כלומר, צורתם עוצבה בשלמותה כדמות, ואילו ב-23 הנרות האחרים רק אזור מסוים עוטר בדמות.<sup>1</sup> בנוסף להם נמצאו גם 46 נרות ארוטים ועוד מספר לא מבוטל של נרות שהבליטה בהם עוטרה בדגה.

<sup>1</sup> חלק מהנרות נמצאו בחפירות הסמינרים הארכיאולוגיים במערכות תת-קרקעיות בשנות האלפיים. ברצוננו להודות לד"ר איאן שטרן ולברני אלפרט על הרשות להזכירם.

יורק, אוניברסיטת פנסילבניה, אוניברסיטת קליפורניה בסן דייגו, אוניברסיטת אוקספורד, אוניברסיטת היידלברג, אוניברסיטת סידני והאוניברסיטה הלאומית האוסטרלית בקנברה – הזמינו את אליעזר לחקור וללמד בהם את תחומי התמחותו. בשנים 1995-1991 הוזמן על ידי אוניברסיטת פנסילבניה לבנות תכנית לתלמידי מחקר בארכיאולוגיה של ארץ ישראל ושכנותיה. בשנים אלה ארגן שם סמינר בין-לאומי לארכיאולוגיה של המזרח הקדום, ובמסגרתו ערך שני כרכים אשר יצאו לאור מטעם המוזאון של אוניברסיטת פנסילבניה: The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives (1997); The Sea Peoples and their World: A Reassessment (2000). כמו כן יזם הקמה של תצוגת קבע במוזיאון האוניברסיטאי ושימש כאוצר אורח של תצוגה זו בנושא Canaan and Ancient Israel. אליעזר מילא, וממשיך למלא, תפקידים רבים ונכבדים מחוץ לאוניברסיטה, מהם נזכיר כמה מהחשובים: חבר ועדת היגוי של סקר ישראל, חבר המועצה הארכיאולוגית בישראל ומשנת 2000 סגן יו"ר המועצה וחבר בוועדת הרישיונות מטעם המועצה, חבר בוועדה הבין-לאומית CARE למחקרים ארכיאולוגיים בלונדון, חבר בוועד המנהל של החברה לחקירת ארץ ישראל ועתיקותיה, וכן היה חבר ולעתים גם יו"ר בוועדות למחקר של הקרן הלאומית למדעים. עורכי הספר ומחבריו וכל מכיריו של אליעזר, המוקירים אותו ואת פעלו, מאחלים לו המשך עבודה פורייה שבה ישלים את מחקריו החשובים, וירוה נחת בחברת שולמית רעייתו וצאצאיהם ירדן וכנרת וצאצאי צאצאיהם: יסמין, איתמר ואילת. כה לחי!

חברי המערכת

המצרית. מחקר חשוב אחר של אליעזר הוא הכרת "דרך הורוס", הדרך המוליכה ממצרים לכנען מתקופת הממלכה החדשה. למחקר זה תרומה מרכזית ללימוד הקשרים הישירים בין עמק הנילוס לכנען, להכרת המנהל המצרי שלו ולאדריכלות הצבאית המצרית. משלחת בראשות אליעזר חפרה מרכז מנהל ענק מהתקופה הסאיתית, והציע לזהותו עם "מגדול" של המקרא. במחקר זה תרם להכרה בתהליך התיישבותם של פיניקים ושכירי צבא מיוון בגבול הדלתה המזרחית. הסקר והחפירות הנלוות אליו חשפו מאות אתרים מהתקופה הרומית. גולת הכותרת שלהם היא החפירות הנרחבות בקסרווית ("פטרה של סיני") על מקדשה המפוארים והיישוב המבוצר. קסרווית היא אתר מפתח ללימוד הפעילות המסחרית של הנבטים בין חוף עזה למזרח הדלתה. גם התקופה הביזנטית לא קופחה בחפירותיו של אורן. אכן, אוסטרקנה על כנסיותיה ושרידי המנזר שלה חשובים ביותר ללימוד על אודות התפשטות הנצרות והתבססותה בצפון סיני.

בשנים 1981-1992 פנה אליעזר לפרויקט נחל גרר – חפירות תל הרור (גרר המקראית, או אולי שרוחן?), אתר עירוני מן הגדולים והחשובים בדרום כנען בתקופת הברונזה התיכונה. לחפירות תרומה חשובה לחקר המרקם הפוליטי-כלכלי של ערי המדינה בתקופת הברונזה התיכונה. בחפירות נחקרה מערכת הביצור והסוללות וכן נחשפו שרידי מקדש ייחודי שנתגלו בו עדויות חשובות ביותר לנוהגי פולחן, כולל קרבנות כלבים וחמורים. למעשה, זו העדות הארכיאולוגית היחידה לנוהגי פולחן וטקסי בריתות בתעודות מארי. כמו כן תגלית חשובה של כתובת מינואית Linear A. בחפירות האקרופוליס נחשפו שרידי ביצור ומחסנים שנשתמרו היטב מן המאה השביעית לפנה"ס ועדות לארגון המנהל של אשור בגבול מצרים.

במקביל המשיך אליעזר בסקר חוף סיני בין רפיח לעזה בשנים 1982-1990. במהלך המחקר בחוף עזה נסקרו ותועדו יותר מחמישים אתרים מהתקופה הניאוליתית ועד התקופה הביזנטית, ובזכות המחקר אפשר לשחזר באופן מפורט את תולדות ההתיישבות באזור חשוב זה. בחפירות האתר הכלקוליטי Y-2, שנערכו עם יצחק גלעד על חוף הים מדרום לעזה, נחשף השלב הקדום ביותר של קשרי מסחר מאורגנים בין הדלתה של מצרים לדרום ארץ ישראל. אתר זה הוא חוליית קשר בין אתרי נחל באר שבע לאתרי צפון סיני. בחפירותיו של אורן ברוקייש שעל חוף הים, סמוך לדיר אל-בלח, נחשף אתר אשורי-פיניקי מתקופת הברזל, ובו שרידי ביצור מסיבי וקברים המכילים עדויות לשרפת מתים כמנהג הפיניקי. האתר היה כנראה מרכז מסחר אשורי-פיניקי, ואורן הציע לזהותו עם "הכארו החתום של מצרים", המוזכר על ידי סרגון השני מלך אשור. באתרים רבים מהתקופה הפרסית שנחשפו על חוף הים נמצאו שפע של כלים מיובאים מיוון ומקפריסין ועדויות לפעילות מסחרית בין-לאומית ענפה באזור עזה.

אליעזר הוסיף לחקור בתחומים אחרים, ובהם קשרי תרבות, מסחר וכרונולוגיה באגן הים התיכון – בקפריסין וביוון – בתקופת הברונזה, קברי לוחמים בארץ ישראל ובסוריה בראשית תקופת הברונזה התיכונה (מחקר תרבותי וכרונולוגי) והתרבות של תקופת הברונזה הביניימית (ברונזה קדומה ד') בצפון ארץ ישראל.

אליעזר היה המופקד הראשון על קתדרת קנדה לארכיאולוגיה של המזרח הקדום (1990-2007). משנת 1989 ואילך הוא מרכז את הסמינר השנתי לזכר איירין לוי-סאלא לקשרי גומלין במזרח הקדום. במסגרתו מוזמנים חוקרים בכירים מאוניברסיטאות בחו"ל, כולל חוקרים מירדן, כמרצים אורחים בתחומים שונים: תרבויות מצרים, חת וחצי האי ערב. עד עתה נתפרסמו חמישה כרכים של ההרצאות בסמינר, כולל סמינר מיוחד שנערך בלונדון. מוסדות רבים בחו"ל – אוניברסיטת הרווארד, אוניברסיטת ניו

סוריה. גולת הכותרת של המחקר היא חקר ארונות קבורה אנתרופואידים משלהי תקופת הברונזה המאוחרת ודיון בנושא אופיו של המנהל המצרי בכנען כולל שירות של שכירים מגויי הים במערך המנהל המצרי.

בשנות לימודיו בלונדון שימש כמרצה במשרה חלקית בקולג' על שם ליאו בק בלונדון, ביוניברסיטי קולג' של אוניברסיטת לונדון ובאוניברסיטת לידס; כמו כן השתתף בחפירות במוציה שבסיציליה.

אליעזר שב ארצה בקיץ 1969. בשנים 1969-1970 עבד באגף העתיקות והיה אחראי לחפירות רבות: חמת טבריה, עכו, ירושלים (קברי נחל קדרון, הגבעה הצרפתית, הר הצופים), ועסק בעיבוד הממצאים מתקופת הברונזה התיכונה באכזיב (1975).

בשנות הלימודים 1970-1971 החל אליעזר בקריירה האקדמית ארוכת השנים שלו בבאר שבע. בתחילה עבד במשרה חלקית בחוג לתולדות עם ישראל באוניברסיטת הנגב (כפי שנקראה אז). מכאן ועד לפרישתו כפרופסור מן המניין בשנת 2007 מילא תפקידים שונים במחלקה, בפקולטה ובאוניברסיטה; היה חבר בוועדות רבות, כולל בוועדה המרכזת, וכן הדריך תלמידים רבים בעבודות מחקר לתואר שני ולתואר שלישי בארץ ובאוניברסיטאות שונות בחו"ל. אליעזר היה הרוח החיה בהקמת המגמה לארכיאולוגיה (לראשונה במסגרת החוג לתולדות עם ישראל), ועמד בראשה בשנים 1973-1987. היה לו חלק מרכזי (עם פרופ' מרדכי כוגן) בהקמת המחלקה למקרא, ארכיאולוגיה והמזרח הקדום ובגיבושה תוך הדגשת הזיקה בין המקרא, לארכיאולוגיה ולתרבויות המזרח הקדום וכן שימש כראש המחלקה.

בקיץ 1971 השתתף יחד עם קבוצת תלמידים בחפירות ערד (בראשות רות עמירן). זאת הייתה החפירה הלימודית הראשונה של אוניברסיטת הנגב. משנת 1972 ואילך היה פעיל ביותר במשך שנים ארוכות במחקרי שדה מטעם אוניברסיטת בן גוריון בנגב (סקרים וחפירות במערב הנגב, בחוף עזה ובצפון סיני, כולל חפירות לימודיות לתלמידי המחלקה וקורסים בארכיאולוגיה של השדה שנועדו לסטודנטים מחו"ל). תוצאות המחקרים זכו לתהודה רבה בספרות המחקר בארץ ובעולם.

בין השנים 1972-1978 ניהל את החפירות בתל שרע (תל א-שריעה), אתר חשוב מתקופת הברונזה והברזל במערב הנגב (צקלג המקראית?). בין התגליות החשובות בתל שרע נמצאו שרידי ארמון נרחב מתקופת הברונזה התיכונה, מקדש כנעני ומרכז מנהל מצרי ("בית מושל") מתקופת הברונזה המאוחרת שבחדריו נמצאה קבוצת קערות ועליהן כתובות היראטיות מצריות כתובות בדיו. כמו כן, נחפרו שרידים מרשימים של מצודה מתקופת השלטון האשורי באזור. לחפירות תרומה נכבדה ללימוד תחומים אלה: קשרי הגומלין בין מצרים לכנען, סדרי המנהל המצרי בדרום כנען (איזור עזה) בשלהי תקופת הממלכה החדשה (שושלות י"ט-כ'), כולל אדריכלות מצרית של מרכזי מנהל (בתי מושל) ושיטת המיסוי המצרית. כמו כן, תרמו החפירות להבנה של מערכת הגבול עם מצרים בימי האימפריה האשורית ולחקר הארכיטקטורה של בניית גזית בתקופת הברזל.

מחקרו החלוצי החשוב של אליעזר אורן הוא סקר צפון סיני, שנערך ברציפות בשנים 1972-1982. זה היה מחקר אזורי נרחב ברצועת החוף של צפון סיני בין רצועת עזה לתעלת סואץ, אזור מפתח לשחזור הקשרים המדיניים, הכלכליים והתרבותיים בין מצרים וארצות אסיה (כנען וסוריה). במהלך הסקר תועדו ונחקרו כ-1,300 אתרי יישוב מהתקופה הפרהיסטורית ועד לתקופה העות'מנית. הסקר תרם רבות להכרת ההתיישבות בצפון סיני בשלהי התקופה הקדם שושלתית (ברונזה קדומה א') וללימוד קשרי מצרים וכנען בתקופה הפורמטיבית של מצרים (שושלת 0) וכנען (ראשית העיור). ראשית הקשרים הממוסדים בין אזורים אלה היא כנראה בשלטון ה'קולוניה'



## אליעזר אורן : קווים לדמותו ולמפעלו המדעי

ידידנו ועמיתנו אליעזר אורן נולד בפתח תקוה, אם המושבות, בשנת 1938 ובה גדל והתחנך בתלמוד תורה "שארית ישראל". בשנות חינוכו ברוח ישראל סבא ספג ממסורת ישראל וזכה להכיר את שורשי היהדות ומקורותיה. בהיותו בן 15, בשנת 1952, החליף את אווירת הפרדסים שלגדות הירקון, והדרים לנגב המערבי לחברת הנוער בקבוצת סעד, הנשקפת לעבר העיר עזה. היה זה הקשר הראשון של אליעזר עם הנגב, קשר בל יינתק. כנער מנערי חברת הנוער שבקיבוץ היה שותף מלא לעבודת המשק. אליעזר היה לרפתן משכים קום, ורץ את עדר הבקר אל מול רצועת עזה. השנים שעשה בסעד (1952-1955) תרמו רבות לעיצוב אישיותו של אליעזר הצעיר. הוא הרבה לשוטט במרחבי הנגב והרחיב את ההתעניינותו בהיסטוריה ובגאוגרפיה של האזור. מחברת הנוער בקיבוץ הוליכה דרך ישרה לשירות צבאי בנח"ל ובנח"ל המוצנח (1955-1957). נסתר דרכי האל – תקופת היותו של אליעזר 'קומונר' של סניף בני עקיבא בבאר שבע, כחלק מהשירות הצבאי, בישרה כנראה על עתידו בבאר שבע, אלא שאיש לא ידע מה צופן לו העתיד.

בשנים 1959-1963 למד אליעזר לתואר ראשון באוניברסיטה העברית בחוגים לארכיאולוגיה והיסטוריה של עם ישראל. בתקופת הלימודים השתתף בחפירות קיסריה וכורזין. במשך כשנתיים, בשנים 1961-1963, ערך סקר ארכיאולוגי וחפירות במערות מראשה-בית גוברין מטעם אגף העתיקות. על סמך עבודתו פרסם מאמרים שונים, כגון פירוש חדש וחדשני לשימוש המקורי של מערות הקולומבריה בבית גוברין – גידול "יוני הרדסיות" (1965, 1968), פרסום תוצאות החפירה בקברים הצידוניים במראשה ושחזור תולדות המושבה הצידונית במראשה, כולל קבורות יהודים במקום (1987 עם אורי רפפורט).

לאחר סיום לימודי התואר הראשון בירושלים גלה אליעזר למקום תורה בארצות הברית. בשנים 1963-1966 למד לתואר שני במחלקה ללימודי המזרח הקדום באוניברסיטת פנסילבניה שבפילדלפיה ואף החל בתכנית הלימודים לתואר שלישי. פרופ' פריצ'רד (J. B. Pritchard) העמיד לרשותו, כבסיס לעבודת הדוקטור, את הממצאים מחפירות המוזאון האוניברסיטאי (University Museum) בבית הקברות הצפוני של בית שאן. באותן שנים שימש כמרצה (Assistant Professor) בקולג' העברי בבלטימור (Baltimore Hebrew College).

מהעולם החדש שב אליעזר לעולם הישן, ואת השנים 1966-1969 עשה בלונדון, והשלים את לימודי הדוקטורט במכון לארכיאולוגיה של אוניברסיטת לונדון. עבודת הדוקטור שלו The Northern Cemetery of Beth Shan: A Study of Unpublished Materials and its Historical Implications בהדרכתם של קתלין קניון (Kathleen Kenyon) ופטר פאר (Peter Parr) אושרה בשנת 1969. עבודה זו התפרסמה בשנת 1973 בהוצאת המוזאון האוניברסיטאי של אוניברסיטת פנסילבניה והוצאת הספרים בריל. הפרקים המרכזיים בה כוללים דיונים על תרבות צפון ארץ ישראל בתקופת המעבר מתקופת הברונזה הקדומה לתיכונה (הברונזה הקדומה ד) ועל קשרי גומלין עם

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בעריכת  
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